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5. *The Radical Programme.* With a Preface by the Right Hon. J. Chamberlain, M.P. London, 1885.

6. *The Case for Disestablishment. A Handbook of Facts and Arguments in support of the claim for Religious Equality.* London, 1884.

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9. *The Englishman's Brief on behalf of his National Church.* New and revised edition. London, 1885.

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15. *The Dangers and Evils of Disestablishment, and the Duty of Churchmen at the present Crisis.* A Speech of the Bishop of

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16. *The Reasons of a Layman and a Liberal for opposing Disestablishment.* By R. Bosworth Smith, M.A. London, 1885.
17. *Publications of the Church Defence Institution.* London, 1885.
18. *The Official Year Book of the Church of England.* London, 1885.

THE results of the Reform Acts of 1885, as illustrated by the recent Election, demand and deserve the closest study. The working of the new system of one-member constituencies, the degree in which the balance of political power has been shifted by the admission of new voters, the changed aspect of party predilections in the boroughs, the unmistakable detachments of a larger number of the rural labourers from time-honoured associations, the augmented power of trades unions exemplified by the rejection of Sir George Elliot in a northern and the return of Mr. Arch in an eastern county, the suddenness with which the question of Church and State sprang into unexpected prominence, and the manner in which so vital a matter was handled by conspicuous party leaders—each and all of these points, and our list does not pretend to be exhaustive, with their causes and their consequences, so far as we can fathom them, claim the keenest investigation, and the most anxious thought, from all who desire that the new Democracy now fairly afloat should have a safe and prosperous voyage. It is difficult to exaggerate the practical utility of such an examination of political forces which, when adequately pursued, brings politics within the category of the exact sciences, and enables us to foretell with substantial accuracy, and so to provide for the future tendency of events. Of course the warnings so derived are only of real value to those who will pay attention to them, and it has been our lot in the columns of this 'Review' to utter prophecies, alas! 'non unquam credita,' by Churchmen and Conservatives, which if heeded might have saved us at this moment from widespread disaster. In this article it will be our object to contribute towards a clearer comprehension of one of the foremost points at issue during the electoral struggle, namely, the question of the union of Church and State. To this end we propose to review in turn the history and character of the conflict; the composition, discipline, and force, of the invading army; the nature and value of the arguments employed by the assailants; and the probable results of a national

national adoption of their proposals. If we do not also insist upon the reforms which we deem indispensable, it is because our space is insufficient for their adequate treatment.

The history of the struggle has special importance, in consequence of the unfounded assertion made by leading Liberationists, and reiterated persistently by Mr. Gladstone, that it was the Tories who, for party purposes, forced the question into prominence. The object of the Liberationists is sufficiently transparent. If the maintenance of the Established Church could be identified with the supremacy, its fall might be assured with the collapse, of one political party. All thoughtful Churchmen utterly repudiate such a position. The question of Church and State transcends and obliterates all party lines. The manifesto of the Liberal Peers should have taught a salutary lesson to men who first strove might and main to make Disestablishment an indispensable plank in the Liberal platform, and who then, with cynical disregard of the warning to dwellers in glass houses, endeavoured to fasten the imputation of perverting Church defence to a mere party cry upon their opponents. God forbid that so momentous an issue should ever be the sport of party necessities! The names of Lord Selborne and Lord Fortescue, of the Dukes of Westminster and Bedford, of Earls Grey and Fitzwilliam, have not been hitherto identified with Tory intrigue; and yet they, with other prominent Whig Peers, did not hesitate to call the attention of their fellow-countrymen 'to the danger to which the Church, as a national institution, would be exposed, if they should fail to use their votes in the election for its defence.' Nor was Lord Hartington's manly and straightforward utterance at Accrington of less value in lifting the question above the level of party politics. 'I can conceive,' he said, 'of no circumstance so unlikely as that I should ever give my vote for, or be a member of, a Government which would propose the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church.' In mournful contrast with these outspoken expressions of loyalty was the persistent reticence of the one statesman whose voice was wont to be most powerful on the Church's behalf. To the urgent remonstrance of Lord Grey, and the brilliant, courteous, we had almost said, passionate appeals of Mr. Bosworth Smith, Mr. Gladstone vouchsafed only the vaguest of replies until the first formal oration of his Midlothian campaign, when in unqualified terms he declared that Disestablishment had been made a test question *entirely by Tory agencies.*

The imputation is too serious to be passed over without complete exposure and refutation. It is important to remember the date of each item in the chain of events. The position was

probably unique. The Franchise and Redistribution Bills were settled, and there was no indication of any storm to disturb the political atmosphere, when the reins of power suddenly fell from the hands of a paralyzed and divided Cabinet. The Liberal majority, so overwhelming in 1880, though but slightly reduced in numbers, was discredited and disunited, worn out and effete, smitten with fatty degeneration of the heart. A lull succeeded the accession of Lord Salisbury to power. Mr. Chamberlain, relieved from the cares of office, was at liberty to meditate upon his abortive visit, with Sir C. Dilke, to Ireland, to bury the defunct Liberalism of the Emerald Isle, or to correct the proof sheets of 'The Radical Programme.' The Tapers and Tadpoles were sadly perplexed for a cry. It was impossible to get up any genuine enthusiasm over the important, but frigid, topic of Local Government. The more promising subject of Land Reform was for the moment smothered by the patronage of Mr. Arthur Arnold. So great was the dearth of exciting issues before the new constituencies, that early in August Mr. Reginald Brett wrote to the 'Times,' recommending the Liberal Party to adopt the policy of Disestablishment and Land Reform *in order to win*, and at almost the same date a leader in the 'Standard' newspaper commenced with the observation: 'It is not at all likely that the Disestablishment of the Church of England will be found in the front rank of public questions at the great electoral contest next November.' Beneath this calm surface the Liberation Society had been silently working with the confident expectation of now reaping the fruit of years of unwearied toil. How hopeful were its prospects was made suddenly manifest by the announcement in the 'Record,' which fell like a thunderbolt-clap upon the public ear, that some 500 Liberal candidates were wholly or in part pledged to the policy of Disestablishment.

Abrupt as was the publication of its scheme, the Liberationist plan of action had long been maturing. In Wales, in Scotland, in the agricultural districts, in the more populous boroughs, its agents had been incessantly at work. Four hundred meetings in a single year kept up the agitation at fever heat. More than a million tracts—we shall notice their contents presently—scattered throughout the length and breadth of the country, were educating the new voters to a proper exercise of the franchise. The question of Parliamentary Reform being removed out of the way, the Liberationists for the first time for many years, as they averred, had an open field before them. It was resolved, after mature deliberation in three successive conferences (held in December 1884, and January 13 and March 15, 1885),

1885), first, that the time had arrived for resolutely pressing the question upon Parliament and the constituencies; secondly, that pressure should be put upon the Liberal caucuses to ensure the choice of Liberationist candidates; thirdly, 'that Liberal candidates should *at least* be required to support the abolition of the Church Establishment in Scotland and the Disestablishment of the Church of England in Wales.' To what degree these efforts had been successful was brought into the strongest light at the conference of Liberal Associations held in Bradford, when a proposal to waive the subject as inopportune failed even to find a seconder. It had been determined to rush the question through the new House of Commons.

Without pausing for more than the remark, that the most microscopic investigation would fail thus far to detect a trace of 'Tory agency,' we pass to the next important incident in the struggle, namely, the issue of Mr. Gladstone's Address. It was a document of portentous dimensions, and its sixteenth paragraph dealt with the subject ominously worded as State religion. Its terms will be fresh in the memory of our readers, but we reproduce the closing sentences:—

'I cannot forecast the dim and distant courses of the future. But, like all others, I have observed the vast and ever-increasing development for the last fifty years, both at home and abroad, in the Church to which I belong, of the powers of voluntary support. Those abridgments of her prerogatives as an Establishment, which have been frequent of late years, have not brought about a decrease, and have at least been contemporaneous with an increase, of her spiritual and social strength. By devotedness of life, and by solidity of labour, the clergy are laying a good foundation for the time to come. The attachment of the laity improves, if I may so speak, both in quantity and in quality. The English Church also appears to be eminently suited, in many and weighty points, to the needs of the coming time. And I have a strong conviction that, if this great modification of our inherited institutions shall hereafter be accomplished, the vitality of the Church of England will be found equal to all the needs of the occasion.'

Mr. Gladstone's Address had been awaited with impatient eagerness; its contents were scanned with proportionate anxiety, and awakened bitter disappointment in the minds of Churchmen. Except a passing deprecation of being required at his age to take any share in the controversy, there was not one word in the whole paragraph upon the State religion that might not have been penned by Mr. Carvell Williams. Loud as was the outcry amongst Churchmen of every grade and party, men vainly searched the long-winded sentences of this gigantic manifesto for one syllable of warning even against the impolicy of

of pushing the question at this season. Time was when Mr. Gladstone had portrayed in eloquent and impassioned words the disastrous results that would follow Liberationism: but the language we have quoted was certainly not calculated to check the unbridled ardour of this section of his followers. Their tone is rather that of admiration for 'the faith which once he despised.' On the Scotch branch of the question, Mr. Gladstone had long since avowed a cold policy of opportunism—the meanest of all forms of statesmanship. Nor was it until after he had learned on his arrival at Dalmeny that 64 per cent. of his own constituency were averse to Dr. Cameron's proposal, that Mr. Gladstone publicly pronounced against the inclusion of Disestablishment of the Church of Scotland in the authorized Liberal programme. Had the most powerful of English statesmen been already so far affected by the paralyzing influences of democratic power as in his own person to justify Sir H. S. Maine's assertion—so startlingly prophetic in the light of recent events—that 'our leaders are manifestly listening nervously at one end of a speaking-trumpet which receives at its other end the suggestions *of a lower intelligence*'? Was the idol of the great Liberal party, who had so often marshalled and headed his followers to victory, reduced to the level of the French democrat who broke off a conversation with a friend to join a passing mob, with the explanation, 'I must *follow* those people, you see I am their leader'? A vital question was at issue. A principle was at stake, which both parties alike deemed of primary importance, but the only answer that could be extracted from Mr. Gladstone was, that the question was not before the country, and that its agitation was due entirely to Tory agencies.

A few words may yet be added to a case already perhaps sufficiently complete. Mr. Gladstone's statement, that the question of Disestablishment had been forced to the front by the Tory party, is entirely unwarrantable. We endorse and adopt the language of the 'Times:' * 'We are sorry to have to differ from Mr. Gladstone upon a question of fact, but we are bound to affirm that no form of denial is too strong to be applied to this preposterous contention.' It might be regarded as an impossible achievement for a consummate party-chieftain to cause dissatisfaction at one and the same time to his adversaries and to both sections of his own supporters, but this difficulty Mr. Gladstone has surmounted. For once we are in accord with 'The Liberator,' whose remarks are at least free from all suspicion of any Tory bias, in its complaint of Mr. Gladstone's studied ambiguity:—

* November 12, 1885.

'The

'The principle of Establishment is either right or wrong; while the justice and expediency under present circumstances of the arrangements now subsisting . . . are points on which, not the friends of religious equality alone, but the country at large, had some right to expect a clear and definite expression of opinion.'—'The Liberator,' Dec. 1, 1885.

There is a widespread tendency in the present day, of which Mr. Gladstone's manifesto is a remarkable illustration, to regard every institution which is assailed as doomed eventually to fall. It is tacitly assumed, that the attack will sooner or later prove stronger than the defence, on the theory that 'through the ages an increasing purpose runs,' which leads by the law of an irresistible development in the direction of Democracy. It would be difficult to exaggerate the mischief which is wrought by the unchallenged admission of such a principle in the sphere of politics. If, despite such a conviction, some gallant spirits are ready to sacrifice themselves for a cause which they regard as sacred, although destined to inevitable defeat, the battle is waged under terribly unequal conditions. The defenders are weighed down by the presentiment, that they are only postponing the evil day. The assailants are animated by the persuasion, that their victory is ultimately assured. The Liberationists are keenly sensitive to the advantage they may derive from the prevalence of such a tone of feeling.

'The question of Disestablishment,' we are informed, 'has become the irrepressible question of our time. In the opinion of friends and foes alike, it is hastening to its settlement; *and there is no second opinion as to the final issue. . . . It is admitted on all sides* that the future belongs to religious equality. Dr. Alford, the Dean of Canterbury, long ago declared his conviction that whether years, or decades of years, be taken for the accomplishment of this severance of the Church from the State, however it may be deprecated, and however opposed, accomplished it will certainly be. . . . God's arm is thrusting it on, and man's power cannot keep it back.'—'The Case for Disestablishment,' p. 164.

This is an admirable specimen of the mingled dogmatism and assumption with which Liberationist literature teems. It contains only bold assertion, presumptuous prophecy, and something (*pace* the Dean), to our mind, nearly akin to profanity.

For with all due respect to the high authority thus quoted, we venture to question alike the premisses and the conclusion. No doubt Democracy is a very powerful instrument; mighty, according to the direction in which it is guided, for good or for evil. But Democracy, to those more fully acquainted with the facts and able to estimate more accurately the probable results, acting

acting in obedience to Liberationism, may possibly foreshadow not so much the Divine arm as suggest the semblance of the cloven foot. Still less do we admit the cool assertion, that *it is admitted on all sides that the future belongs to religious equality.* The future belongs, humanly speaking, to the one of two contending parties, which has the superiority in energy and will. It is worth while then to enquire what reasonable ground the Liberation Society has to lay claim to the irresistible command of the future. Let us listen to their account of themselves:—

'The Association was formed about forty years ago *by earnest Christian-minded men*, who, while deeply sensible of the injustice of religious establishments, and of the social and political evils to which they give rise, *were yet chiefly influenced by religious considerations.* Their views are clearly expressed in a resolution passed at the Conference at which the Society was formed in April, 1844. It declared "that this Conference, while emphatically disclaiming all intention to assail any Church apart from its connection with the State, *is constrained by a deep sense of obligation to Jesus Christ* . . . to express its solemn determination to persevere in its opposition to the principle on which State establishments of religion are founded . . . and especially asserts the entire independence of the Church of Christ, which is to be secured only by the practical admission of the principle of self-support and self-extension, *as imperatively demanded by the authority of the New Testament.*"'—'The Case for Disestablishment,' pp. 1, 2.

Now whatever we may think of this resolution, which involves, according to the wonted Liberationist style of reasoning, a complete *petitio principii*, no thoughtful person would question the power derived from genuine religious conviction. But the very next paragraph allows that this feeling has retreated before the more purely political aspect of the question. It requires some assurance to maintain, after the employment of Mr. Frederic Harrison as an honoured advocate, and the Society's identification of itself with the cause of Mr. Bradlaugh, that '*the essentially religious character* of the movement *remains unchanged.*'

Admitting, however, the accuracy of this assertion, and leaving the reader to estimate the phrases we have italicized in the light of it, let us see what further sources of power the Society can command.

The financial report of the great anti-State Church organization reveals some very significant facts. It appears that on May 9th, 1881, the Liberation Society had a balance on its Legacy Account of 10,334*l.* 15*s.*, and a balance at its banker's of 684*l.* 9*s.* On the 5th of May, 1884, the Legacy Balance had entirely

entirely disappeared, and the balance in hand was 746*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* In the four years embraced within these two dates, 1881–1884 inclusive, the Society had expended an aggregate sum of about 38,000*l.*, and some of the items suggest the notion that the advocacy of Disestablishment and Disendowment is not altogether a bad business. They include the following payments:—

	1882.			1883.			1884.			1885.		
	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
Travelling	820	13	9	850	16	9	730	8	6	701	12	8
Salaries	1400	0	0	1400	0	0	1466	13	4	1450	0	0
Lectures and Meetings	874	11	8	709	4	10	658	2	1	417	15	8
Agents and Lecturers	2078	16	5	2120	0	9	1756	3	3	1815	11	0
Authorship and Editorship	530	6	4	338	16	0	319	19	0	337	5	0
Totals .. .. ..£	5704	8	2	5418	18	4	4931	6	2	4722	4	4

making a grand total of 20,776*l.* 17*s.* out of a gross income of 38,000*l.* Besides this, there are large items for Clerks and Messengers, Local Committee expenses, and the salary of the Secretary of the Scottish Council, of which latter body more anon. It is worth noticing as we pass, that the increased attention to the Church and State question, naturally aroused by a circulation in three years of more than three millions of the Liberation Society's publications, has not produced a corresponding increase in the sale of their books and pamphlets. The genuine demand for them may be measured by the receipts under this head, which for the four years under review amounted to 329*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* If we contrast this with the cost of authorship and editorship during the same period, viz. 1526*l.* 6*s.* 11*d.*, we may unhesitatingly infer that Liberationist literature would not be kept alive without ample endowment.

In the year 1883, in order to secure adequate support 'for Mr. Dillwyn's motion in favour of the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales,' it was determined at large conferences held at Swansea and Carnarvon to raise a special Welsh fund of 3000*l.*, the expenditure and contributions being spread over three years. The strenuous efforts resolved upon at these conferences resulted in promises of contributions to the amount of 1616*l.* 8*s.*, of which about 450*l.* was derived from Liverpool, Manchester, and London, and 1055*l.* was the offering of seven individual devotees, leaving the magnificent balance of 113*l.* as the special amount extracted, under the high pressure of an extraordinary emergency, from the stronghold of Nonconformity to disestablish and disendow 'an alien Church.' With this grand

grand result, it is not astonishing that the Report for 1885 does not call special attention to the fact, that the Welsh Special Fund, of which 1000*l.* have been paid, is included in the aggregate income already mentioned, and has gone the way of the exhausted legacy account.

We reasonably look for a very different state of things in Scotland. Here the vast wealth of many opponents of the Establishment, and the ardour with which the crusade has been prosecuted, warrant the expectation, that the sinews of the war would be supplied in no stinted measure. Such was evidently the assurance of the Liberationist leaders; and at a meeting held in Glasgow on January 15, 1884, the following resolution was adopted—a resolution described by Mr. Dick Peddie as 'the most eloquent speech on the subject of Disestablishment delivered for some time past'—namely, 'That a fund of 20,000*l.* be raised for the purpose of disseminating Liberationist literature throughout the land.' It is easy 'to call spirits from the vasty deep;' but to Hotspur's query, 'Will they come when you do call for them?' a correspondent of the 'Glasgow Herald' furnishes a pertinent reply:—

'Last year the Scottish Council expenses (including Secretary) absorbed 516*l.*, but the whole contributions from Scotland to the central Society's funds amounted to 460*l.* . . . this sum is the aggregate contribution of 885 Scotsmen, of whom no fewer than 177 are Dissenting ministers. If every fifth man who subscribes to the fund is a cleric, is the public not warranted in concluding the Disestablishment agitation is unpopular? Your great city contains about 80 devotees, whose united gifts to the Liberationist exchequer reach the magnificent sum of 60*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.*, twenty ministers being contributors: but we, "Athenians of the West," quite outstrip even Glasgow clerical zeal and liberality, for the Edinburgh contingent amounts to the handsome total of 36*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*, derived from 64 supporters, of whom almost every third man belongs to the clergy of the United Presbyterian Church. The flourishing town of Hawick gives but 1*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*, and 4 of the 8 subscribers are to be found in the ranks of Dissenting ministers. This is wearisome detail, so I shall content myself with but one other specimen of Christian liberality. The populous and rich group of boroughs, of whose political opinions Mr. Dick Peddie *was* the exponent, sends 3*l.* 15*s.* as the measure of their appreciation of the great principle which their late Parliamentary representative has, in season and out of season, taken a delight in enunciating.'—Quoted in the 'National Church' for October, 1885, p. 231.

We have no wish to give an undue value to the argument, which this analysis of the Liberation Society's subscription list suggests, but the line of reasoning is one on which they themselves

selves are wont to lay no little stress. 'The surest proof,' says Mr. Osborne Morgan, 'of the vitality of Dissent in Wales, is to be found in the sums which are yearly collected in support of their chapels.' The proposition is indubitable and incontrovertible, and we beg leave to add to it an unquestionable corollary. The Welsh Nonconformists give more than 300,000*l.* a year for the support of Dissenting institutions. We have not at hand statistics of the sums contributed in like manner by the Nonconformists of Scotland, but we are content to assess it at a like amount.* Take the total at 600,000*l.* and compare it with the meagre sum of 1000*l.* a year (even this paltry amount includes 282*l.* 10*s.* from the Welsh Special Fund), and you have the measure of the vitality of Liberationism in Wales and Scotland. The naked truth stands confessed. Welshmen and Scotchmen subscribe liberally for the support of their chapels, because they care for their fitting maintenance; they do not subscribe to the Liberation Society, because they are indifferent or opposed to its policy. No doubt there are staunch adherents of Liberationism in both these divisions of the United Kingdom, but, broadly stated, the agitation is foreign and fictitious. The figures amply confirm the results obtained by the house-to-house canvass through the Midlothian constituency.

There is no intentional discourtesy, as we pursue our enquiry into the alleged irresistibility of Liberationism, if we glance for a moment at its Council and Executive. We freely acknowledge the ability with which its cause has been hitherto conducted. While giving unrestrained expression to the indignation and disgust with which much of its past and present literature inspires us, we frankly admit that every argument which can promote its object is advanced, and every incident which can damage its opponents is seized upon with consummate adroitness and skill. It would be a fatal mistake, and it is one to which Churchmen are peculiarly liable, to disregard or underestimate the force of our assailants, because we recognize few names of eminence within their ranks. It is a characteristic of Democracy, which we shall do well to ponder, that a more widely extended franchise probably involves the transference of executive and legislative power from the most highly intellectual and widely cultured class to a distinctly lower stratum. 'La démocratie,' says M. Scherer, 'est vouée à la médiocrité.' 'I am very desirous,' says Sir H. S. Maine, in the able and interesting volume to which we have before referred—

* 'The Case for Disestablishment' puts it at considerably more than 350,000*l.* a year.

'I am

'I am very desirous of keeping aloof from questions disputed between the two great English parties, but it certainly seems to me that all over the continent of Europe, and to some extent in the United States, Parliaments are more and more liable to being peremptorily cut short, and the true springs of policy are more and more limited to clubs and associations, *deep below the level of the highest education and experience.*'—'Popular Government,' p. 38.

The dictation of the Caucus, the obtrusive and ostentatious interference of the Liberal Conferences before the introduction of the last Reform Bill, the absolutism of the National Land League in Ireland, and the recent action we have detailed of the Liberation Society nearer home, are all instances in point. Yet our only real danger is lest we should be lulled to a delusive security. The Liberation Society assuredly does not present a muster-roll which should cause the army of the National Church to cry for quarter.

It is no secret, that a close alliance has long existed between the Liberation Society and the Agricultural Labourers' Union. In a former article we pointed out that the 'English Labourers' Chronicle' reviled the country clergy in unmeasured terms; and in return the Liberation tracts bid the labourers ask themselves, 'What was your condition before Joseph Arch and others like him set themselves to improve it?' All the energies of an elaborate organization, all the arts of an unscrupulous chicanery, have been exhausted to gain over the rural voters. Promises utterly impossible of fulfilment, reckless assertion sown broadcast to discredit the country clergy, ingenious distortions of fact with just so much of truth in them as to make them tenfold the more deceiving, have been lavished through many country districts with unsparing profusion. To throw plenty of mud, in the hope that some of it will stick, has been the maxim and the policy of the Radical agitators. If in the full blaze of publicity Mr. Chamberlain has displayed a sublime disregard of facts, one can conceive the licence which his satellites would permit themselves in the obscure corner of a village fireside. In some districts the labourers have been advised to stay away from church, that more plausibility might be given to the assertion that she is not the Church of the poor. In other instances the suggestion of grievances, which human nature accepts and adopts too readily in every class alike, has been followed by a generous gift of Liberation leaflets for home use and distribution among the neighbours. Vague expectations of coming substantial benefit through the exercise of his vote has filled the mind of many a peasant, and has induced him to lend a credulous ear to the smooth-spoken and sympathetic

thetic stranger, who, after inquiring about the amount of his weekly wage, and solemnly writing down the names and ages of all the children, has departed with the significant hint, that untold but material benefit would follow quickly on the election of the Radical candidate. Meanwhile parson and squire alike have been supremely ignorant of what was going on close to their gates. Men who are conscious of a simple desire to do their duty, and are animated by a spirit of the frankest kindliness towards their neighbours—men whose lives have been spent in constant intercourse with agricultural labourers, and whose ungrudging charity has softened their trials—could not believe that calumnies, transparent as the light to any educated mind, would find credence amongst those whom they were ever ready to serve. It has been shown by M. de Tocqueville and others, that never were the French noblesse so devoted to the cause of charity, and so eager to relieve the sufferings of the peasantry, as they were at the period immediately preceding the Revolution. The condition of England presents a marked contrast to that of France in 1792; but the experience of the last few months abundantly illustrates the justice of the Bishop of Peterborough's declaration, 'That it is clearly our duty not to suffer judgment to go by default, and that we can no longer remain indifferent to attacks, in the belief that the best defence of the Church is her work.'

The Liberationists, on their side, have long ago been at work. In their Report for 1883 we read—

'No fewer than 3,077,677 publications have been distributed during the last three years, and they have been circulated over a wide area, and among all classes of the community. Special pains have been taken to place them in the hands of those who, by the extension of the county franchise, will, before long, be able to promote the Society's objects by their votes; *and advantage has been taken of the depressed condition of the rural districts to interest both farmers and labourers in changes which may have an important bearing on their future prospect.*'—'Report of the Society for Liberation,' &c., pp. 11, 12, 1883.

The hint thus conveyed is sufficiently significant, and the promise, we need hardly say, has been amply fulfilled. But the Report for 1885 contains a brief paragraph which is worthy of special attention—

'In view of the demand for publications which will be needed for the purposes of the approaching Election, the Society's stock of tracts and pamphlets has been largely increased. There have also been issued some special publications for the use of both candidates and electors, *as well as a set of leaflets specially written for the new voters* in

in the rural districts: where, more than in large industrial centres, the burden of the present ecclesiastical system has weighed heavily.'—'Society for Liberation,' &c., Annual Report for 1885, p. 8.

We naturally enquire with much curiosity into the methods of instruction employed by the Liberationists in these leaflets. They were avowedly acting, in the language deliberately reaffirmed in the year 1884, as men '*influenced by religious considerations, and constrained by a deep sense of obligation to Jesus Christ.*' They were putting forth special publications at a critical period in the history of their country for the guidance of a large class of their fellow-countrymen, whose peculiar position, it is well known, excluded them from the moderating influences which act upon an urban population. They were addressing a class flushed with the excitement of a newly-acquired franchise, and only too liable to indulge in visionary expectations, which it was cruel to kindle, and might be dangerous to disappoint. They were, from the necessities of their position, compelled to appear in hostility to men who were at the time, and would long continue under any circumstances to be, the neighbours, friends, and protectors of the labourers—men, too, from whom no diversity of political or ecclesiastical opinion could justify their opponents for withholding the admission that they had, as a class, fulfilled their duty as admirably as—we have heard many Nonconformists say more admirably than—any other section of the nation. Surely such conditions eminently required all the exercise of a well-balanced judgment and a watchful pen. Never was there an occasion upon which men 'influenced by religious considerations' were under more serious obligation to exhibit the self-restraint and gentleness of their Master. We can make all allowance for pardonable exultation in a party triumph, whose results they expected to be conclusively favourable to their long cherished projects; but they were avowedly educating their less-instructed fellow-countrymen in the exercise of a high and responsible duty, and they were unsparing in their denunciations of the clergy for alleged neglect of so important a part of their opportunities and obligations. That the burden of their teaching should be 'delenda est Carthago,' and that every leaflet should end with exhortations to Disestablishment and Disendowment, in all the energy of prominent type, was to be anticipated; but it was not too much to expect that some regard for courtesy and truth should be thought essential to accompany '*a deep sense of obligation to Jesus Christ.*'

It is in vain that the reader will look for these characteristics in the 'Leaflets for Electors.' We are persuaded that their absence was intentional; that the leaflets were designed to hold up the clergy

clergy to obloquy and contempt, and that they were purposely filled with such glaring misstatements as are only fairly characterized by the briefest and most odious of names. A few extracts from the series now lying before us will enable our readers to determine whether so serious an indictment can be substantiated.

'The Established Church is now on its trial. *It is brought up at the bar of public opinion to answer for its misdeeds;* and at the coming General Election a verdict will be given for or against it. You, the new electors, will practically have to decide what the verdict shall be. . . . *The tithes, by which he (the parson) is supported, were also meant in part for your benefit* . . . For nothing does the Church deserve a more severe condemnation than for its long neglect of you, and the helpless, hopeless misery in which it has allowed so many of your number to live, generation after generation. The Established Church is not alone to blame, *but to it belongs the chief discredit* . . . You hear a great deal of Church charities *now that the Church wants your votes.*'—'What has it done for you?—A Word to Agricultural Labourers.'

'One of the arguments often used in favour of the Established Church is that it is the poor man's friend in matters of education. *Is that true? No, certainly not.*'—'The Established Church and the Education of the People.'

'Churchmen call their schools "voluntary schools," as if they paid for them altogether out of their own pockets. In reality they are largely supported out of the taxes. In 1884 they cost the country no less than 1,418,242*l.*; and since 1839 *the Established Church has received* close upon *Twenty-Two millions of public money* for these so-called public schools.'—*Ibid.*

'The Established Church (in Wales) does not number more than *one in seven or eight of the population*, but it includes most of the gentry . . . For the benefit of the handful of well-to-do people, the Established Church is supported by public property *at a cost of Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds a year!* Is that just?'—'A Word to Electors on the Church Question.'

'The maintenance of the State Church divides and weakens the nation and is a hindrance to every good work.'—'How shall I Vote?'

'In many of the counties there are thousands of acres which the clergy have had assigned to them in exchange for tithes. *When the Disestablishment of the Church takes place all this land will come into the possession of the nation . . . As it was for the most part assigned to the clergy in lieu of tithes, which were meant in part for the benefit of the poor, the poor will have a just claim to such a settlement of the question as will dispose of the land to their advantage.* It is admitted that one of the best means of raising the position of the labourer would be a wide extension of the allotment system. *Why should not these lands be used for this purpose?* The question is one for the labourers themselves. They now have the vote, and can make their voices heard. *If they wish it, this great boon may be made one of the first*

first results of the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church.'—'Glebe Lands and Allotments.'

'A *wiser use of the tithes and glebe lands, for the benefit of the parish, will make up for the loss of a good many of the country clergy.*'—'Will the Parsons run away?'

'It is commonly supposed that tithes were meant merely for the support of the clergy; but this is a mistake. *In all the early rules and laws about tithes, it is clearly laid down that the poor were to have a share of the tithes, and as good a share as the clergy . . . Nobody seems exactly to know how or when the poor lost their legal claim* to a share of the Tithes . . . The first step towards getting back the tithes for the benefit of the poor is Disestablishment and Disendowment.'—'Tithes and the Poor.'

It seems superfluous to add to so choice a selection of quotations, or notice other leaflets designed to inflame the cupidity of the labourers by a detailed account of the income of the archbishops and richer sees derived, as they are reminded with unwearied reiteration, from public property—or filled with exhortations to take vengeance on the parsons for having withstood reforms, in which respect they are denounced as worse than the House of Lords—or which endeavour to prove that whatever Mr. Gladstone meant by saying that the clergy are *not* State paid, he really intended the exact reverse of what he stated. We cannot find space to answer Mr. Chamberlain's question in his speech at Glasgow, an extract from which adorns the series of 'Leaflets for Electors,' 'Whoever heard of a Nonconformist proprietor who evicted his tenant because he was an Established Churchman?' by replying that abundant instances could be supplied to prove, what a Cabinet Minister might have been expected to divine, namely that sectarian bigotry is not confined to one party, and that majorities, even in Birmingham, are apt to be tyrannical. But one short quotation, in the face of the outcry against the Tories for making support of the Church a test question, is too significant to be passed over.

'Let there be no mistake. To vote for a candidate who says that he will maintain the Established Church is to vote for downright Toryism.'—'The Toryism of the Established Church.'

We can pass by the direct falsehood, that the Church has not been the friend of the poor in the matter of education, as well as the insinuated or suggested falsehood, that the Established Church has received 20,000,000*l.* of public money for so-called public schools; a sentence penned, we doubt not, with a full knowledge that the Established Church as such had not received one

one farthing, but that the sum named had been paid through the hands of individuals for results fairly earned in schools established and maintained through the self-denial of Churchmen. We can leave in its well-merited contempt the dastardly insinuation, that the abundant charity of the country clergy is for the first time much heard of now that the labourers' votes are wanted. We can only afford space for a rapid exclamation of unqualified horror and disgust at the suggestion to the poor, from men "chiefly influenced by religious considerations," that a share in the tithes is worth a good deal of Christian teaching. Two other assertions require more detailed notice.

Nothing has so much inspired the minds of the agricultural labourers in several large districts with hostility to the Church and the clergy, as the assertion so constantly repeated in the leaflets, that the parsons have robbed the poor—to use their own expression, 'nobody knows exactly when or how'—of their legitimate share of the tithe. Those who sow broadcast such expressions upon tithe-owners or landowners would do well to ponder the serious admonition of a writer whose impartiality is beyond question.

'A revision of the original titles under which property is held, or an investigation of the sources from whence fortunes have been derived, would constitute one of the most monstrous enormities which the mind of man could devise in its moments of extravagance and delusion . . . Try to realize what such a régime would become at a season of political or religious crisis. In vain would definite rules of prudence, reserve, and moderation, have been enacted at the commencement (men always begin in this way); unbridled passions have rules of their own, and would know how to take advantage of the terrible weapon which had been placed in their hands. Presently, every rich man would rapidly be an object of suspicion, and every object of suspicion would rapidly be a criminal. What am I saying, every rich man? Every single person who possessed anything in the world.'—'L'Egalité, par le Comte Agenor de Gasparin,' pp. 196–7.

Such a warning might well make the Liberationists and their Radical allies, who of course only intend to investigate the titles of the parson and the landowner, pause in their hazardous undertaking, but it is worth while to investigate the matter more closely. The accusation is based upon an alleged tripartite division of tithes for maintaining the clergy, the poor, and the fabric of the Church, decreed by Pope Gelasius as far back as A.D. 492, and is supported by ridiculously inappropriate references to laws passed in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry VIII. It might not have been too much to expect that men 'influenced by religious considerations,' when constrained

to bring against the clergy so odious a charge as that of filching from the poor, should have mentioned that not only is the whole of the tithe rated for the relief of the poor, but that all other local charges, such as Highway and School Board rates, are levied on the same basis, with the result that the vicar, with or without his pony-chaise, often pays more highway rate than the squire, who can afford to keep many carriages and horses: an injustice which the late Mr. Fawcett recognized, and would have endeavoured to amend. Nor would it have been unreasonable to suppose, that those who receive the ample stipends paid for authorship and editorship of the Society's publications should have obtained the opinion of some acknowledged expert upon so recondite a point of antiquarian learning. How the matter really stands may be gathered from an important note added by Mr. Dibdin to his edition of 'Brewer's Endowments and Establishments of the Church,' and from the more elaborate discussion of the question in Mr. Morris Fuller's pamphlet. Canons Bright and Westcott, Professors Freeman and Montagu Burrows of Oxford, Kirkpatrick of Edinburgh, Dickson of Glasgow, and Stokes of Dublin, unanimously confirm the opinion of the Bishop of Chester, whose authority is unrivalled on a fact of English Ecclesiastical history, that 'the tripartite division never was adopted in England, and that the passages in support of it are either altogether unauthorized, or merely statements of an ideal state of law conformable to the uses of some foreign Churches.' When it is added that any or all of these 'opinions' would probably have been had for the asking, and further that the allegation itself is a *réchauffée* of a fabrication employed and exposed during the Church rate controversy, we cannot avoid the conclusion that the Liberation Society does not disdain to fight with poisoned weapons.

The second assertion, maintained in the 'Leaflets for Electors' and reiterated in the 'Radical Programme' and elsewhere with unwearied persistence, relates to the position of the Church in Wales. In a former number* we gave such a detailed exposure of Liberationist misstatements on this branch of the subject, as would justify the reader in regarding with suspicion any further statistics from the same quarter. For reckless audacity of assertion, the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State Patronage and Control is perhaps only surpassed by the author of the 'Radical Programme,' whose self-possession reaches the sublime or the contemptible in stating, 'The best opinion is that in Wales the National Church counts among its ad-

* See article on 'Aggressive Nonconformists' in the 'Quarterly Review,' Jan. 1879.

herents

herents *one in nine* of the nation.'* The 'Leaflet for Electors' allows the Church 'not more than one in seven or eight of the population.'

The whole question of the relative proportion of Churchmen and Dissenters in the Principality is one of great intricacy and difficulty in the absence of an authorized religious census. The numbers vary according to the character of the several districts, and the Church has had to labour under special disadvantages arising from the wide area and poverty of some parishes, and from the use of both the Welsh and English languages. In the South, a large mining and mineral population, wandering from place to place, as mines cease to be worked and new seams are discovered, aggravates the difficulty of making increased Church provision under a territorial magnate who has joined the Roman Communion. Despite such serious obstacles, the Church in Wales is steadily advancing. In the dioceses of Llandaff, of Bangor, and St. David's, every form of Church life displays growing activity and energy. At his primary Visitation, the Bishop of Llandaff was able to announce that the confirmations in the first two years of his episcopate exceeded those of the last three years of his predecessor by 1750. That between

'the month of May, 1883, and June, 1885, ten new Churches and two aisles, supplying accommodation for 4200 worshippers, and erected at a cost of 28,000*l.*, had been consecrated or licensed for Divine worship. During the same period twelve Mission and School Churches, containing 2500 sittings, and built at an outlay of 3000*l.*, have been opened. Five new Churches were in course of erection, which will supply accommodation for 2000 persons, of which the estimated cost is 15,000*l.* Lastly, six Churches have been re-opened after complete restoration during the above period, on which the outlay has exceeded 7000*l.*, making a total of 53,000*l.* expended on Churches built or restored during the last two years, and providing accommodation for 7200 worshippers.'—'Charge,' pp. 15, 16.

Cheering as these statistics are, there is yet almost overwhelming need for further Church extension; but we have every reason to believe that it will be supplied. In reply to an appeal for 50,000*l.*, issued in 1884, the Bishop of Llandaff's Fund has already received promises amounting to 23,200*l.* In the diocese of St. David's, church-building and restoration are proceeding with undiminished vigour. In that of Bangor, the poorest of the Welsh sees, nineteen additional clergy and seven lay readers, maintained by the Bangor Church Extension Society, are successfully working in districts hitherto beyond the reach of the Church's ordinary ministrations.

* 'Religious Equality.'

These indications of an advance by the Church along the whole line are hardly consistent with the dogmatic assertion of Liberationist orators, that the Welsh are 'a nation of Nonconformists.' On what vague and loose handling of unverified returns and arbitrary statistics the statement of the 'Radical Programme' on this subject is founded has been conclusively proved in the 'Letters to Liberationists,' by the Rev. Canon Bevan, whose forthcoming work on this question will serve to elucidate a problem still involved in much obscurity. How largely the Church has suffered from exaggeration may be gathered from the fact, that different bodies of Nonconformists recently claimed adherents in Anglesea, which exceeded in the aggregate the entire population of the island. The proportion of Conservative votes, which amounted to 67,508, as against 106,514 given to Liberal candidates at the late Election (and in this return not a single Conservative vote is claimed in the Rhondda, where the contest was between two Liberals), being in the ratio of twenty-three to thirty-six, suggests a very different estimate from that put forth in anti-State-Church documents. We do not claim for Churchmen all the votes cast for Conservatism. Many staunch Dissenters are opposed to Disestablishment, and the Irish vote is strong in certain districts. On the other hand, there are many Church-men in Wales who are Liberals; so that we may, perhaps, fairly claim a proportion of between a third and a fourth of the Welsh as ranged on the side of the Church.

This estimate, which only professes to approximate accuracy, is singularly confirmed by other and independent evidence. The number of candidates confirmed annually in the diocese of St. David's bears about the same proportion to the population as that in the diocese of London. The Education Report for 1881 states, that there are 731 school departments supported by Churchmen in the Principality out of a total of 1622, leaving 890 as the number maintained by School Boards and other denominations. From the Registrar-General's Report for 1883, we learn that in the Welsh counties (including Monmouthshire) 4150 marriages were solemnized at Church, 2918 at Nonconformist chapels, and 3870 at the Registry Office. A result which can hardly be regarded with complacency by those who hold that the most important step in early life should be consecrated by religious sanctions, but which is in startling contrast with the assertion, that the Church in Wales embraces only one-seventh of the population. Nor is the statement more trustworthy, although it has been repeated *usque ad nauseam*, that the Church in Wales is only the resort of the rich, the landowners, and

and the English, inasmuch as the proportion of Church communicants to the population is highest in the Welsh-speaking county of Cardigan. If we turn to the indications afforded by the Returns of Baptisms, these in like manner show the increasing influence which the Church is everywhere gaining. The Bishop of St. David's last 'Charge' records the remarkable fact that,

'In the three years ending December 31st, 1879, no less than 426 adults were admitted to the Church by baptism. In the last three years the number rose to 633. In other words, there has been an annual average of 211 instead of 142. I do not know of anything that can more distinctly mark the progress of the Church. In the Glamorganshire district the numbers rose from 46 to 77; while in Carmarthenshire and Pembrokeshire, counties in which the Baptist body is especially strong, the numbers rose from 278 to 397.'—p. 9.

The increase for the three years ending December 31st, 1882, in the total number of baptisms, is considerably more than proportionate to the increase of the population. And the same proportion holds good with regard to the increase in the number of communicants.

It is probably their acquaintance with the fact, that the Church is gaining ground rapidly both in Wales and in England, which makes her assailants so urgent in their attack. A few more years of grace, and her position, humanly speaking, will be effectually secured. Already her clergy have penetrated, and are rapidly leavening, the dense masses of the Metropolis and other huge cities with an energy and sympathy that are almost irresistible. Her defence is no longer confined to the clergy, or to laymen of high social standing. Working men are amongst her staunchest and her ablest advocates. Lay helpers are enrolled by thousands in her guilds and institutes. Church Missions, conducted upon lines of studied moderation, and sheltered by the care which a wide experience dictates, quicken the religious life of those within, and make converts through successful forays upon the godless mass without her fold. Sisterhoods and deaconesses devote their lives to the rescue of fallen women. Orphanages and convalescent homes, whose dimensions recal the grandeur of monastic days, shelter fatherless and feeble children. Every month some new method is conceived by her members for lessening the sum of human misery, and reclaiming the most hopeless classes to Christianity. One priest dons the clothes of a workman, and bears the terrible ribaldry of poor profane neglected boys; another, even with a tenderly nurtured, noble-hearted wife, does not shrink from a home in Seven Dials. Even schoolboys have caught the enthusiasm

enthusiasm for Church work, and the Universities and Public Schools Mission already supplies some twenty stations in London and the Provinces. God help the man who can turn over the pages of the 'Church Official Year Book,' and either assert she is not the Church of the poor, or attempt to cripple her in her arduous and blessed task!

To any such appeal the Liberationist has the prompt reply that all, or nearly all, such work as we have quoted, is the result of pure voluntaryism.

'The rapid changes,' says Mr. Guinness Rogers,* 'in the population have left the Church practically without endowments in wide districts of our large towns, and it is just in them that its energy is most conspicuous and its success most signal. . . . What has made the difference (between the Church to-day and its state in 1832)? Simply the revival of a spiritual earnestness in the Church, as shown in the activity of its Bishops, the self-devotion of numbers of its clergy, the zeal and liberality of its members. . . . It may be said that I am using the good work of the Church as an argument to justify its spoliation. By no means. I am simply pointing to it, as an answer to the gloomy predictions of the Bishops and their friends. Their one cry is that, if the Church be disendowed, it cannot continue its great work. *If this could be proved, it would be a serious matter indeed, for it would imply a want of faith and power on the part of the clergy and members of the Church, which would be a far more serious calamity than any with which it is threatened by external attack.* It is a libel upon the Church to throw out a suggestion which its own work is amply sufficient to confute.'

Despite a disclaimer, which we have no doubt is sincere, this line of argument does sound to us ungenerous. We are not dwelling in a world of miracle. Have Congregationalist efforts never failed for lack of funds, and if so, did failure always *imply a want of faith and power?* The matter under consideration is the *permanence* of work now carried on by the Church, in case she should be stripped of her endowments, and we ask, Have not scores of chapels been abandoned because the neighbourhood was too poor to maintain them?† Is it a libel upon Churchmen to fear lest, under like conditions, they might have to deplore similar disasters? Mr. Guinness Rogers does us too much honour. The fallacy lies in attributing to a single cause that which is really the resultant of two sets of forces. Church work in our large towns is the result of voluntary effort *aided by endowment*, and it is most important that the influence of the latter should be rightly and fully understood.

* 'Times,' October 26, 1885.

† The 'National Church' for October, 1855, contains a list of fourteen such abandoned chapels in Sheffield.

By

By grants from the common fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners made to the end of the year 1884, more than 5000 benefices have been augmented and endowed, either by annual payments, or capital sums expended in providing parsonages, or in the purchase of property annexed to the livings, amounting to about 718,000*l.* per annum. Benefactions to meet grants from the Commissioners have been made by private donors, equivalent in value to 4,410,000*l.*, producing a permanent increase of 147,000*l.* a year; besides which a sum of 26,000*l.* a year is set apart to meet a like amount from private benefactors, in order to supply curates for Mining Districts. We do not forget that the proposed plan of Disendowment would not confiscate that part of this augmentation, amounting to the 4,410,000*l.* which has been given by private benefactors, but the rest would no doubt be forfeited. The grants have been principally devoted to raising livings with a population of 4000 souls and upwards to a minimum income of 300*l.* a year. Now we ask, with these facts before them, 'have the Bishops and their friends' deserved Mr. Rogers's lofty-toned rebuke? Disendowment would affect, under this heading alone, 5000 of the poorest and most populous parishes. With the variety of objects that press for recognition and support, would the raising of 571,000*l.* a year be a trifling addition to the Church's burdens? No one asserts, that the Church would be extinguished by Disendowment, but it would be sorely crippled. Is not the light and airy manner in which Mr. Rogers and his followers dismiss all foreboding of loss only an illustration of the maxim, that 'it is easy to bear the misfortunes of one's friends'?

The scheme for Disestablishment and Disendowment set forth in the 'Radical Programme' has called forth the utmost indignation, and has probably done more than anything else to unmask the true character of the attack upon the Church. That its purpose is to break up the Church's organization, and to leave her, if possible, stripped, bleeding, and ruined, is sufficiently palpable; but it is significant of the easy indifference of most Churchmen, that although we called attention to these Practical Suggestions in the year 1879, and the scheme was presented by Dr. Croskey in the 'Fortnightly Review' in June 1877, it was not generally recognized, on its republication under Mr. Chamberlain's auspices, as the identical plan which had been so long before the world. That the Liberation Society has two voices, carefully attuned to their respective atmospheres, is transparently clear to those who compare our extracts from the 'Leaflets for Electors' with the honeyed phrases of Mr. Guinness

Guinness Rogers. The sweet reasonableness, the mild expostulation with the Episcopate, the sympathetic if somewhat condescending allowance for excited feeling on such a burning question, the flattering suggestion that Church earnestness and self-denial will more than compensate for any trifling loss arising from the resumption by the State of national property—all these betoken a master in the art of skilful persuasion, wherewith the writer would beguile us to aid in the happy and hasty despatch of 'an institution which at present drives a line of cleavage through all sections of society.' How far the Establishment of the Church is the true cause of cleavage we shall probably learn very shortly; but let us confine our attention for the moment to a strange incident in the recent conflict.

We learn from the 'Radical Programme' that the

'suggestions for Disestablishment were framed *with great care, and after deliberations that extended over three years.* Men of recognized eminence in various schools of thought and various walks of life took a part in the work. Politicians and divines, learned lawyers and hard-headed men of affairs, orthodox and heterodox, gave time and thought to the project. The result, of course, could be no more than a rough draft . . . but whenever the topics are discussed in a practical spirit, the disputants will, if they are wise, have these suggestions in their minds.'—'Religious Equality,' pp. 154, 5.

Now here is an elaborate scheme, drawn up after the enactment, and in full view of the provisions of Mr. Gladstone's Act for Disestablishing the Church in Ireland—drawn up with the avowed anticipation that the Church of England when Disestablished will form itself again into two or three or half-a-dozen communities—drawn up with ostentatious design to fulfil this genial prophecy, and to prevent, so far as lay in the power of the framers, the formation of a single corporate Church body—drawn up, in short, on conditions which, so far as its authors could secure them, should shatter (of course they could not utterly destroy it) the Church into innumerable fragments. The consequences of the suggestions had been clearly foreseen by its authors—possibly Mr. Guinness Rogers may have been one of them; they were the mature expression of three years' careful deliberation; they were the result of a very unusual combination of talent, political and theological, orthodox and heterodox; they had been elaborated with the pains, and adopted with the unanimity of a modern Church Council when formulating a new article of faith, and had been accepted without one murmur of remonstrance against the harshness of their proposals; and yet the whole scheme is abandoned on the first utterance of objection by Canon Curteis at the City Temple

Temple Conference. We are sorely puzzled. It is said that during the debate on the Irish Church Bill its promoters promised to deal liberally with the Church, if the principle were once conceded, and forgot their pledges as soon as their point was gained. It is said (but people will say anything) that the question of Disestablishment during the late Election was only to have been held out to the labourers, and withdrawn from the sight of the old electors. No greater delusion could be entertained, no snare more palpable could be spread, than the suggestion, that the Churchmen should concede the *principle* of Disestablishment as a bribe to secure better terms of Disendowment. Bishop Magee opportunely warns us that, if ever Disestablishment be carried out in this country, it will not be 'with a large regard to equity and liberality,' but on the lines of what is called justice to the nation, and *not* of generosity to the Church. It is curious to read that the Radical Programme of Disestablishment will appear to some *too tender*. Is it written the tender mercies of the Liberationists are cruel?

It has been observed by writers on political science, that pure Democracy is peculiarly liable to be influenced by broad generalizations and abstract theories. These are rapidly struck off by popular orators, and pass without suspicion or scrutiny as sterling coinage. The cause of their popularity is intelligible enough. They have a spurious scientific air. They save the trouble of careful thought, and such qualification of broad statement as is required upon accurate acquaintance with particular facts. They are readily retained in the memory. They pass current as maxims, and being regarded as unquestionable postulates in politics, they are assumed to lie outside the area of things which require to be proved. They not unfrequently pander to ignorant prejudice and class feeling, when their use, which is at all times enervating to the popular mind, becomes little less than a crime. Such, for example, was Mr. Chamberlain's assertion to an audience, naturally disposed to regard manual work as the only labour worth consideration, that Lord Salisbury, of all men in the world, belonged to that class to whom the description was applicable, 'they toil not, neither do they spin.' Such are very many of the generalizations with which 'The Case for Disestablishment' abounds, and which in a similar spirit it supports by appeals to the Democracy to take vengeance on the Establishment for its resistance to Reforms, whilst it strives to inflame passion by a resuscitation of abuses dead and buried half a century ago. We propose to examine some of these abstract theories.

The primary maxim of Liberationism is that, inasmuch as Establishment

Establishment confers privilege, 'it is incompatible with the principles of justice.'* The assertion recurs over and over again.

'For law to confer favour upon one part of the community, is to violate the fundamental principle of equality, and to be guilty of injustice in every other part.'—'The Case,' &c., pp. 21, 2.

'It is enough to insist upon the fact that inequality is only another name for injustice; and that the measure of the advantage on the one side is the exact measure of the injustice on the other.'—*Ibid.* p. 22.

Let us look at this maxim a little more closely, and see what it involves. The legal position of the Sovereign involves inequality sanctioned by law, and confers advantage of an exceptionally high order, which we need not stop to define; and on Liberationist principles, therefore, 'the measure of that advantage is the exact measure of its injustice.' The exclusion of certain incomes from income-tax, the closing of public-houses at stated hours, the limitations to the manufacture of explosives, are all inequalities created by law, and therefore on Liberationist principles essentially unjust. The privileges conferred upon the members of a representative body elected by the exercise of the widest conceivable suffrage, the necessarily exceptional position of administrators appointed through a similar machinery, and ultimately the authority of a prison officer or of a parish constable, are inequalities created by law, and therefore on Liberationist principles unjust. Of course we shall be told that we are trying to prejudice our adversaries' position, and that the members of the Society for the Liberation of Religion from State patronage and control are as loyal to the Crown as any of Her Majesty's subjects. We do not question it for a moment. But if a man with the most humane intentions handles loaded weapons carelessly, still more if he recklessly puts them into the hands of children, it is a plain duty to point out and remonstrate against such rashness. It is no idle logomachy to expose the ultimate consequences of such loose and sweeping propositions. The danger of their heedless dissemination is abundantly illustrated in France and Switzerland, where an ominous reference of important questions, not to the calm judgment of the Legislature, but to the popular vote of a *plébiscite*, or to the discriminating decision of '*les couches profondes*,' awakens the keenest apprehension of thoughtful and patriotic statesmen. We commend the following weighty extract from M. Scherer's pamphlet to consideration, in the light of the fact, that such broad statements as 'Justice requires that State Churches shall

* 'The Case,' &c., p. 21.

be

be abolished' are urged, again and again, in tracts circulated by millions amongst the least-educated class of the community.

'The result of our reflections is far from reassuring, for they amount to the assertion, that democracy pushed to its ultimate consequences is incompatible with the general welfare of a country, and that logic seems likely after all to become more and more the arbiter of the destinies of our fatherland. *We are being dragged in this direction by men who have on their side the force of simple ideas, abstract principles, and rigid reasoning*, and, we must acknowledge, that between them and ourselves the contest is not on even terms. It is to the masses that both they and we are obliged to address ourselves, and what influence can political reasoning exert upon bodies of men who lack the culture without which history is ignored and experience is despised? The only appeal is to their interests, and these only affect the mob when it is already suffering, that is to say, when there is only time for it to spring back hurriedly from anarchy to reaction.' —'La Démocratie et la France,' p. 21.

No doubt it will be said in reply that every general principle needs some modification in its application, and that practical men understand and admit these necessary qualifications, so that the existence of the Monarchy, the restrictions upon the exercise of the franchise, or the exceptional position assigned to those who administer the law, although actual violations of the maxims quoted, are either indispensable in themselves to the existence of society, or legitimate on the ground that they are for the welfare of the community. Granted. But then, what becomes of the clean-cut maxims of the Liberationist, that every inequality created by law is an injustice, and that State churches are indefensible on political grounds? You cannot have so much of an argument as serves your purpose and no more. It is our contention, that so much of inequality or of injustice as is involved in the union of Church and State, is incurred for the benefit of the whole community—a proposition which is fairly open to debate, which (like the other instances of inequality referred to) must be decided on grounds of political advantage or disadvantage, but which is not to be summarily disposed of by the sheer and mere force of an abstract theory.

We have said *so much* of inequality as is involved in the union of Church and State; for it requires searching analysis to determine its true amount and pressure. Leading Liberationists have been unwearied in asserting their right, which we do not challenge, to deal with Church questions, *because* every Englishman is *by law a member of the Church;* from whence it would seem to follow that the inequality complained of is not made by the law, but by the voluntary action of the individual. The rightful

rightful terms for living comprehension within a National Church, the broad principle of the advisability of having any National Church at all, the best method of selecting her overseers, the share which the laity should have in her councils, the desirability of retaining the Bishops in the House of Lords, are all fitting subjects for full and fair discussion; but it seems to us unworthy of such high themes to be eternally harping on the injustice, *because of the inequality*, displayed by the presence of Bishops in the Upper Chamber, or the presidency of the parson at a parish meeting. If the prelates of the Church enjoy the special privilege of a seat in the House of Lords, the entire body of her presbyters is subject to a special disability—not imposed on Nonconformist ministers—of exclusion from the House of Commons. If the Church, as established, possesses privileges which it is in the power of the State to concede or withhold, the State exercises through the Crown control over the Church, which wise men in past and present days believe to be of special advantage to the nation. The question of *inequality* is, however, paraded incessantly, and prejudiced with the unqualified assertion, that established Churches are hostile to liberty, and pointed with the triumphant apothegm of the Liberationist advocate, 'If there were no established Church, I should not be stigmatized as a Dissenter,' a remark which appears to us equivalent in worth and force to the statement that, if there were no such thing as marriage, there would be neither bachelors nor old maids. Have the writers of these general propositions no sense of proportion? Were there no acts of tyranny ever wrought by Nonconformists, no whipping of Quakers, no burning of witches? Ought the Church really to be disestablished and disendowed and dismembered, because it had the misfortune to disagree with Mr. Chamberlain's forefathers? We are not concerned to maintain any invidious privilege which does not confer a fully proportionate advantage upon the whole community. We are quite sure that the majority of the country clergy are supremely indifferent to the privilege of taking the chair at the levying of a poor-rate. But, in the name of common-sense and patriotism, let a question demanding all the highest qualifications of statesmanship be treated on broader and deeper grounds than the 'superhumanly tender and subtle' susceptibilities of new anti-Christian moralists and modern Liberationists.

The fallacies, which lurk behind general propositions, find abundant cover beneath the ambiguity of the phrase 'the Church of England as by law established,' and would require more space than we have at command to unearth and thoroughly hunt

hunt them down. Few subjects have been the topic of more plausible and ingenious theories, or the fertile source of more abstruse and contradictory arguments. The origin, the history, the purpose of establishment, have all been described in terms variously coloured by the political and ecclesiastical bias of their historians. The imputation that it is 'an Act of Parliament Church,' solemnly reiterated in 'The Case for Disestablishment,' presents a sonorous sound at public meetings, and by its union of a long word with an implied unpleasant meaning, produces much the same effect as O'Connell did on the fish-wife, whom he called 'a parallelogram.' The epithet is futile, when rightly understood as the common designation of everything, from monarchy to main drainage, whose conditions are regulated by law; it is false, when designed to connote a break, at a fixed period in English history, in the continuity of the Church of the present day with the Church, not merely as 'The Case' puts it, of pre-Reformation, but of much earlier times.

The history and effects of Establishment were traced by the late Professor Brewer, in his work on the 'Endowments and Establishment of the Church of England,' in the glowing style and with the sound learning of that accomplished historian; but for our immediate purpose we are content to quote the admirable note in which Mr. Dibdin, the editor of the second edition of Brewer's little book, has pithily and happily defined what is embraced in so wide a designation:—

'Establishment may be described as the national recognition of a particular form of religion, resulting from the relations of the State and the Church towards each other. Our view of these mutual relations must not be restricted by confining our attention to what happened at a particular time or by particular means. Establishment in any given country is the complex resultant of *all* the mutual dealings between Church and State, since both have existed in that country. It follows that it is not a fixed unalterable thing. It admits of indefinite variety of form. Establishment in Scotland is not the same as Establishment in England. The different Concordats between the European States and Rome are further instances of this variety. Even Establishment in England may be said to have altered from age to age, according to the shifting currents of public opinion, royal policy, and other things. Every resultant must change when the component forces which produce it are changed.

'Moreover, as Establishment is to a certain extent a word of varied import, so is Disestablishment, or the undoing of Establishment. It is, as it were, the readjustment of the component forces in such a way that the resultant becomes reversed. There are many things which have a tendency to Disestablishment, which alter the direction of the resultant,

resultant, and yet no one of them can be said by itself to produce Disestablishment. Although it seem paradoxical to say so, it may become almost impossible to discern the difference between Establishment and Disestablishment. We cannot, therefore, give to this word Establishment, in its broadest sense, any fixed meaning.

'All that we can do is to endeavour to set down in order the present features of Establishment, that is, the leading particulars of the mutual relations of Church and State in England as they exist to-day. Here, again, scientific completeness is unattainable. To indicate exhaustively the relations of Church and State would be very much the same thing as writing the History of England.'—'The Endowments,' &c., pp. 288–290.

It is quite impossible to deal with every misrepresentation in 'The Case for Disestablishment' and the Liberation Society's papers about the State-made and State-paid Church. The folly of building any argument upon the phrase 'established by law' is evident, if one considers that probably to no existing religious community could these words be so suitably and unexceptionably applied as in describing the now Disestablished Church of Ireland. The Church of England 'is not national, in the sense that it was ever by any formal act of the nation or its rulers *set up* in preference to any other religious body: it is not the State Church in the sense that it was called into being by the State.' If one were disposed to quibble about words, one might point to the manifest absurdity of insisting (see 'The Case,' &c., p. 47) that the Church was *founded* by the Legislature, which *re*formed it; or we might urge the incontrovertible truth, that every society, civil or religious, is established in proportion as its existence is recognized, its rules permitted or enforced, and its property protected by the law. It is, however, a singular anomaly, that in a day when the tendency of legislation is to become almost microscopic—when freedom of contract and right of settlement and tenure of lands and testamentary disposition of property are being brought within the range of projected enactment—when the education, the sobriety, and the morality of the nation, are occupying, more than at any former date, the attention of Parliament—it is an anomaly, that at this time of all others it should be proposed to dissociate, as far as positive statutes can do this, the national life from all concern with or control of the greatest of all remedial organizations.

We must notice one further assertion often put forth by Liberationists as a self-evident truism—an assertion which even Lord Rosebery deigned to earn cheap applause by repeating at Wrexham—viz. that 'the Church will be as strong as ever, as regards its spiritual functions, after it is disestablished.' It would

would be as true to say, that Lord Rosebery would be as strong as ever as regards his political functions, after he had been reduced to plain Mr. Primrose, and stripped of most of his fortune. The statement is altogether misleading. What is meant by the spiritual influence of the Church? Surely it is the sum-total of the spiritual influence of its individual members with the whole force of their entire position, temporal and ecclesiastical, mental and social, moral and religious. If it is meant that the spiritual influence of the Church would not be *pro tanto* lessened by an inferior social position, it is not true. Would Archbishop Tait have exercised his remarkable power in the Legislature and amongst the aristocracy, if he had not filled the historic and privileged position of the Primate of all England? If it is meant that the sphere outside the walls of Parliament, over which the Church's influence extends, would not be contracted, it is not true. The imperial influence of the Mother Church over its daughter Churches in the Colonies would be seriously impaired by Disestablishment and Disendowment, just as Lord Rosebery's weight of brain might be the same if he were a pauper, but his deserved influence would never have been gained. If it is meant only that the Church's mere abstract spiritual influence would be the same under altered conditions, it is not true; for the exercise of that influence under one set of conditions could afford no measure of its influence under another set of conditions, and the consciousness of exceptional responsibility has frequently elicited quite unforeseen faculties. Who can estimate how large a proportion of the extraordinary efforts put forth by the Church of late years —from the noble self-devotion of men like Bishop Walsham How, to the obscure but no less praiseworthy self-sacrifice of the Diocesan Missionary, spending the best years of his life in the slums of our crowded cities—are prompted by the responsibility of a privileged position which, God helping him, prelate and curate alike, is determined to justify and to maintain? Know ye not that Ramoth in Gilead is ours, and shall we be still, and not take it out of the hands of the socialist, the secularist, and the spoiler?

One of the most plausible arguments advanced in 'The Case for Disestablishment' is, that the test of experience is greatly in its favour, and the example of the United States is triumphantly quoted as *conclusive* on this head. The proofs afforded to the reader, in this volume, of this broad assertion are singularly meagre, and consist of (1) an extract from Bancroft's 'History of the United States,' written in the style of florid fustian, of which its author is a master; (2) a passage from a speech

speech of Mr. Bryce's at Liverpool, on his return from a trip across the Atlantic, whose main point was that all the Episcopalians *he met with* 'thought it better that all churches should be unestablished (whatever that may be) in America,' which is possible and yet not much to the point as to the desirability of Disestablishment in Great Britain; and (3) an illustration of some very tall talk indeed by Dr. H. M. Storrs, at a Meeting of the Congregational Union at Manchester in October 1881, in which we are informed, *inter alia*, 'that there were in 1880, 69,870 *Evangelical ordained ministers* in the United States, and that *one of every five of the population was a communicant*' (p. 143). Now when we consider that Spofford's 'American Almanack' gives 64,698 as the number of clergymen stated in the official returns of the Census for 1880, and that under this heading 6546 Catholic priests are included, we are tempted to suppose that the number of ordained Evangelical ministers has been overstated by about 12,000. If we farther add that the Roman Catholics, who claim to have 6,882,954 adherents in the United States, which is nearly one-seventh of the entire population, do not make any return of the number of their communicants; we may be pardoned for entertaining serious doubts whether Dr. Storr's figures are trustworthy.

But we have evidence of much more positive character, which entirely discredits these random assertions. The author of 'Tom Brown's School Days' is not exactly a bigoted Tory, and he is the promoter of some rather wild suggestions for Church reform, such as the opening of parish churches for Nonconformist services, but his exposure of the results of pure voluntaryism in America may be commended to the author of 'The Case for Disestablishment.'

'With more places of public worship in proportion to numbers than England, there is far more spiritual destitution and neglect than with us. The number of churches to which no minister is attached is very large. *In the Report of the American Tract Society two years ago it was put down at* 12,000. The proportion of persons belonging to no religious community is even larger. It was stated in the same Report, "that from eight to ten millions are unreached by the ordinary means of grace," whilst not more than one-sixth even profess to be members of any Christian Church.'

Nor does Mr. Hughes leave us in any uncertainty about the conclusion to which a careful study of the question in the United States has led him.

'I have dwelt on these matters because the argument from the religious condition of America is the strongest shaft in the Liberationist quiver. It was certainly the one which weighed most with me

me until I had been in the country, *and had done my best to learn the opinions of the ablest and most thoughtful Americans themselves.* Having done so, I can find nothing in their half-century experiment of the voluntary system to make me wish that England should follow it.'—'Our Old Church, what shall we do with it?' pp. 118, 138.

Even if it could have been conclusively proved that pure voluntaryism was entirely successful in 'the Paradise of Free Churches,' it would not follow that it was desirable to adopt it here. The circumstances of the two countries of England and the United States, and even those of Great and Greater Britain, differ so materially, that a policy which was practicable in the one state might be most disastrous in the other. But further testimony is not wanting to show that pure voluntaryism is not the unqualified success which its advocates vaunt so loudly. So far is the evidence which the United States furnishes from being full and complete in favour of free religion, that we learn it fails in exactly the same particulars as those in which its weakness is most palpable at home, and its condition adds all the weight of 'experience' to the apprehensions we feel about the probable results of Disestablishment. A remarkable letter in the 'Spectator' of last November 28th, reveals a mournful condition of things both in the United States and in Canada:—

'It is customary (says the writer) for advocates of Disestablishment to take the flourishing condition of American and Colonial churches for granted. . . . I have lived many years in America and Canada, and can assure you these *couleur-de-rose* impressions are mistaken. . . . Large country districts are well known to be relapsing into heathenism, because the people cannot, or will not, pay for the maintenance of Christianity: and even in the cities those costly temples, which challenge the stranger's admiration, are in most cases not paid for, and frequently come under the auctioneer's hammer, after a long series of shifts and struggles to pay the interest upon the builder's mortgages. . . . People wash their dirty linen at home, and such facts as the above are not thrust upon distinguished English visitors, but they are perfectly well known to the public. I may add that the assumption of social and ecclesiastical superiority is in full blast in these parts: being quite as haughtily practised by Episcopalians, and quite as grudgingly conceded by Nonconformists, as in any part of England I have ever visited.'

From internal evidence it is obvious that the writer of this letter is not himself a 'haughty' Episcopalian, and we are therefore the more impressed by his strong affirmation, that the absence of a State Church does not remove that social and religious rivalry, the blame of which is so unceasingly laid at her door. Singularly enough, corroborative testimony has been

 contemporaneously

contemporaneously afforded on this point from an independent and trustworthy source. A series of papers on 'the Evangelization of our Cities,' has been started in the October and November number of the 'Homiletic (American) Review,' by Dr. G. F. Pentecost, of Brooklyn.

'Few ministers (the editor affirms) know the moral and spiritual condition of our chief cities better than Dr. Pentecost. He spares in this series of papers no branch of the Church or portions of the ministry, but makes a fearful general arraignment, which, alas! we fear is too true.'

We are prepared to make some deductions from the portrait drawn with so unsparing a hand; but the picture is utterly irreconcilable with the fancy sketches of English Liberationists. Denominational ambition is declared to be wholly bent on securing a footing for the cause of its own particular sects in places, which already possess more than sufficient church or chapel accommodation for the entire community. Side by side with persistent neglect of masses in the large cities, such as Brooklyn and New York, where there are tens of thousands for whom no efforts of an aggressive kind are being made, or where at most a Mission Sunday School and a Bible woman are provided, Denominational rivalry is absorbing much of the thought and energy that should be devoted to purely spiritual aims, and carried to the point of refusing to take part in Mission work when it is at too great a distance 'to benefit our Church.' What are we to think of the *crambe repetita*, that it is the maintenance of the State Church which is the perpetual source of discord and strife, when we learn from this American Congregationalist that in his country, where no such root of bitterness exists, rivalry and jealousy crop out most frequently at the very moment, when, under the sense of a special solemn effort to evangelize the masses who lie beyond the pale of all professing Churches, these antagonisms are hushed for a while amongst ourselves, and Churchman and Dissenter forget their differences in a common effort to bring in the wanderers? The Doctor's statements on this point are terribly and mournfully explicit.

'*This rivalry and jealousy crop out most frequently in any projected union movements for Evangelistic work.* I have known a work of most abundant promise checked, hindered, and finally overthrown by this spirit. The pastor of a great Methodist church in one of the large Western cities refused to come into a union movement on the ground that converts in union meetings never made good Methodists. In another city, two pastors, each having large and important churches —one a Congregationalist and one a Presbyterian—who were the best of friends, and who both united in bringing about the meeting, quarrelled

quarrelled bitterly because each suspected the other of an undue zeal in housing the converts, of whom there were hundreds.'

It seems almost like trifling, after these definite statements from such responsible witnesses as Dr. Pentecost and the American Tract Society, to dwell at any length upon the evidence adduced in 'The Case for Disestablishment.' One witness they bring forward we had overlooked, viz. Bishop Coxe, of Western New York; but, as it is admitted that 'he deprecates Disestablishment in England,' the Liberationists must be in sore straits before they could regard him as a valuable ally. Mr. Bancroft must, we think, have dipped a quill of the spread eagle in Irish ink before he composed the following sentence quoted in 'The Case:'

'In Virginia, where alone there was an arduous struggle, the measure (for Abolition) was carried *by the activity of Jefferson*, in an assembly of which the majority were Protestant Episcopalians. The determination to leave Truth to her own strength, and religious worship to the conscience and voluntary act of the worshipper, was *the natural outflow* of religious feeling.'

The combination thus presented of Jefferson assisting at an unaided birth is quite beyond our comprehension.

There is need for great caution in relying upon any asserted test of experience. The varying condition of newly formed States, or the peculiar circumstances of older ones, may vitiate the truth of any analogy, drawn from Disestablishment in the Colonies or in Ireland, to its probable effects in Great Britain. It requires a skilful diagnosis in the treatment of the body politic to determine the exact character of the disease, and the wisest method of treatment, as well as to distinguish between the specific action of the remedies employed and the effects which really spring from other causes. Many acknowledged improvements in the condition of the Irish Church, for which Disestablishment is often credited, are due, in the opinion of thoughtful judges, to quite independent causes. The wave of improved Church feeling was late in reaching the sister island; but it certainly was felt there, and would have wrought some of the changes which we gladly recognize. Fifteen years are but a brief period in the history of a Church, but we enquire vainly as yet for any symptom of improved relations between the several religious communities. The increased alienation of the Roman Catholics is notorious, and the Presbyterians writhe under the precedence of two superior ranks of hierarchy in the place of one.

We should, however, be ready, did the space at our command

allow, to follow out more fully our enquiry into the real teaching of *experience*, on which 'The Case of Disestablishment' so properly insists. We must commend our readers to Mr. Moore's 'The Dead Hand in Free Churches of Dissent' for an effective exposure of the boasted superiority in freedom or spirituality of the Nonconformist communities. We are not ignorant of, nor insensible to, the need of greater liberty for the Church, that she may adapt herself to the changed conditions of the time; and we confidently look for the concession of this liberty as the results of the increased interest of the laity in Church questions which recent events have kindled. But gold may be bought too dearly, and submission for a time to some of the inconveniences of State control is preferable to hasty and ill-considered legislation:—

'All changes,' says a thoughtful writer, 'should be made in England slowly and after long discussion. Public opinion should be permitted to ripen upon them. And the reason is, that all the important English institutions are the relics of a long past; that they have undergone many transformations; that, like old houses which have been altered many times, they are full both of conveniences and inconveniences, which at first sight would not be imagined. Very often a rash alterer would pull down the very part which makes them habitable, to cure a minor evil or improve a defective outline.' —W. Bagehot, 'Literary Remains,' vol. ii. p. 438.

Before taking leave of this part of our subject, we pause to enquire what is the true character of the freedom which is so urgently pressed upon our acceptance. Familiarity with Liberationist phraseology calms our rising irritation at the air of superiority, with which we are exhorted to cast off our chains, and in the same breath are genially reminded that 'Disendowment is necessarily involved in Disestablishment.' 'The Case for Disestablishment' becomes hysterical in its description of the advantage which will compensate the Church for the forfeiture of its 'enormous revenues.' We reproduce the sentence with typographical accuracy:—

'The gain which the Church of England will derive from Disestablishment may be summed up in a single word; but it is a word of immense significance. It will gain—Liberty! At present the Church of England is bound hand and foot, and practically can do nothing for itself.'—p. 135.

Some people would be bold enough to assert that the Church's asserted bondage is largely theoretical, and that *practically* she contrives to do a good deal for herself. But however serious our disadvantages, it is surely wise to learn, if possible, what is the

the true character of the liberty enjoyed by the unestablished religious communities, this being the liberty we are invited to purchase at so considerable a cost. The testimony of one or two unexceptionable witnesses (and they might be multiplied tenfold) will suffice to settle this question. Let us take first the evidence of a highly respected Congregationalist minister, the late Rev. Baldwin Brown, in a letter to the 'Nonconformist,' dated March 24, 1881:—

'Let us for very shame have done with the tone of lofty superiority which we are so fond of assuming with regard to creed-bound Churches. *We are ourselves more miserably bound than any of them.* They at least have ancient creeds, and are judged with some relation to the development of Christian thought. But ours is arranged for us apparently by the Committee of a Society, with the aid of an unofficial circular to a few ministers and laymen, and it will be dealt with according to the strictest letter should it ever be brought into Court.'

The Rev. G. Vance Smith writes in similar terms:—

'A minister, who deviates even a little in his ministrations from the Trust conditions, may be expelled from his pulpit by process of law. Nothing worse can happen to a clergyman; it is clear, therefore, that the Nonconformist who is under such trammels, exposed, we may say, to the theological dictation of a body of chapel builders, or a Chapel Committee of perhaps ill-informed persons, is in no way exempt from "control" of a galling and offensive kind—certainly no more exempt than the clergyman who is answerable to his Bishop and the Law Courts.'—'The Church Defence Institution, Smaller Handy Volume,' pp. 73, 74.

These and other complaints were elicited by the well-known case of Jones *v.* Stannard, in which Vice-Chancellor Hall decided that the minister of an Independent Chapel at Huddersfield must either alter his teaching in conformity with the Trust-deed, or resign his pastorate. The judgment produced a panic among the Free Churches, in which it is said that 2000 chapels are held under trust-deeds that are practically obsolete. The freedom of the 2000 pastors ministering under such conditions may be easily conceived. Nor is the difficulty thus arising from State control confined, as the 'Liberator'* asserts, to a strict fulfilment of contracts in the use of property. The Courts will interfere in the internal discipline of a religious community, and assign damages to any member who can establish that he has been socially aggrieved by his excommunication.

Let it be clearly understood, that we are not insisting that

* For December 1, 1885, p. 197.

State

State control, either in theory or practice, is identical in the Church of England and the free communities; nor are we disguising the fact, that greater freedom may be fairly demanded by the Church. But just laws are the guardians and protectors of freedom, and if competent and reluctant Nonconformists, such as the late Rev. Paxton Hood, are to be believed, the little finger of 'some arrogant and ignorant deacon' is often thicker than the whole loins of State control.

A curious illustration of the mode in which common failings, to which poor fallen humanity is liable, are set down to the malign influence of 'Establishment,' falls under our eye as we are writing. In the December number of 'The Liberator' two articles appear side by side, on the same page (197), in parallel columns. One, entitled 'Wesleyans and Disestablishment,' attributes the alienation of the Methodists from the Church to the arrogance of the clergy. The other quotes, with high approval, two sermons by a Rev. H. Batchelor, of Newcastle, upon 'The Bishops on Disestablishment,' and cites the following passage:—

> 'It has been our vocation to create a sound Christian opinion on this matter, by an appeal to the nature of the Christian religion and to the sense of righteousness in our fellow-citizens. *The Bishops are, of course, in opposition* . . . Do not imagine that the Bishops are either better or worse than the average of Christian Englishmen. If we lived and breathed in the midst of their prejudices and interests, their associations and circumstances, we should, *as a rule*, think and feel and act after their manner.'

The humility of this is inimitable. We are unhappily left in perplexing doubt whether the writer, under the conditions described, would have acted like the wicked Bishops, who are *of course* in opposition to the Christian religion and the sense of righteousness. No matter; it is inconceivable that Mr. Batchelor should, under any imaginable circumstances, have sunk to the level, shall we say of Bishop Lightfoot? Verily 'the world knows little of its greatest men.' Of course it would not be worth while turning aside for a moment to notice such sublime impertinence. In itself it is as harmless as it is contemptible. The mournful fact is, that it should be quoted with approval by the organ of a powerful political association.

The bearing of Disestablishment upon the quantity, and still more the quality, of the supply of clergy is one of the most essential of the issues at stake. It is impossible to exaggerate its importance in view of the general education now required by the State. It is useless to expend millions upon the erection of churches

churches and chapels unless well-furnished competent men can be found to minister in them.

In a former article* we supplied statistics to show how forcibly the Congregational and Baptist communities warn us of the dangers to which unendowed religious bodies are exposed, and a comparison of the figures then given with the most recent returns only bring out the facts into yet stronger significance. It should be borne in mind that these two Societies comprise 725,614, out of a total of 1,667,407 members belonging to the principal Nonconformist denominations. In the 'Congregational Year Book' for 1885, we find a repetition of the story of pastors without chapels, and chapels without pastors; there being 582 shepherds without sheep, and 357 flocks without shepherds; whilst 535 more are committed to the guidance of youthful students, or lay Evangelists. Thus there is a total of 892 out of 2803 churches in a position which must be painfully unsatisfactory to a community that has been honourably distinguished for its efforts to maintain a settled and educated ministry. These figures are independent of 971 stations which serve as Mission Chapels, and of whose pastoral superintendence no record is given. The 'Year Book' shows a net decrease of 65 ministers during the year. We turn to the Baptist 'Hand Book,' and find a like condition of things. There are 487 ministers without and 1908 ministers with pastoral charges for 3909 chapels; and it is noteworthy that, whilst the number of chapels has increased from 3321 in 1874, to 3909 in 1884, the number of pastors in charge has declined during the same period from 1916 at the former to 1908 at the latter date. In other words, there are 8 less pastors for nearly 600 more chapels. The summary of statistics of Baptist churches throughout the world presents the following grand totals for 1882; namely, churches, 31,296, and pastors or missionaries, 19,888, being nearly 12,000 churches (again not including smaller stations) which are destitute of a settled ministry.

We do not, for one moment, believe that the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church would result in producing a like state of things within her fold; but when we remember the zeal, the ability, and the wealth of these great and powerful organizations, they may well 'give us pause' before we exchange our golden armour for the leathern suit the Liberationists proffer us. The Bishop of Rochester estimates that in his diocese many parishes will be placed in a precarious position. His words are ominous and weighty.

* 'Aggressive Nonconformity,' *ut supra.*

'I have personal knowledge of what I write. Of small rural parishes in Kent and Surrey, I cannot see how, in at least thirty-three, the Church could continue to be maintained. Some would say, many more. In one important but difficult parish outside South London proper, I should be very anxious about at least seven. In South London let the very localities speak for themselves. Deptford, Battersea, Camberwell, Kennington, Lambeth, Newington, Southwark, Bermondsey, Rotherhithe, represent parishes in most of which pew rents are a simple impossibility, offertories barely suffice for Church expenses, endowment mainly comes from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, and the stipends of fifty-six curates are now supplied. With Disestablishment, "Paganism" would soon recover its ancient and sinister significance.'

Even supposing that no single church were abandoned, the altered condition of the Church would seriously affect the quality of the supply of a disendowed clergy. Of course this consideration will be worthless in the eyes of those whose most exquisite enjoyment is to sneer at the notion of a gentleman in every parish; but men who understand the value of having culture and ability enlisted on the side of Christianity; who know the importance of breadth of view and largeness of thought; who hold that there are higher qualifications (personal piety being presupposed) for the Christian clergy than a popular manner and a ready utterance, and a restless activity; who are not vulgarized in spirit through ceaseless effort for popular applause, and enfeebled in principle through perpetual self-adaptation to the supposed current of the hour; such men will weigh and ponder 'the experience' afforded only a few weeks back by so capable a judge as the Bishop of Derry. 'The average of livings in this diocese is unhappily low. The men of great ability and learning who came to it at other times must soon pass away. If the diocese is not to deteriorate and to fall under one of the worst curses, that of mediocrity, there must be honest recognition of honest work honestly done in the diocese.' It is easy to talk about spiritual power being the same in an unendowed as in an endowed Church; but (to use Bishop Alexander's words), like the Irish Church system of patronage, 'it is just a little too good for this evil world.' To apply a practical test. The Nonconformists are justly proud that since their admission to the Universities a very large proportion of senior wranglers have been sons of Dissenting parents; we should like to know how many of them, brought up in the spiritual atmosphere of Dissent, have entered the Nonconformist ministry. Nor is it merely that an Established Church attracts learning and ability, but its comprehensiveness,

siveness, through the mutual action and reaction of varied minds, softens and sweetens its influence. It is with no lofty self-complacency that we contrast the narrow groove in which the Nonconformist ministers and Ultramontane priests—there are of course some splendid exceptions in both classes—for the most part, are working, with the variety of thought and conviction to be seen in the Church clergy. Hardly any price is too high to pay for such a result in its action upon the mind and conscience of the nation.

We are sanguine that the Church will derive incalculable benefit from the recent assault upon her, if only it has effectually roused the laity to persistent and continued interest in her behalf. It is, we hold, the duty of the laity to defend the temporalities of the Church. It is the duty of all Churchmen to explain to their fellow-men the nature of Church property, and the only true sense in which its possessions can be described as national, namely, that they are held by the nation in trust for certain definite objects, and that it would be an outrage upon moral right to confiscate them, provided that the objects of the trust are legitimate, and the funds are properly administered. The great mass of English people, of whatever class, are open to fair, candid argument, and can well appreciate the powerful reasoning which could be employed to show that, apart from the moral question of right and wrong, they would in all probability suffer materially by Disendowment. But it must not be forgotten that we have to recover lost ground; that sixteen millions of Liberationist tracts have not been scattered broadcast, and too often left unanswered, without producing a large and intended result of misconception; and that no effort has been spared to inspire distrust in the teaching of the clergy upon points on which it is commonly, though erroneously, believed that they are blinded by self-interest. It is high time for calm, persevering, unremitting action. Judgment must not be allowed to go by default. But we most earnestly counsel an avoidance of all display of bitterness or irritation. Uneducated men, who cannot perhaps rightly estimate the force of a complicated argument, can detect with unerring acuteness the temper of the advocate, and eventually that side which displays most of the Divine spirit will gain the most lasting victory. A careful reconnoitring of the opposing forces shows that their line is thin, and the thunder of their artillery largely in excess of its weight. If ever the Church of England's position be carried, it will not be because the assault was irresistible, but because its ramparts had been neglected, and its defence was craven.

It was with a true instinct that in the power of religion M. de Tocqueville discerned the required counterpoise to the weakness of Democracy; and we have often been amazed that able and religious Nonconformists, at once ardent advocates for popular government and eager for the extension of Christianity, have not recognized the unique advantage offered by the union of Church and State to religious English Liberalism. It is not too much to say that the Church might serve, for a practically republican State such as ours has become, the same purpose as the bands of stone which bind together the loose mass of Monte Cervin, and enable it to resist the ravages of time. No other institution, to apply the test of experience, has been able so harmoniously to blend the claims of authority with the exercise of individual liberty. No other has presented in grander outline or richer detail the grand Christian ideal of the only freedom which can safely be left without restraint, because it has learned the hard lesson of self-control. But all thought of moulding the greatest of our national institutions for the national welfare has been smothered by the adoption of an abstract theory hostile to the union of Church and State. We question whether the mischief of such abstractions was ever exhibited in a more glaring light. It has resulted in the strange spectacle of a large body of men, 'animated by a Christian spirit,' in open league with avowed Atheists and Socialists against what we are bold to affirm, with all her faults, is the noblest Church in Christendom—the strange spectacle of men denouncing as unholy the union of Church and State, and attempting forcibly to dissolve it by a union of Dissent and Atheism. Nor is the moral less clearly written for those who have eyes to read it. The history of the struggle shows the gradual approximation to socialism of men who, under the fatal influence of a perverse theory, advocate the alienation of Church property to secular uses, and whet the appetite of the poor for Church estates and tithes. Taught by the experience of Ireland and by the voice of common-sense, we should be not merely foolish, but criminal, if we did not listen to the eloquent words of the prelate we have already quoted—

'Resist to the utmost; not because you fear your Church will die, but because you know your country will suffer. So far as we can judge from the Irish experiment, the disendowment of a Church is the scramble before the disendowment of property, and the disestablishment of a Church means the disestablishment of Society.'

ART. II.—1. *The Poem of the Cid.* A Translation from the Spanish. With Introduction and Notes by John Ormsby, Author of 'Autumn Rambles in North Africa.' London, 1879.

2. *The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote de la Mancha.* By Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. A Translation, with Introduction and Notes, by John Ormsby, Translator of the Poem of 'The Cid.' 4 vols. London, 1885.

SPANISH literature is for the most part a closed province to English readers. Lockhart's Ballads are read and admired, but scarcely one of us is able to compare them with the originals. There is an excellent history of Spanish literature in the English language, but it was the work of the American Ticknor; and there are few signs that Ticknor's work has been generally studied among us, while the great Spanish writers themselves remain out of reach in a tongue which no one learns. We are informed that at the Universities there is a difficulty in finding persons capable of setting papers in Spanish. With Spanish history there is the same ignorance and the same indifference to it. The Spaniards in the sixteenth century were distinctly the foremost nation in Europe. They divided the New World with England; they were the armed soldiers of the Papacy, and between them and the Teutonic races the great battle was fought out which was to determine the future of the Old. Yet for authentic information of what those champions of the old faith really were, we are again driven (if we wish to read about them in our own language) to Americans —to Washington Irving, to Prescott, and to Motley. Stirling Maxwell gave us an admirable monograph on the cloister life of Charles V. He left behind him two bulky volumes on Don John of Austria, which unfortunately he did not live to edit and abridge. For further information we have to fall back on Protestant tradition, which we can as well trust as we can trust Catholic tradition for a true account of Luther or Queen Elizabeth. We see the history of Spain through the smoke of the Quemadero. Charles and Philip II. stand before us as the defeated enemies of light and humanity, who filled Europe with blood in a bad cause, and ruined Spain itself in ineffectual efforts to turn back the stream of progress. The wildest legends, which were engendered naturally enough in a time of deadly conflict, have passed into accredited facts. Even Gibbon could believe and repeat that a hundred thousand Netherlanders were put to death under the edicts of Charles V., which is about as true as the story once believed in England, that two million aristocrats had been

been guillotined, or drowned, or shot, in the Reign of Terror. It has been proved sufficiently that Philip murdered neither his wife nor his son, and that Don Carlos, over whom so much sentiment has been wasted, was a dangerous maniac. Yet Philip remains painted as black before our imagination as he was left by the manifesto of the Prince of Orange. The Spanish princes, and the Spanish statesmen and generals, were in point of morals probably neither worse nor better than most of their contemporaries. They committed or they sanctioned acts which we condemn as crimes; but they were acts into which, in the agony of a desperate struggle, men not otherwise wicked have been driven in other countries besides Spain. Their sin was that, in the crisis which had come upon Europe, they preferred to stand in the old ways, and were unable to discover that forms of belief, which had hitherto been universally regarded as criminal in the highest degree, had suddenly become innocent. Human progress, as it is called, is always a mean between the two constants of innovation and conservatism, new conceptions of truth, and the tried wisdom of experience. Our minds are so constructed, that part of us takes one side and part the other. But each has reasons for its opinions, and when their actions are looked back upon in cool blood, it is possible to sympathize with both. The Spaniards of the sixteenth century believed the Lutheran insurrection to be a revolt, which they were bound to resist, against the divinely constituted government of the world. We Protestants believe them to have been mistaken, but they were not necessarily either fools or villains. And the wisest of them, could they come alive again and could witness the spiritual disintegration into which the Reformation has developed, might even now feel uncertain whether they had not been fighting on the right side.

At any rate, we can understand neither man nor nation of men till we have tried to put ourselves in their position, and have ceased to disdain or quarrel with them because their thoughts were not our thoughts, and their conception of duty not our conception of duty. The history of Europe will remain indistinct till progress has done justice to its greatest opponents, and has learnt what the Spaniards, of whom it has written and spoken so bitterly, really were. Here in England everything has conspired to obstruct our perception. The story of the struggle with Spain for the New World is our nearest approach to a national epic. The victory over the Armada is the most glorious of our naval triumphs. The decay of Spanish greatness and the imperial development of Great Britain have seemed like a providential retribution for the parts which we played respectively

respectively at the Reformation; and the irony of Fate was never more signal than when in the Peninsular War we had to deliver our old rival from the armies of Napoleon. What we once feared, we learnt to despise. Mr. Ford's handbook is the most amusing and most faithful of travellers' records. The Spaniards, high and low, are photographed there as Mr. Ford knew them. But he leaves the past more unintelligible than ever. The noblest organisms are, in dissolution, as unbeautiful as the meanest, and the incongruity between the present Spain of impotent vain-glory and the Spain of Cortez and the Duke of Alva is as ridiculous, as the reality is mean and pitiable. But the elements are still scattered everywhere of something which was once grand and heroic. The Spain that was, can be discovered still in its literature; the Spain which gave its life-blood to preserve what could not be preserved—the supremacy in Europe of the Catholic Church. She failed, but she did not fail ignobly. Institutions, creeds, orders, organizations, empires, have their day, and then pass away. All things which have life carry in them the elements of dissolution. When their work is done, and they are no more needed, they die. But the end is not certain till it comes. Those who resist change are as noble in their motives as those who push it forward. Each does its best, according to its conviction, and Providence, or organic development, if we prefer to call it so, turns the balance this way or that.

Spanish literature, as a key to the history of Europe, is far more valuable than Italian. In pity to the overburdened competitors for Civil Service appointments, we will not press its claims on schools and colleges; but serious students, it is to be hoped, will before long turn more of their attention in that direction than they have hitherto felt inclination to give. Meanwhile to the general neglect there has been one signal exception. Lope de Vega and Calderon may be unread, but 'Don Quixote,' from the moment of its birth, has been the favourite of Europe. Though it is intensely Spanish, the human interest of it has been too strong for prejudice. The charm of it, though half lost in translations, is so great, that every European language has made it its own. When the political and religious fury was at its highest, and to Protestant countries Spain was the living servant of Satan, the Knight of La Mancha was nowhere welcomed more warmly than in England. The first part of the story was translated into English by Shelton before the second part was written. Germany, France, and Italy, were almost as forward. Shakespeare's plays have been translated into as many languages, and have

have passed through as many editions. But Shakespeare's audience, however choice, remained for a century a small one. 'Don Quixote' sprang at once into a popularity which has never failed, and has grown in widening circles till the present day. There has been nothing like it in literary history. It came out of a people the least popular with the reading part of Europe. It was a novel with a purpose, and novels with a purpose cease to interest when the purpose is fulfilled. It was a satire, and satires are unreadable when the thing satirized is forgotten. Imitations of it have had their day of success. 'Hudibras' was a brilliant piece of workmanship, and was once in everybody's mouth. It is now dry as a withered apple. Immediate popularity is almost invariably a sign that a book is addressed to some predominant but passing emotion. 'Don Quixote' must address human nature itself, with a clear intelligible voice; for, except by the literary cliques at Madrid, it was received with general enthusiasm, and it is as delightful to-day as it ever was. Another curious feature is, that 'Don Quixote' is the only work of Cervantes which has received any favour at all. His plays and poems had their share of attention when they were published, but were not supposed to be, and indeed visibly are not, of a high order of merit. Even his other novels shine only by the light which 'Don Quixote' reflects upon them. The extraordinary interest that 'Don Quixote' itself commands is a phenomenon which has never received a satisfactory explanation.

Mr. Ormsby has something to say about it, to which we shall presently refer. Meanwhile we welcome this translation, not only as the best which has yet been produced in English, but the first which throws light upon its finer details. It is not Mr. Ormsby's first venture into the field of Spanish literature. He is already favourably known to us by a translation of the Spanish epic, the 'Poem of the Cid.' This, too, is a unique book, differing, according to modern scholars, from all other national epics in that it is not reducible to the Solar Myth. 'Mio Cid,' or 'My Lord,' which the word means, was a real man, and the story of him was a real history. We think of the Spaniards as given over to superstition and Papal idolatries. In the 'Cid' there are neither angels nor devils, saints nor enchanters, but only men and women. 'My Cid' himself kicked the French king's chair of state down the Pope's Presence Chamber; and, when the Pope banned him, made the Pope take the ban off again. The old hero's thoughts on such matters were much like Hector's:—

εἷς οἰωνὸς ἄριστος ἀμύνεσθαι περὶ πάτρης.

Mr.

Mr. Ormsby's version is not only clear and spirited, but he qualified himself for his work by travelling on foot through the scene of the Cid's exploits, and learning everything which can be authentically ascertained about him from Arabic as well as Spanish authorities. He has traced his pedigree and his descendants, among whom we find unexpectedly our own Queen Berengaria. He has proved conclusively, that he was no creation of the ballad singers, for he has found a contemporary Arabian account of him, with reality stamped into the words. 'A fierce freebooter, he was always at war, always victorious. God's curse be on him!' Mr. Ormsby has indeed almost identified the author of the poem in a Burgos monk. The Cid after his death was brought home embalmed, riding still on his famous horse Babieca, and for ten years sat enthroned there in the Church of San Pedro de Cardena. The poet himself, he considers, may have heard from eye-witnesses, or in his childhood may have been an eye-witness himself, of 'the mysterious shape seen dimly in the twilight, sitting sword in hand beside the high altar.'

But we return to Mr. Ormsby's translation of 'Don Quixote,' a more important and immeasurably more difficult task. The field had been so often cultivated, that he apologizes for his undertaking. There have been already nine English translations, each of which has passed through several editions. He gives an account of all of them, and he points out modestly the defects which make another effort defensible. He insists, perhaps too much, that his predecessors have borrowed from one another. It is inevitable, it is right and fitting, that successive translators should take advantage of what they find well done to their hand. Mr. Ormsby himself is open to the same charge, if charge it be. But to attempt to be purely original, to look for new equivalents where adequate language had been found already would be gratuitously perverse. No single person can translate a difficult work by his unassisted faculty. He finds errors in what others have done. Let his knowledge of the language of the original be as perfect as it may, he will inevitably fall into errors of his own. He will still be ignorant of some things which one or other of those who have gone before him have understood. He will catch hold of some intricate passage by the wrong clue, where they have held the right one. Where many minds have been at work, each one will have hit here and there upon effective expressions, which ought not to be lost. A really fine translation, like that of the English Bible, is the production not of one translator, but of many. The best of each is preserved; the

the faults of each are weeded out. It is only thus that a fine version of a work of genius in another language can be produced at all.

Mr. Ormsby tells us that his first wish was to re-edit Shelton's translation instead of attempting a new one. He prizes Shelton's 'racy English.' He considers him to have had an invaluable advantage in having been himself a contemporary of Cervantes, and having thus breathed the same spiritual atmosphere. Shelton's English is no doubt strong and unaffected, but Mr. Ormsby overrates the benefit which he may have derived from the age in which he lived. England was not Spain; and in the England of Elizabeth there was no special appreciation of Spanish character or sentiment. Shakespeare's Prince of Arragon has no local colour at all, and the beautiful lyric of the Spanish lady's love is as purely English, as the Española Inglesa of Cervantes is Spanish. If Mr. Ormsby had edited Shelton, his pages must have been half filled with corrections of blunders, which would have led the readers to wonder why a translation so incorrect should have been reproduced at all.*

The translation by Jervas the painter, the friend of Pope and Swift, is free from the worst faults of Shelton. Pope indeed did say maliciously that his friend had translated a Spanish book without knowing Spanish. But this is a calumny. Jervas sets Skelton right in a thousand places. Mr. Ormsby speaks favourably of him, as he deserves; but he cannot acquit him of being dull, and the finest writing in the world, even the 'Iliad' itself, can be made intolerable if diluted into commonplace. Jervas's work cannot be accepted as final; and we are sorry to say as much of Smollett's. Mr. Ormsby, indeed, does Smollett less than justice. 'This,' he says, 'was a mere bookseller's speculation. As a translation it has no value, being little more than a *rifacimento* of Jervas's, made without any regard to the original.' As it was in Smollett's version that we made our first acquaintance with 'Don Quixote,' we have perhaps a prejudice in his favour; but surely such a verdict is far too sweeping.

* To take an instance at random from the story of the Madman at Seville, the very first page which we examined critically. The text is, 'Yo os voto a Jupiter, cuya majestad yo represento en la tierra, *que por solo este pecado que hoy comete Sevilla*, en sacar os de esta casa y en tener os por cuerdo, tengo de hacer un tal castigo en ella que quedé memoria dél por todos los siglos de los siglos. Amen.' Shelton renders this: 'I swear to thee by Jupiter, whose majesty I represent on earth, that for this day's offence *I will eat up all Seville* for delivering thee from them, and saying thou art in thy wits. I will take such a punishment on this city as shall be remembered for ever and ever. Amen.' The words translated, 'I will eat up all Seville,' mean simply, 'which Seville is committing.' Shelton, working with extreme haste, mistook *comete* for *comeré*.

He

He is not to blame for having made use of Jervas; but, being a master of English, he is infinitely more idiomatic. He was certainly Jervas's equal as a Spanish scholar, and often, as it seems to us with great success, he departs from him entirely. We could point to passage upon passage when he has caught far more completely the true flavour. His translation is the only one—we do not except Mr. Ormsby's own—which could be itself mistaken for an original. His fault is, that if Jervas had too little humour, he had too much—a humour of his own, vigorous and healthy, but wanting the subtle delicacy of Cervantes, whose fine touch disappears often into mere buffoonery. Smollett's broad English features appear as in a dissolving view, through the imperturbable Castilian gravity. And this is not only a fault, but it is a fault which permeates his entire work, and almost alters its character. Parts of it, we think, ought to be embodied in an adequate English 'Don Quixote;' but as a whole it is worse than unsatisfactory. It is a burlesque.

Passing over Smollett's other successors, we come to the most recent of them, Mr. A. J. Duffield, whose work has genuine merit, though it is impaired, as a whole, by defects in Mr. Duffield himself. He is an accomplished Spanish scholar. He has a reverence running into idolatry for Cervantes. He has taken infinite pains, and his English is sound, if commonplace. But he has undertaken to translate the most humorous book that was ever written, while he is without humour in himself, and without even the knowledge of what humour is. A little, a very little of that quality would have warned him against commencing his Preface with 'a beautiful and flashing angel,' 'a fair and sexless being,' who comes to rebuke him for his boldness in undertaking a work for which he is unfit. The reader is made to suspect from the outset, and from the affectation with which Mr. Duffield defends himself, that the angel was too likely to be right. He would have escaped also the mistake of discovering in 'Don Quixote' a satire on the religious and political condition of his age, those hidden meanings, that 'something more than meets the eye,' the seeking after which is fatal to a true understanding of a work of genius. He cannot see the finer shades of the ridiculous; he cannot hear the still sad music of humanity which ripples underneath, and therefore he assumes the presence of what is not there. His book is designed *virginibus puerisque*, and he omits, without notice, passages 'of exquisite wit,' which he fears may offend false modesty. Why are virgins and boys forbidden to know the effect of poor Sancho's terrors on the night of the fulling mills?

mills? Why should Cervantes be thus tacitly reproached with indelicacy? We are sorry to be obliged to include Mr. Duffield's work among the inadequate attempts which leave room for further competition. If he can persuade the world that his theory of 'Don Quixote' is the right one, he may claim the preference which he will then have deserved. The version of the lyrics and sonnets, the merit of which he allows modestly to his friend Mr. Gibson, is excellent, and is superior to Mr. Ormsby's. We have no fault to find with himself as a well-read and accurate Spanish scholar. 'The Impertinent Pry' is, indeed, an absurd rendering of 'El Impertinente Curioso.' 'Pry' is the last word to express Anselmo's ill-advised curiosity; and 'impertinent,' in connection with such a word as 'Pry,' is equally wide of the mark. But such mistakes as this do not imply want of scholarship: they imply merely the absence of fine perception, which nature seems to have denied to Mr. Duffield.

The other English translations shew no original knowledge, either of Spain or Spanish literature; and to any one who had not lived in Spain, who has not made himself acquainted with the Spanish peasantry, and filled his mind and memory with the contemporary poetry and romance, half the allusions and half the descriptions in 'Don Quixote' lose their meaning. For it is in form, at least, a satire from end to end on the popular reading of the period, on the rage for the tales of chivalry, which had spread from palace to cottage; and the humour of it lies in the contrast between the literal realities of Spanish life, and the extravagances which had filled the imagination. It is full of allusions to Spanish habits, Spanish expressions, the arrangements of their houses, their food, their dress, their occupations, their modes of thinking and talking; which no stranger can completely comprehend, and which can only be made intelligible by notes. In our own time Gustave Doré has taken upon himself to illustrate 'Don Quixote.' The most cursory observation of his drawings betrays the entire absence of humour—a defect in itself entirely fatal—but they have the faults beside of absolute untruth to the scenery and circumstances of the story. A conscientious artist would at least have taken the trouble to visit the places which he was undertaking to paint. Hear what Mr. Ormsby says of one of the most laboured of these, alas! popular 'illustrations.'

'Take Gustave Doré's drawing of Don Quixote watching his armour in the inn-yard. Whether or not the Venta de Quesada on the Seville road is, as tradition maintains, the inn described in "Don Quixote," beyond all question it was just such an inn-yard as the one

one behind it that Cervantes had in his mind's eye, and it was on just such a rude stone trough as that beside the primitive draw-well in the corner that he meant Don Quixote to deposit his armour. Gustave Doré makes it an elaborate fountain, such as no *arriéro* ever watered his mules at in the corral of any venta in Spain, and thereby entirely misses the points aimed at by Cervantes. It is the mean, prosaic, commonplace character of all the surroundings and circumstances that give a significance to Don Quixote's vigil and to the ceremony that follows. Gustave Doré might as well have turned La Tolosa and La Molinera into village maidens of opera type, in ribbons and roses.'

Mr. Ormsby cannot be accused of similar carelessness. He has lived among the Spanish peasantry. He has lodged in their ventas, and made personal acquaintance with many a provincial innkeeper, and many a Maritornes, and many a Sancho Panza. He has learnt their vernacular phrases. He has made himself at home in the exact society in which Don Quixote moved; and he has thus a key to words and to allusions which no one but himself has possessed. Take, for instance, the proverbs which recur so frequently. All fine languages contain terse expressions, the essence of the popular thought, adapted to local habits and local phenomena. The Spaniards were a people who lived by custom, and carried about with them the wisdom of their ancestors digested into aphorisms, which were as lamps that lighted the road on which their lives travelled. Dickens, by the mere force of his genius, has manufactured sayings of this kind, which have passed into universal use. The Spanish writers found them ready made, covering the whole range of popular intellect. Lope de Vega introduces a hundred into the single comedy of Dorotea. Sancho Panza is a bundle of proverbs, which he lets fly, as they rise to his lips, in season and out. As he says himself, they were the whole stock of his mental furniture. Mr. Ormsby is the first translator who has made anything of them, and not the least valuable part of his book is a separate list of the proverbs in 'Don Quixote,' with complete explanations of their meaning. Most of them are peculiar to the Peninsula, and require other help for their elucidation than can be found in a Spanish Dictionary. He gives us the full text of many, of which Sancho gives but a few words that are unintelligible without the context. He has found equivalents in Portuguese. His familiarity with the language of the peasantry has enabled him to detect the sense of expressions, which in literature bear another meaning. Only those who have themselves struggled hopelessly to get at Sancho's purpose can appreciate what Mr. Ormsby has accomplished. For instance:

'Quien destaja no barata.' Skelton says, 'He that works does not play.' Jervas: 'He that cuts does not deal.' Smollett: 'He that shuffles does not cut.' Neither of these interpretations has the slightest bearing on the subject in hand. Mr. Ormsby finds that, although *barajar* means now to 'shuffle cards,' it meant in old colloquial Spanish to 'wrangle.' *Destajar* means to make a contract: and the real sense is, 'He that makes a bargain beforehand does not quarrel afterwards.' Again, 'á buen salvo está el que repica.' Jervas has, 'He that has the *repique* is safe.' Smollett: 'A good hand makes a short game.' Ormsby proves by parallel passages that the meaning is, 'A bellringer's is a safe berth.' When after the night of terror with the fulling mills, Don Quixote spoils the barber of Mambrino's helmet, Sancho exclaims, 'Quiera Dios que Oregano sea y no batanes.' 'God grant this may be marjoram, and not fulling mills.' Smollett, desperate of finding the true sense, takes refuge in puns of his own. He translates boldly, 'God grant it may prove a melon, and not a milling;' and adds in a note, with another pun, that Oregano means sweet marjoram, and that Sancho's prayer is that his 'master may find a nosegay rather than a bloody nose.' This is wit, but it is not translation. Mr. Ormsby has discovered the other half of the proverb which Sancho is quoting. 'Plegue á Dios que Oregano sea y no se nos vuelva alcaravea.' 'Please God it may be marjoram, and may not turn carraways.'

To take another illustration, not from a proverb, but from a historical allusion. The Knight, forgetting Dulcinea, describes to Sancho how a king's daughter is to fall in love with him, and how he fears that there will be a difficulty about their marriage because he is not of royal lineage. However, he says, 'Bien es verdad que yo soy hijodalgo de solar conocido, de posesion, y de propiedad, y devengar quinientos sueldos.' Jervas renders this simply, 'I am a gentleman of an ancient family, possessed of a real estate of 120 crowns a year.' Smollett, taking *devengar* as two words, and not one, translates, 'entitled to the revenge of the five hundred sueldos,' and explains that 'the Spaniards of old paid a tribute of 500 sueldos to the Moors, until they were delivered from this imposition by the gallantry of the gentlemen of rank, from which exploit a Castilian of family used to express the nobility and worth of his extraction, by saying he was entitled to the revenge of the five hundred sueldos.' Where Smollett gathered this curious, if rather vague, piece of history, does not appear. A sueldo was half a real, and the Moors must have been easy masters if they were contented with so small a tribute from all the Christians of

of the Peninsula. Perhaps he thought that each hidalgo paid at this rate as a composition for his personal estates. Don Quixote, however, was not thinking of the Moors at all. Mr. Ormsby shows that by the ancient *fueros*, or provincial rights, a Castilian gentleman was entitled to recover a fine of 500 sueldos for an injury to person or property. We might multiply indefinitely these instances of Mr. Ormsby's careful scholarship, but those which we have quoted will serve to show the kind of work which he has done, and he is entitled to the highest praise for it. As a translator, he is clear and readable, and, though exceptions may be taken here and there, extremely accurate. He does not aim at smartness, which is always a temptation to depart from the text. But the reader may assure himself that, if he cannot forget that he is reading a translation, he has the actual meaning, so far as Mr. Ormsby can make it out, of what Cervantes wrote. Where there seems confusion, he insists, not without reason, that Cervantes was careless. Cervantes himself plays humorously with blots and inconsistencies which his reviewers imagined themselves to have discovered. As often as not his oversights, as they were called, were an intentional and absurd defiance of a kind of criticism which he despised. Don Quixote, as everybody knows, was written in two parts, with an interval of nine years between them. The Second Part opens while the Knight was still at home. The First was then in every one's hands, and forms the subject of a delightful conversation between Don Quixote himself and his friend the Bachelor Samson Carrasco. Don Quixote, at the end of it, enquires if there is to be a Second Part, before the adventures had even commenced which the Second Part was to record, and the Bachelor answers that the MS. had not yet been found, but was being carefully sought for, and would doubtless appear in good time. Ingenuity could not have devised a more extraordinary piece of confusion, if confusion we please to consider it, when Cervantes was merely laughing at his critics.

No doubt there are obscure sentences in the text, as we have it. Cervantes is said not to have corrected his proofs or revised his editions, but to have left his book to the mercy of the printers. But this, after all, is conjecture; and Mr. Ormsby sometimes sees blunders where there are none, and suggests corrections which are no improvements. Cervantes says that 'history is the mother of truth.' Mr. Ormsby is assured that he meant to say exactly the opposite. When one considers how many lies have by mere repetition been stereotyped into facts, one may credit Cervantes with having known what he was writing.

writing. Such casual flashes of irony were entirely characteristic of him. Cardenio says, in telling his story,—

'El amor de los mozos por la mayor parte no lo es, sino apetito, el cual como tiene por ultimo fin el deleyte, en llegando á alcanzarlo se acaba, y ha de volver atras aquello que parecia amor, porque no puede pasar adelante del termino que le pusó naturaleza, el cual termino no le pusó á lo que es verdadero amor.'

Mr. Ormsby translates:—

'With young men love is for the most part nothing more than appetite, which, as its final object is enjoyment, comes to an end on obtaining it; and that which seemed to be love takes to flight, as it cannot pass the limit fixed by nature, which fixes no limit to true love.'

And then he says: 'This is an example of the clumsy manner in which Cervantes often constructed his sentences.' The meaning is clear enough, and there was no occasion to mark the passage for special animadversion, even if Mr. Ormsby had construed it rightly. But it seems to us that in the last paragraph he has missed the construction. *El cual* refers not to *naturaleza* but to *termino*. Let it run, 'While to true love nature has assigned no such limit,' and all is harmonious.

Again: the innkeeper tells Don Quixote that knights-errant ought not to travel without money and clean shirts. As a rule, such things were carried by their squires, as it was unsuited to the dignity of the profession to carry them themselves. If a knight had no squire, he packed his luggage in a very small and almost imperceptible valise, which was fastened behind the saddle as if it was something of more importance. 'Ellos mismos lo llevaban todo en unas alforjas muy sutiles que quasi no se parecian como era cosa de mas importancia.' Mr. Ormsby translates quite correctly; but not understanding what could be of more importance than a change of linen, he says, 'this passage as it stands is sheer nonsense.' Surely the Knight might have been carrying his lady's scarf, or a saint's relic, or a despatch from his sovereign, or any other precious and wonderful thing. There is not the least occasion to suppose that the passage is not as Cervantes wrote it.

Mr. Ormsby takes no liberties with the text, unless he supposes himself to see strong occasion for it; his emendations, however, when he ventures on any, do not always seem required. The Canon, who falls in with Don Quixote when returning home enchanted in the ox-cart, enquires and learns the cause which has brought

brought the poor Knight into his sad condition. A conversation follows on books of chivalry, and the Canon says that he himself had once begun to write a story of a knight-errant, and so to tell it as to please persons of good sense. He had abandoned his task, however, midway, perceiving that there were more fools in the world than wise men. To win the approbation of the few wise would indeed be better than to raise the laughter of the many fools. But it was to these last that the reading of such books usually fell, and he was reluctant to submit his work to their confused judgment. There seems to be no difficulty in this; but Mr. Ormsby says that he can discover no meaning in it, and therefore arbitrarily changes the word *burlado*, 'laughed at,' into *alabado*, 'praised;' blunting the edge of the sentiment, and destroying the obviously intended antithesis between the opinion of the two classes of men.

But these things are mere trifles; and it would be ungracious to notice what are but scarcely visible blemishes in a work which is generally so admirable, were it not that, precisely because it is so good, we desire to see it made as perfect as possible. The blemishes are nothing compared with the merits; and to look through a book merely to discover the ends of threads which are left loose, is a form of criticism which may be easy and amusing, but stands justly rebuked in 'Don Quixote' itself:—

'"I wish," said the Bachelor, "such fault-finders were more lenient and less exacting, and did not pay so much attention to the spots on the bright sun of the work they grumble at. For if 'aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus,' they should remember how long he remained awake to shed the light of his work with as little shade as possible—and perhaps it may be that what they find fault with may be moles that sometimes heighten the beauty of the face that bears them: and so, I say, very great is the risk to which he who prints a book exposes himself; for of all impossibilities, the greatest is to write one that will satisfy and please all readers."'

With a great deal of pleasure, then, we leave the spots, and in the rest of this article we shall confine ourselves to Mr. Ormsby's good deserts. We may have some friendly differences with him, but merely on points of opinion, where he has a full right to retain his own conclusions. But we must compliment him especially on the skill with which he has done the most difficult part of all his work. There is no such trial to a translator as poetry. Fine verses can never be rendered completely from one language into another; for verse is the crystallizing of thought into words so exactly appropriate, that they shall not only express the meaning, and not only shall the sound correspond to the meaning, but the associations which the

the words carry with them must harmonize with the connection in which they stand. An unsuitable idea suggested in a wrong place will jar like a discord. It is obviously impossible that equivalents can be found in two different languages which combine such complex qualities, and the translator is condemned to choose between lameness and inaccuracy. With German, an Englishman can sometimes succeed tolerably, from the affinity between German and English. With Spanish his difficulty will be the greatest, because the peculiar cadence of Spanish verse has nothing in English corresponding to it. The feeling is inseparably combined with the fall and flow of the lines, and unless the translator can find some means or other of preserving the rhythm, the most careful rendering of the words will not save him from failure.

To expect complete success is to an expect an impossibility. It is Mr. Ormsby's highest merit, that in this trying part of his work he has done better than any of his predecessors, with the exception of Mr. Duffield or Mr. Gibson. The Spanish writers, and indeed our own at the same period, received or expected commendatory sonnets from their distinguished friends which were to appear at the launching of their works. Cervantes, for reasons which he amusingly explains in the Preface to 'Don Quixote,' composed his own, and assigned them to the various knights, enchanters, or enchantresses whose exploits his hero was to rival. They are parodies, and elaborate finish is therefore not required. Incongruities and absurdities are not only tolerable in such lines, but assist the effect. Amadis of Gaul was one of the contributors Mr. Ormsby translates:—

'*Amadis of Gaul to Don Quixote de la Mancha.*

'Thou that didst imitate that life of mine,
When I in lonely sadness on the great
Rock Peña Pobra sate disconsolate,
In self-imposed penance there to pine;
Thou, whose sole beverage was the bitter brine
Of thine own tears, and who withouten plate
Of silver, copper, tin, in lonely state
Off the bare earth, and on Earth's fruits didst dine.
Live thou of thine eternal glory sure.
So long as on the round of the fourth sphere
The bright Apollo shall his coursers steer,
In thy renown thou shalt remain secure,
Thy country's name in story shall endure,
And thy sage author stand without a peer.'

This is of course absurd, and was meant to be absurd. But it is not more ridiculous than the average sonnets which will be found

found prefixed to Lope de Vega's comedies. Cervantes was delightfully various. After Amadis, Urganda, &c., he introduces a dialogue between the Cid's famous horse Babieca and Don Quixote's Rosinante:—

'*Babieca.* How comes it, Rosinante, you're so lean?
Rosinante. I'm underfed: with overwork I'm worn.
Babieca. But what becomes of all the hay and corn?
Rosinante. My master gives me none: he's much too mean.
Babieca. Come, come, you show ill-breeding, sir, I ween,
'Tis like an ass your master thus to scorn.
Rosinante. He is an ass, will die an ass, an ass was born;
Why, he's in love; what's plainer to be seen?
Babieca. To be in love is folly.
Rosinante. No, great sense.
Babieca. You're metaphysical.
Rosinante. From want of food.
Babieca. Rail at the Squire, then.
Rosinante. Why, what is the good?
I might indeed complain of him, I grant ye,
But squire or master, where's the difference?
They're both as sorry hacks as Rosinante.'

Cervantes' serious poems do not rank high in Spanish literature. Though his mind was delicately tender, it was only at its best when it was humorous. The following sonnet, however, is entitled, as Mr. Ormsby justly says, to a place among the best in the Spanish language. A translation, he acknowledges, 'cannot reproduce the exquisite melody of the original.' * It is but a plucked flower, and cannot escape being soiled in the handling. In almost every other English version of the lines which we have seen, both the beauty and the fragrance have disappeared: something of both, however, seems to have been preserved by Mr. Ormsby:—

'When Heavenward, holy Friendship, thou didst go,
Soaring to seek thy home beyond the sky,
And take thy seat amongst the saints on high,

* 'Santa amistad, que con ligeras alas,
Tu apariencia quedandose en el suelo
Entre benditas almas en el cielo,
Subiste allegre á las empíreas salas,
Desde allá, quando quieres, nos señalas
La justa paz cubierta con un velo
Por quien á veces se trasluce el zélo
De buenas obras, que á la fin son malas.
Dexa el cielo, ó amistad, ó no permitas
Que el engaño se vista tu librea,
Con que destruye á la intencion sincera.
Que, si tus apariencias no le quitas,
Presto ha de verse el mundo en la pelea
De la discorde confusion primera.'

It

It was thy will to leave on earth below
Thy semblance, and upon it to bestow
Thy veil; wherewith at times hypocrisy,
Parading in thy shape, deceives the eye,
And makes its vileness bright as virtue show.
Friendship return to us, or force the cheat
That wears it now, thy livery to restore,
By aid whereof sincerity is slain.
If thou wilt not unmask thy counterfeit,
The earth will be the prey of strife once more,
As when primæval discord held its reign.'

Each line as it came from Cervantes is finished with exquisite care, falling at its close into a dissyllabic rhyme, which corresponds to the feeling. Mr. Ormsby has been unable to reproduce this peculiar feature. Lord Tennyson himself could not have reproduced it without deviating unpermissibly from the text. Mr. Ormsby has done his best in saving at least something of the most beautiful of the serious passages which 'Don Quixote' contains.

But his work has other excellences, besides its merits as a translation. He has given us a 'Life of Cervantes,' which, though brief, is again the fullest which has yet appeared. He has given us also an elaborate Essay upon 'Don Quixote,' going through the various opinions which have been formed about it, and concluding with his own. The Essay is in a right direction, as a protest against much extravagant nonsense. But the view on which it insists is emphasized with an exaggeration of its own, and on a few points we shall be obliged to differ from him very considerably.

The common saying, that the world knows little of its greatest men, relates generally to men who have not cared to strive or cry, and have preferred to live in obscurity in the quiet discharge of common duties. But it is also true of some of those whose names are on the lips of all of us, and whose works are among the choicest treasures which the human race possesses. Of Shakespeare we know only a few disconnected facts. The rest is conjecture. Raphael's life is almost a blank, and Homer is supposed by some to have had no life at all. Men capable of really high achievements have left their works to speak for them, and have not been anxious 'to hang their heart upon their sleeve for daws to peck at.' It has been only a rare exception when a man of genius, like Rousseau or Goethe, has chosen to write an Autobiography, or has left materials behind him for a genuine portrait. The importance of the truly great has been slighter in their own eyes than it has appeared to others. They

They have not wished to appear to posterity surrounded with any false glory, and they have known perhaps that the very best of us can hardly bear scrutiny in the full light of severe truth. Hamlet says: 'I am not one of the worst, but I could accuse myself of such things that it were better my mother had never borne me.' Such good as they have been able to do, they have done. The rest they have preferred to leave to be forgotten. Cervantes is no exception. Of him there is not so much as an authentic likeness, and we can only guess at his appearance from an account which he has given of it in the Preface to his novels. We find a few notices of his personal adventures let fall in his books, as if by accident, but nothing which can be woven into any distinct narrative. We learn from him that he had been a soldier, that he was at the battle of Lepanto, and lost the use of his left arm there: that he was a captive among the Moors at Algiers; that he wrote plays; that he was once in a prison in Spain, and that he wrote part of 'Don Quixote' there; but of what brought him into that condition we are told nothing. We learn that he was poor, that in his later years he was assisted and patronized by the Conde de Lemos and by the Archbishop of Toledo. We see also that he was a loyal and true gentlemen, devoted to his King and country, a Spaniard to the heart, a pious Catholic, as fully persuaded as the rest of his nation of the wisdom and justice of Philip's wars in the Low Countries. Out of these few facts, however, nothing of a personal history could be constructed, which could do more than invite curiosity—while the literary contemporaries of Cervantes, like most of Shakespeare's contemporaries, were too little conscious of the relative importance of the author of 'Don Quixote' and themselves to have preserved any further details of him. This last deficiency is not perhaps to be regretted. Their contributions, if they had given us any, would probably have consisted of ill-natured and mythical anecdotes, which would have been worse than silence. But, owing to these causes, the biographies of Cervantes have hitherto been extremely meagre. We have a distinct account of his captivity at Algiers. He was too modest to say much about it himself, but the story of his singularly gallant and chivalrous behaviour was the subject of an official enquiry, and the story remains indestructible in authentic depositions. For the rest, we have been left to the dates of his different works to learn how he was employed, and to a few notices of strangers who had been led by his European fame to make enquiries about him. On the whole, the impression has been that he was an honest gentleman, much ill-used

used by fortune; that he was to the end poor and neglected, and was another instance of the world's indifference to its best men until they are dead, and nothing can be done for them. Much of this remains true—but only true, we are glad to find, with considerable qualifications. Spanish students have searched industriously through State Records and local Registers. Many separate particulars have been discovered, which, like lost letters of an inscription, give when found a fresh meaning to the completed text. Mr. Ormsby has at least been able to fill in a complete outline of Cervantes' history, to set his figure in some kind of focus, and enable us to see for the first time what the man was really like to whom we owe one of the best books that have ever been written.

Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra was a younger son of an ancient and honourable family, clearly entitled to the 'devengar de quinientos sueldos,' whatever that might mean. His ancestors won fame and land in the wars with the Moors. To one of them, Gonzalo, belonged, in spite of Mr. Ford's assertion to the contrary, the castle of Cervantes at Toledo. The line divided after the thirteenth century. A younger branch was settled in Andalusia, and of this branch various members held high office in Church and State. Juan de Cervantes was Cardinal and Archbishop of Seville in 1453. Diego de Cervantes, the great-grandfather of Miguel, was Commander of the Order of Santiago. Of his father nothing is known save that he was a gentleman of moderate means, and that he resided at Alcalá de Henares, twenty miles from Madrid on the road to Saragossa, probably that he might have the advantage of the University for the education of his sons. Here Miguel was born on Michaelmas Day, 1547, two years after the battle of Muhlberg, where Charles V. appeared for a few months to have made a final end of the Reformation. A child born in that year, and amidst the enthusiasm belonging to it, might have been expected to be dedicated to the Church's service; but there is no sign that any such career was ever thought of for the fair-haired, bright-eyed little lad who then was ushered into the world. He grew up at Alcalá, learning, it is to be supposed, what was learnt by other lads of his age, haunting theatres, and greedily devouring miscellaneous literature, not neglecting, we may be sure, that peculiar form of it then so universally popular, which Sta. Teresa describes as the mental food on which she too was nourished in her father's house. Mr. Ormsby constructs an imaginary picture of him in his early years:—

'There might, no doubt, have been often seen in the streets of Alcalá a bright, eager, tawny-haired boy peering into a bookshop where

where the latest volumes lay open to tempt the public, . . . his eyes brimming over with merriment, gazing at one of those preposterous portraits of a knight-errant in outrageous panoply and plumes, with which the publishers of chivalry romance loved to embellish the title-pages of their folios.'

With merriment, perhaps, or more likely with a child's admiration and enthusiasm, before life had taught him to distinguish between imagination and reality. The sense of the ridiculous is not a quality which is developed early in minds that are touched to fine issues; and when it arrives at last, it is tempered always by a kindly recognition of the good qualities which are mixed with the absurd. A premature sense of the ridiculous is not a promising quality. At any rate, Cervantes grew to manhood at Alcalá without doing or experiencing anything particularly noticeable, but he must in some way have recommended himself to his superiors. In 1568, when he was twenty-one, the Cardinal Acquaviva came to Madrid on a mission from the Pope to Philip II. Cervantes was admitted into the Cardinal's household as camarero, gentleman of the chamber, or something of that kind. He accompanied his patron back to Rome in this capacity, and was thus launched into life with prospects as promising as the most fortunate young man could desire. But he was enthusiastic, eager, and adventurous. He liked his situation as little perhaps as Halbert Glendinning liked the office of being 'body-servant to the Archbishop of St. Andrews.' It was a stirring time in Rome. Spain, Venice, and the Papacy, had formed their league against the Grand Turk. Don John of Austria, his own Spanish hero, was to take command of the combined fleets and armies. Cervantes was swept away in the stream. He joined a regiment, and fought at Lepanto on board the Marquesa galley. He distinguished himself in the action by marked bravery, and came out of it with three wounds, two on his breast, the third on his arm. The wounds on his breast were healed. The left hand was disabled for life. Don John, the next day, went the round of the wounded. He took special notice of Cervantes, spoke to him, and raised his pay. After some months in the hospital at Messina, Cervantes returned to his duty, and was at the taking of Tunis, when his courage again attracted attention. He was sent home to Spain in September 1575, and carried letters from Don John and the Duke of Sesa recommending him for promotion. On the way he was unfortunately captured by a Turkish privateer, commanded by an Albanian renegade, and was taken with the rest of the crew to Algiers. Here he was kept for five years, his ransom money, owing

owing to the letters found upon him, being set at a figure beyond the means of his family; and the adventures which he went through would be dismissed as a romance, were not the least credible parts of them authenticated beyond question. We cannot yet feel satisfied that we know the whole of the story, but Algiers in the days of the corsairs was a strange place, and many strange things may have happened there. The Moorish pirates were masters of the Mediterranean. In their swift galleys, the oars manned by their slaves, they roved where they pleased, seized every unarmed ship they met with, harried villages on the Spanish coast at night, and were off to sea before morning with their plunder and prisoners. It is noticeable that their most famous leaders were renegade Christians. At the time of the capture of Cervantes, the Dey was a renegade. The Alcalde of Algiers was a renegade. Arnault Mauri, the captor of Cervantes, was a renegade. These fierce warriors cared neither for God nor man. They were the vultures of the ocean. The city was crowded with Christian prisoners. There were 25,000 of them when Cervantes was added to the number. The Spanish and Italian Governments were powerless. The captives' only hope of liberty was in being ransomed by their friends, and an organized body of Redemptorist Fathers was constantly occupied in negociations for their release. Cervantes refused to allow his family to ruin themselves by raising the sum which was demanded for a captive supposed to be so valuable. He preferred to remain, and take his chance of escape in one or other of the vessels which occasionally stole in at night from Sicily or Corsica; and among the many renegades, there were always some who were ready to lend assistance to secure their own pardon in case accident threw them again into the power of the Christians. He contrived scheme after scheme. For five years his life was one incessant plot. He might have got away himself, but his hope was always to carry some of his fellow-prisoners along with him. His preparations were thus prolonged and complicated, and he was betrayed again and again, when he had almost succeeded. The strange part of the story is that, although his schemes were so often discovered, and although he always acknowledged that he had been the prime mover in them, he was never punished. His companions were flogged and ironed, and set to work in chains. The unlucky renegades who had assisted them were impaled or crucified, but he himself bore a charmed life. The Dey suspected the Redemptorist Fathers, and promised him his liberty if he would acknowledge them as his instigators. He was threatened with 2000 lashes if he persisted in exculpating

pating them. But neither hope could tempt nor fear terrify him. In every instance he took the entire responsibility upon himself. When one scheme failed, his mind was immediately busy in forming another; and it seems that at one time he had planned a general rising of all the Christian captives. They were to overpower the guards, seize Algiers itself, and hand it over to the Catholic powers. How far this conspiracy was carried, and what likelihood of success there was in it, no one can say; but the least to have been expected was that so persistent and dangerous a prisoner would at last have been made an example of. Yet, strange to say, he was not only spared, but he was treated by the Dey with unusual respect. He says himself that although every one thought he would be impaled, the Dey never gave him so much as a blow, or spoke a harsh word to him. Though no explanation appears of his extraordinary impunity, there must have been circumstances connected with him which are not mentioned in the story; but the main facts of it are certain, and are vouched for in a formally attested document which is still among the Archives at Seville. At the end of five years the Dey consented to reduce his ransom. The Fathers received the money from his relations, and in September 1580 Cervantes was liberated, and returned to Spain. Again there is a surprise. His gallant conduct had been reported by companions of his misfortune who had been released before him. An enquiry was held, and eleven witnesses were examined who had been his fellow-captives. Mr. Ormsby has examined their depositions:—

'There is something touching,' he says, 'in the admiration, love, and gratitude which we see struggling to find expression in the formal language of the notary, as they testify, one after another, to the good deeds of Cervantes; how he comforted and helped the weak-hearted, how he kept up their drooping courage, how he shared his poor purse with this deponent, and how in him this deponent found father and mother.'

One would have anticipated with certainty that a soldier, who had been taken prisoner when returning home with a letter recommending him for promotion from his commander-in-chief, would have been at once advanced in the service. Perhaps to have been noticed favourably by Don John of Austria was no longer an advantage. Don John was dead, and all his friends were under a cloud. A man of so much resource, who had distinguished himself so remarkably, and had drawn so much attention to himself, ought in some way to have found openings for employment; but it seems as if he quietly rejoined his regiment in his old rank, and became again a penniless adventurer.

turer. He was with the army in Portugal, and served there till the completion of the conquest. He went under the Marques de Santa Cruz to the Azores in 1582. Had he continued in the service six years longer, he, like Lope de Vega, would have sailed in the Great Armada, and have completed his misfortunes. But the expedition to the Azores was his last campaign. He left the army in 1583. In 1584 he married a lady of good birth and some fortune, of the house of Salazar, and he devoted himself to writing plays for the theatre at Madrid. They were but moderately successful at the time. They have little of permanent worth about them, and neither they nor his poetry would have preserved his name, or perhaps have enabled him to live. At this time, it may be in tardy recognition of his merits, the Government gave him an appointment as one of the four Purveyors-General for the fleet of the Indies, which Mr. Ormsby, we think, is mistaken in identifying with the English Armada. In 1590 he applied ineffectually for a situation in the Spanish-American Settlements. In 1594 he was made a collector of revenue in Granada, an office of some consideration. His bad luck followed him. He held his post for three years. At the end of them, being of a free and noble nature, himself incapable of evil and therefore unsuspicious of others, he was betrayed into what was regarded as a delinquency. He had a sum of money which was to be remitted to the Treasury. For convenience' sake, it is said that he trusted to a merchant to convey it for him. The merchant absconded. The assets were insufficient, and Cervantes was called on to make good the loss to the Government. The money was eventually paid, but he was unable to pay it immediately. He was arrested, and imprisoned at Seville, and, when released, was not reinstated. He was probably not entirely without fault. Collectors of revenue must have had regulated channels through which their remittances were forwarded. It cannot have been usual for them to make their payments through casual merchants. He may have been good-natured, or he may have been careless. His worst enemy could not suspect him of having consciously misused his trust; but it would be unfair, without further knowledge, to blame the authorities for unnecessary severity. He was not left without employment of some kind, for he followed the Court to Valladolid in 1603. He returned with it to Madrid again in 1606, and was therefore certainly in some way connected with it. He was poor, but there is no sign that he was ever in distress. The circumstances of a man's life reveal themselves unconsciously in his writings, and nowhere is there any picture in what Cervantes wrote of a gentleman

man in serious extremity. He had powerful friends. He had a bright, cheerful, sunny nature. After the publication of the First Part of 'Don Quixote' in 1604, he was not only famous throughout Europe, but the booksellers paid him handsomely both for this and for his novels, and for anything which he might write. He had two powerful and generous patrons, and the last years of his life were passed in a house in one of the best streets in Madrid, where, if he was not in easy circumstances, he was certainly not in want. The established men of letters, Gongora, Lope de Vega, and others, did not like him. Lope de Vega's flatterers lampooned and abused him. There is no offence like genius, when it appears in original form in a man who follows a line of his own, and succeeds in persuading the world to admire him, where the recognized authorities have decided there is nothing to be admired. But such small jealousies are not likely to have disturbed the peace of such a man as Cervantes.

'Was it an unhappy life?' asked Mr. Ormsby. 'His biographers all tell us that it was, but I must say I doubt it. It was a hard life —a life of incessant struggle, of toil ill-paid, of disappointment. But Cervantes carried within himself an antidote to all these evils. His was not one of those light natures that rise above adversity merely by virtue of their own buoyancy. It was in the fortitude of a high spirit that he was proof against it. It is impossible to conceive Cervantes giving way to despondency or prostrated by dejection. As for poverty, it was with him a thing to be laughed over; and the only sigh he ever allows to escape him is where he says, "Happy he to whom Heaven has given a piece of bread for which he is not bound to give thanks to any but Heaven itself." Add to this his vital energy, his restless invention, and his sanguine temperament, and there will be reason enough to doubt whether his could have been a very unhappy life. He who could take Cervantes' distresses, together with his apparatus for enduring them, would not make so bad a bargain perhaps, as far as happiness in life is concerned.'

This is excellently well said by Mr. Ormsby. A man of worth and genius, a man worth calling a man, is not made miserable because fortune does not please to cover his coat with gold lace. Who would not rather be Cervantes in plain clothes, and fed on plain diet, than Lope de Vega robed in splendour and lapped in luxury? Mr. Ormsby admires and loves his hero so heartily, that he will tolerate no nonsense about him, even so far as to admit that he was ill-used. To be supposed to have suffered wrong at fortune's hands is an appeal for pity, and itself is a kind of degradation. Mr. Ormsby will not hear of it.

'To listen,' he says, 'to most of his biographers, one would suppose that all Spain was in league, not only against the man, but against his memory, or at least that it was insensible to his merits, and left him to live in misery and to die in want. To talk of his hard life and unworthy employments in Andalusia is absurd. What had he done to distinguish him from thousands of other struggling men earning a precarious livelihood? True, he was a gallant soldier, who had been wounded, and had undergone captivity and suffering in his country's cause; but there were hundreds of others in the same case. He had written a mediocre specimen of an insipid class of romance, and some plays which did not comply with the primary condition of pleasing. Were the playgoers to patronize plays which did not amuse them, because the author was to produce "Don Quixote" twenty years after? No doubt "Don Quixote" was received coldly by some; but if a man writes a book in ridicule of periwigs, he must make his account with being coldly received by the periwig wearers and hated by the whole tribe of wig-makers. If Cervantes had the chivalry romance readers, the sentimentalists, the dramatists, and the poets of the period all against him, it was because "Don Quixote" was what it was; and if the general public did not come forward to make him comfortable for the rest of his days, it is no more to be charged with neglect and ingratitude than the English-speaking public that did not pay off Scott's liabilities. It did the best it could. It read his book, and liked it, and bought it, and encouraged the booksellers to pay him well for others.'

The claims of Cervantes to consideration are perhaps a little understated by Mr. Ormsby. His service in the army had entitled him to promotion, and his conduct in Algiers had been exceptionally admirable. But men who take to literature do not, as a rule, work well in harness, and are not the fittest for public employment. The Americans make their poets into diplomats, and it is not found that the public service suffers in consequence. It was so with us too in Chaucer's time. But Mr. Ormsby is right in insisting, that the fine fruits of the genius of Cervantes did not ripen till he was past the age for any high appointment, and it is equally clear that he was not allowed to sink into penury. The house in which he passed the later years of his life was in a street turning out of the Calle de Alcalá, near a convent in which he was buried. He was a near neighbour of the great Lope, if that was any pleasure to him. He died on the 23rd of April, 1618, on the same day, nominally, on which Shakespeare died. But Spain had adopted the New Style, and England had not, and there was really an interval of ten days. There is a glimpse of him near the end. A French embassy came to Madrid in 1615. The Archbishop of Toledo and his suite were paying the embassy a visit, when

when the conversation turned on the Second Part of 'Don Quixote' and the collected edition of the shorter novels which had just been published. One of the Frenchmen, who had devoured the *Novelas* so eagerly that he professed to know them by heart, enquired about the author; and the Archbishop, who was Cervantes' best friend, offered him an introduction. The person whom he was asking after was 'a soldier, old, poor, and a gentleman.' The stranger professed astonishment at hearing of the poverty. 'Why,' he asked, 'was not such a man maintained in wealth and comfort by the public Treasury?' We are not told what the Archbishop replied, but the question was answered by another of the party: 'If need makes him write, please God that shall never be. Let him continue poor, that he may make the world rich by his works.'

The last words which he wrote were the dedication of his 'Persiles and Sigismunda' to his second patron, the Conde de Lemos, who was then absent on business:—

'He could wish,' he said, 'that the opening line of the old ballad, "One foot already in the stirrup," did not so aptly apply to his condition. He had received the last sacraments; his time was growing shorter, his pains greater, and his hopes less. He would like to live, should it be permitted, to welcome his benefactor home; but if that might not be, God's will be done.'

There is, as we said, no authentic likeness of him; the engraved portraits in the various editions of his works being merely imaginary. Tradition says that two of his friends painted pictures of him. If he had friends able to do it, they are not likely to have missed the opportunity; and if they did, his portrait is still perhaps hanging unrecognized in a public or private gallery. Nothing is more common in Spain than to find, on turning to a catalogue for the original of some striking face, 'Portrait of some one unknown.' In England we attach names at hazard, to the confusion of the serious student. The Spaniards, when they do not know, frankly say so. The absence of a name invites attention. There is nothing to mislead, and occasionally some one is found who can give trustworthy information. The true claimant for one or other of the many unverified portraits in Madrid or elsewhere may hereafter be identified as Cervantes. There is a clue in the inventory which he gave of his features, the year before he died, in the Preface to the novels:—

'Face aquiline, hair chestnut, brow unwrinkled and open, eyes merry, nose curved but well shaped. Beard silver, it was golden twenty years back; large moustache, small mouth, teeth no great

matter, for he has but six, three in bad condition, and all ill-placed, for they do not meet. He is neither tall nor short, but of middle stature; fresh coloured, inclining to pale; slightly rounded in the shoulders, and not very light upon his feet.'

So much for Cervantes himself. We must now turn to the work itself which made his fame, which took possession of the world at a single step, which has never lost it, and never will lose it. All effects have their causes. What can have been the reason why this one book out of all Spanish literature—a literature otherwise so signally neglected—should have been welcomed everywhere with such enthusiasm; why it should have been translated again and again into every European language, and copies so multiplied, that there is scarce a library in the world where the book is not to be found; why Don Quixote and Sancho Panza should have become household words among mankind, and of all imaginary characters be regarded with so universal an affection? It cannot be the popularity of the author, for Cervantes' other writings interest only the limited number of Spanish students. It cannot be the picture which it gives us of Spanish life, for few of us care to know anything about Spanish life; and two centuries ago, when 'Don Quixote' was as famous as it is now, we cared even less. Nor can it be the success with which it ridicules books of chivalry. We have long since ceased to interest ourselves with books of chivalry. The reading of them was never a passion with the rest of Europe, still less a disease, as it was in Spain; and to enjoy ridicule we must at least have some acquaintance with the thing that is laughed at. Buffoonery may amuse for a moment, but each age and each country have their own jesters, and we prefer for home consumption what we produce ourselves. Whatever permanently entertains must have a root somewhere in the deep regions of the universal human heart. Countless theories have been started. 'Don Quixote' has been called an allegory of the real and the ideal—the Knight the ideal, the Squire the real. But allegories, to be successful, must be clear and sharp, like the 'Pilgrim's Progress,' with the key to each lock and ward in the reader's experience. Even the genius of Spenser does not enable us to read the 'Fairy Queen' without difficulty. 'Very few, very faint, and very weary,' as Macaulay says, 'are those who are in at the death of the Blatant Beast.' The 'real and the ideal' is high philosophy, and the mass of mankind never have been, and never will be, much excited over abstruse speculations. Very early, even at its first appearance, there was a suspicion that the book was a political satire, and this notion

notion has found modern advocates. Unfortunately, no two persons can agree as to where the point of the satire lay, or who were the individuals that were satirized. Don Quixote has been Charles V., Philip II., Ignatius Loyola, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and the Duke of Lerma. But a satire can have small merit, if we are so far to seek for the object of it. The thing to be explained is the delight with which the book is read now, as it has been read all along—a delight evidently independent of obscure contemporary allusions. Imagination has been busy. It has even hit upon an interpretation the wildest of all. Don Quixote was puzzled in the Cave of Montesinos over his personal identity. He was anticipating Descartes and the 'cogito ergo sum;' and the schoolboy, who is chuckling over Sancho's shrewd judgments in Barataria, is being dosed unconsciously with metaphysics.

More absurd, if less extravagant, is the notion that Cervantes was attacking the Inquisition. The enthusiasts for liberty have been unable to allow the Roman Catholics so great a name, and have convinced themselves that he must have been their enemy in secret. It is enough to say that his chief patron, the Archbishop of Toledo, was the chief of the Spanish Inquisition. 'Don Quixote' went into the world with the *imprimatur* upon it of the Holy Office; the Inquisitors, if they were as wicked as we suppose them, had at least a keen eye for heresy; and, though there may be obscurity about Cervantes' history, it is quite certain that he had no Protestant tendencies. Of the same groundless kind is the notion that he was in advance of his age, a light shining in a dark place, a single wise man in an age of bigotry and superstition. The actual fact is rather that Cervantes was the representative of his age; and, if we please, we can correct by the study of him our notions of what the age of Philip II. was like. For good and evil, Cervantes embodied in himself all the special characteristics of the Spanish gentleman of the sixteenth century; his courage, his high spirit, his fine culture, his humour, and his prejudices. He believed as his neighbours believed, and in one respect, in the judgment of Mr. Ormsby, he was rather behind the best minds of his time than in front of them, that is, in his approval of the expulsion of the Moors.

'Had he,' says Mr. Ormsby, 'been the far-seeing philosopher and profound thinker the Cervantists strive to make him out, he would have looked with contempt and disgust upon an agitation as stupid and childish as ever came of priestly bigotry acting on popular fanaticism and ignorance. And if not moved by the barbarous cruelty of the measure, he would have been impressed by its mischievous consequences

consequences to his country, as all the best statesmen of the day were. No loyal reader of his will believe for a moment that his vigorous advocacy of it was undertaken against his convictions, and solely in order to please his patron, the leader of the movement. The truth is, no doubt, that in the Archbishop of Toledo's antechamber he heard over and over again all the arguments which he reproduced in "Don Quixote."'

This is well put for Mr. Ormsby's purposes, and is characteristic of his own straightforward mind; but he reflects unnecessarily on his hero's character when defending him against the imputation of being progressive. When we call an act stupid and childish, we imply that those who did it, or encouraged it, were stupid and childish too; and many important measures which we see, or think we see, to have been wrong by the light of the event, may have had reasons for them in the temper of the time, which do not deserve the names which historians bestow on them. The expulsion of the Jews from England was cruel and may have been mischievous, but, if not expelled by the King, they would probably have been massacred by the people. The driving away an industrious and intelligent race from the south shore of the Peninsula may have been one of the causes of the decadence of the Spanish Empire. At the time, it may easily have been looked upon as a prudent precaution. Spain was exhausted by its long and fruitless efforts to crush the Reformation. Every day, Spanish subjects were being seized on the high seas by the Moorish corsairs, or carried off by piratical descents upon the coast, and the Government was too weak to root these hordes out of their nests. Within a few hours' sail of the Spanish shores there was a Moorish Empire, independent and defiant. A Moslem conquest even of Europe itself was still dreamt of at Constantinople, and the Turks had been seen and were to be seen again at the gates of Vienna. If the Castilians felt anxiety at the presence of a Moorish population in the parts of the country more easily accessible from Africa, they need not have been fanatics or fools. The Mahometans were an anachronism in Spain, as the Turks are now in Europe. To expel them was probably a mistake. But we cannot judge fairly of any historical events till we have looked at them from the point of view of their advocates, and as soon as we do try to do this, the disposition to use strong language disappears.

It is enough, however, that Cervantes thought as he did on this point to show, with Mr. Ormsby, that he was no prophet of modern ideas born before his time, and that neither in this, nor in any other of the theories which we have mentioned, can we find

find the explanation of the reception of 'Don Quixote.' Let us hear then what Mr. Ormsby has to say about it:—

'What,' he says, 'is the secret of such universal and unparalleled popularity, increasing, as it does, year by year, for three centuries? One explanation, no doubt, is that of all books in the world "Don Quixote" is the most catholic. There is something in it for every sort of readers, young or old, sage or simple, high or low. As Cervantes himself says with a touch of pride, "It is thumbed and read, and got by heart by people of all sorts; the children turn its leaves, the grown men understand it, the old praise it." But it would be idle to deny that the ingredient which, more than its humour, or its wisdom, or the fertility of invention, and knowledge of human nature which it displays, has ensured its success with the multitude, is the vein of farce that runs through it. It was the attack upon the sheep, the battle with the wine-skins, Mambrino's helmet, the balsam of Fierabras, Don Quixote knocked over by the sails of the windmill, Sancho tossed in the blanket, the mishaps and misadventures of master and man, that were originally the great attraction, and perhaps are so still to some extent with the majority of readers. The bibliography of the book is a proof of this. There were ten editions of the First Part; but of the Second, where the humour is throughout more akin to comedy than farce, five only were printed. It is plain that "Don Quixote" was generally regarded at first, and indeed in Spain for a long time, as little more than a queer droll book, full of laughable incidents and absurd situations, very amusing, but not entitled to much consideration or care.'

Mr. Ormsby hates cant, whether spiritual or critical, and will never look for a subtle explanation when he can find a simple one; but in pursuit of simplicity he has missed a point of the highest importance. The misfortunes of the Knight may be laughable, but the laughter which begins on the surface reaches down into deeper regions. Mr. Ormsby thinks that 'Cervantes' humour is broad and simple, and that of the finer and more delicate humour through which there runs a thread of pathos he had but little.' We should have said that it is precisely this delicate humour which is visible in every page of 'Don Quixote,' and is the secret of its charm. Mr. Ormsby's practice is better than his theory, for he feels and reproduces what he denies to exist. Rough-and-tumble jokes may amuse for the moment, but even the multitude soon tires of them. The interest of the Knight's misadventures does not lie in themselves, but in the person whom they befel. An ordinary maniac breaking out of Bedlam, running at windmills, and mistaking scullery girls for princesses, would have nothing entertaining about him at all. In the midst of his greatest absurdities, even in the Penance scene on the Sierra, Don Quixote preserves

serves his dignity, never forfeits our esteem; and thus raises to the highest degree the sense of incongruity which is the essence of the ridiculous. We forgive the follies on the score of the madness, while we love and admire the man for the innocence and purity of his nature. The illusion is like that in 'Reineke Fuchs,' where we condone the crimes because Reynard, as an animal, is without moral responsibility, and are left free to applaud the cleverness and unbounded resource.

As to the purpose of Don Quixote, Cervantes professed to have none, save that which was on the surface, to ridicule down the taste for romance reading. It was a universal poison against which serious and thoughtful men had long remonstrated. Distinguished clergy had written grave books 'to drive out of Spain that dust cloud of books of chivalries that were blinding the eyes of all classes of the people.' They had failed, for they had used the wrong weapons. They had protested; Cervantes used ridicule, and, like one of the knights that he was laughing at, destroyed the giant at a single blow. Mr. Ormsby is completely satisfied with this explanation. He does not ask how we still come to be entertained, when the object and all to do with it is forgotten, and is impatient with any one who suggests a more profound meaning. He is particularly angry with the famous lines of Byron. He says:—

'It was not chivalry itself that he attacked and swept away. Of all the absurdities that, thanks to poetry, will be repeated to the end of time, there is no greater one than saying Cervantes "smiled chivalry away." In the first place there was no chivalry for him to smile away. Spain's chivalry had been dead for more than a century. Its work was done when Granada fell; and as chivalry was essentially republican in its nature, it could not live under the rule that Ferdinand substituted for the free institutions of mediæval Spain. What he did smile away was not chivalry, but a degrading mockery of it. It would be just as reasonable to say that England's chivalry was smiled away by the ridicule showered in "Punch" upon the men in block tin who ride in the Lord Mayor's Show.'

Mr. Ormsby complains that Cervantes confuses his sentences. He himself uses the word 'chivalry' in this passage in so many senses, and shifts so fast from one to the other, that there is no footing in it anywhere. The chivalry of which Byron was speaking was no mere passing condition in which knights broke lances for their lady's love, or barons gathered their vassals to fight for their hereditary *fueros;* it was the spirit which had animated those knights, which animated and will animate all noble-minded men who will devote their lives to any

any generous cause; and chivalry in this high sense, so far from being dead in Spain in Cervantes' time, never was more conspicuous than in Ignatius Loyola, or in Saint Terésa, or Las Casas, or Alonzo da Leyva, or Miguel de Oquendo, and the chiefs of the unlucky Armada, or for that matter, in Cervantes himself. It died out in the seventeenth century. Spain, once the mother of heroes, became the mother of a race whom we all desire to forget; and Byron thought that the tone of Don Quixote had been an active agent in the degeneracy. Whether rightly or not, is another question; the lines are something more than melodious nonsense; but it is not easy to believe in the corrupting influences of such a spirit as that of Cervantes.

Mr. Ormsby is equally impatient when Charles Kingsley calls 'Don Quixote' a 'sad book,' he says:—

'To call "Don Quixote" a sad book, preaching a pessimist view of life, argues a total misconception of its drift. It would be so if its moral were that in this world true enthusiasm naturally leads to ridicule and discomfiture. But it preaches nothing of the sort. Its moral, so far as it can be said to have one, is that the spurious enthusiasm that is born of vanity and self-conceit [poor Don Quixote!] that is made an end in itself, not a means to an end; and that acts on mere impulse, regardless of circumstances and consequences, is mischievous to its owner and a very considerable nuisance to the community at large. To those who cannot distinguish between one kind and the other, no doubt "Don Quixote" is a sad book. No doubt to some minds it is very sad that a man who has just uttered so beautiful a sentiment as that, "it is a hard case to make slaves of those whom God and nature made free," should be ungratefully pelted by the scoundrels his crazy philanthropy had let loose on society: but to others of a more judicial cast it will be matter of regret that reckless, self-sufficient enthusiasm is not often requited in some such way for all the mischief it does in the world.'

If this be all, why do we take an interest in the unlucky Knight? Hard-headed people, no doubt, feel a certain satisfaction over the coming to grief of well-intentioned fools, but no one ever suggested before that this had anything to do with the amusement with which we read of Don Quixote's calamities. Even in Don Quixote himself Mr. Ormsby can find nothing interesting; at least as he appears in the First Part. He admits that in the Second there is a difference:—

'In the First Part,' he says, 'Don Quixote has no character or individuality whatever. He is nothing more than a crazy representative of the sentiments of the chivalry romances. In all that he says and does, he is simply repeating the lessons that he has learnt from

from his books. And therefore, as Hallam with perfect justice maintains, it is absurd to speak of him in the gushing strain of the sentimental critics when they dilate upon his nobleness, disinterestedness, dauntless courage, and so forth. It was the business of a knight-errant to right wrongs, redress injuries, and succour the distressed; and this, as a matter of course, he makes his business when he takes up the part. A knight-errant was bound to be intrepid, and so he feels bound to cast fear aside. Of all Byron's melodious nonsense about Don Quixote, the most nonsensical statement is that, "His virtue makes him mad." The exact opposite is the truth: "It is his madness which makes him virtuous."

The same defect which prevents Mr. Ormsby from seeing the more delicate kind of humour in Cervantes, is again leading him astray. When Don Quixote's head is broken by Gines de Passamonte, why do we pity him? We ought rather to rejoice to see common-sense assert its rights. Men may go mad from self-conceit and folly, just as they may die and worms may eat them. Treatises may be written on their illusions which scientific students may find benefit in reading. The patients in such cases may be objects of curiosity, and even of compassion in a general sense. But, by the common consent of mankind, Don Quixote is a person whom in the maddest of his craze everybody loves, and on this showing, what reason can be given for it? Mr. Ormsby's theories do not save him from the universal contagion. When he is turning into English the poor Knight's discourses, or when he is describing his catastrophes, he reproduces the same tone of pathetic amusement which he finds in the original. He has no business, on his own showing, to love the unfortunate maniac, yet he does love him as much as Cervantes did himself. Is it true that Don Quixote is made virtuous by his madness? Does madness ever make men virtuous? It may make them cunning. It may make them treacherous, it may make them savage, but not virtuous. It cannot give courage, self-denial, modesty, purity, generosity, or the clear and delicate judgment which is never absent in Don Quixote when he is away from the subject of his special illusion. It was the business of a knight-errant to be intrepid, therefore, Mr. Ormsby says, he felt bound to cast fear aside. But do men, as a fact, become brave because they feel that they ought to be brave? If to do were as easy as to know what to do, then were all sinners virtuous—and madness cannot give a strength to moral purpose which is refused to sanity. Surely the very essence of the interest which everybody feels in Don Quixote is in the recognition in him of a 'noble mind o'erthrown;' and overthrown

not

not by vanity and arrogance, but by generous illusions, to which the best of us are all subject, and which belong to the best parts of our nature. If Mr. Ormsby had contented himself with saying that madness had made Don Quixote self-sufficient, that would have been true. The single moral blemish upon him is his self-sufficiency. And we pardon him when he boasts of the power of his 'invincible arm,' because it belonged to his insanity, and grew out of the conviction that he had adopted the most glorious and the most laborious of human callings. Madness could produce his weaknesses, but his virtues were his own. Goethe tells us that to understand Hamlet's insanity, we must study what he was before it came upon him. Cervantes saves us the trouble with Don Quixote, whom he describes as having been an excellent gentleman, universally loved and respected—sober, temperate, chaste—chaste as, or chaster than his own Rosinante: a gentleman in the best sense—well-read, well-informed, incapable of any mean ungenerous thought. It is likely enough that Cervantes drew the character in humorous ridicule of himself; that he was caricaturing the identical qualities which had spoilt his own worldly career, and had sent him wandering in pursuit of military glory, when he had been launched prosperously in the household of an Archbishop. There is no occasion for Mr. Ormsby to use 'Don Quixote' as a text from which to exalt the excellences of prudence and moderation, and the superiority of it to emotional dreams. The world preaches that lesson in a tone loud enough, and there is no fear that it will ever reward the foolishly generous too lavishly. Yet these last have their uses, and need not be spurned at as 'nuisances.' They have been with us from the beginning in scattered examples, and it is to be hoped that they will continue with us to the end, for the world without them would be a sorry place to live in. The human race, or the not disreputable part of it, is divided into those whose eye is on the main chance, who walk prudently along the beaten roads of life with their eyes on the attainable and the practical, and those whose spiritual emotions are in excess of the prudential and rational, who will not care about what is called making their own fortunes, but aspire to do some great thing for the good of their fellow-creatures. It is true that enthusiastic philanthropists often benefit as little as those whom they desire to help, as Don Quixote helped the wretched Andreas, whom, after delivering, he left to a double flagellation; that they tilt at windmills, and sometimes overthrow them, to the destruction of useful machinery; that they mistake valuable institutions for instruments of tyranny; that many such persons devote their

their lives to illusions, political or spiritual, and create anarchy and ruin in aiming at what they believe to be reformation. Yet, on the other side, what would become of the world, and what should we be ourselves, if we were all on our guard against enthusiasm. Human history would be without its brightest ornaments, human knowledge without its grandest achievements, and human creatures without any characteristics which would make them more than a superior class of animals. Every precious thing which we possess has been the work of the idealists who have succeeded. They have formed our creeds. They have built up our science. They have created our art. They have enriched humanity by noble examples. Where they have failed even ridiculously, we admire them personally. Where they have done harm in meaning to do good, we recognize the purity of their motives, and cannot be angry with them. Some one in Carlyle's hearing was dilating once on the mischief which *belief* had done in the world. 'Yes,' he answered, 'belief has done much evil, but it has done all the good.' It is this disposition, this too eager rushing after redress of grievances, careless of self and careless of consequences, with no adequate understanding of our own resources or of the conditions which we undertake to deal with, this, and the treatment which it necessarily and even fitly meets with in the society which it would set in order, that Cervantes delineates in 'Don Quixote.' He touches the deepest fibres of the experience of every generous mind, and teaches us to love what is noble even in its wildest aberrations.

So much for the Knight. Now for the Squire. Of Sancho, too, Mr. Ormsby has many excellent things to say, and with perhaps a keener appreciation. But here, too, he seems to fall short of a full perception of Sancho's character. He considers him to have been an afterthought of Cervantes, and to have grown upon him when he began his story; yet to have grown by a kind of necessity, since a Don Quixote without his companion is hardly to be conceived.

'It is the incongruity,' he says truly, 'of Sancho, in all his ways, words, and works, with the ideas and aims of his master quite as much as the wonderful vitality and truth to nature of the character, that makes him the most humorous creature in the whole range of fiction....Sancho is an unconscious Mephistopheles, always unwittingly making mockery of his master's aspirations, always exposing the fallacy of his ideas by some unintentional *ad absurdum*, always bringing him back to the world of fact and commonplace by force of stolidity.'

For Sancho himself, Mr. Ormsby says that, 'on dissection, he fails

fails to find a loveable trait in him, unless it be a sort of dog-like affection for his master.' Yet he feels that his analysis is imperfect, for 'who is there,' he asks, 'that in his heart does not love him?' and where there is love there must be some occasion for it. Sancho is drawn with even more subtlety than Don Quixote, for though Mr. Ormsby calls him an unconscious Mephistopheles, he has as many illusions as his master, though illusions of a lower type, and expects his island with as much confidence as Don Quixote expects a kingdom. 'Dog-like affection' is not the word for him. It was an affection which took possession of his imagination, for he believed in his master with absolute completeness, even when he was convinced that his master was mad; and he was so bewildered in the labyrinth in which he had entangled himself in the enchantment of Dulcinea, that he was half-persuaded of the truth of the lies which he had himself invented. Nor should we call him stolid, for he was astonishingly shrewd; nor selfish, for when his conscience was touched, he could think as seriously as his confessor. If the wisest statesman could not have given him better advice than Don Quixote when he was going upon his government, the most scrupulous of squires could not have felt more honourably diffident when a doubt of his fitness was suggested to him.

'"Señor," said Sancho, "if your worship thinks I am not fit for this government, I give it up on the spot; for the mere black of the nail of my soul is dearer to me than my whole body; and I can live just as well simple Sancho upon bread and onions as Governor upon partridges and capons. And what's more, while we are asleep we are all equal, great and small, rich and poor. But if your worship looks into it, you will see it was your worship alone that put me on to this business of governing—for I know no more about the government of islands than a buzzard. And if there is any reason to think that because of my being a Governor the devil will get hold of me, I'd rather go Sancho to heaven than Governor to hell."

'"By God! Sancho," said Don Quixote, "for these last words thou hast uttered alone I consider thou deservest to be a Governor of a thousand islands. Thou hast good natural instincts, without which no knowledge is worth anything. Commend thyself to God, and try not to swerve in the pursuit of thy main object. I mean, always make it thy aim and fixed purpose to do right in all matters which come before thee, for Heaven always helps good intentions."'

And if the Greek proverb be true, that ἀρχὴ ἄνδρα δείξει 'power will show what a man is,' how shrewd, how patient, how wise poor Sancho showed himself! Placed in office for a jest, he proved fitter for it than the best-trained official. He astonished those

those who were put about him to note down his blunders, with the clearness of his insight and the justice of his decisions. Cervantes was perhaps making use of him as a playful satire upon governors in general, by showing that native wit and honesty might make an illiterate peasant superior to the best of them. Surely Sancho must have the benefit of the actions and the sayings which are attributed to him. How is he said to have been employed while the Duke's servants were devising their cruel scheme to get rid of him?

'Sancho spent the afternoon in drawing up certain ordinances relating to the good government of what he fancied the island. He ordained that there were to be no special provision dealers in the State; that any one might import wine whence he pleased, provided that he declared the place of its growth, that it might be appraised according to its quality; and he that watered his wine or changed the name of it was to forfeit his life. He reduced the prices of shoes, boots, and stockings; but of shoes especially, which seemed inordinately high. He established a fixed rate of servants' wages, which had been exorbitant. He laid penalties on those who sang loose or lewd songs by day or night. He ordered that blind beggars should not pretend to relate miracles unless they could prove them true, for he thought that most of those which the blind men told were invented, and brought discredit upon real miracles. He set up an overseer of the poor, not to vex them, but to examine into their condition and learn the truth of it; for many a sturdy thief or drunkard was going about shamming sores or injuries to limb. In a word, he made so many good rules, that to this day they are observed there, and are called the constitutions of the great Governor, Sancho Panza.'

We beseech Mr. Ormsby to review his censures—censures, though not unkindly—upon poor Sancho, and allow that he had some merits. And we will mention one other small matter. He finds fault with Cervantes for a remark, which may be regarded rather as one of the subtlest touches of pathos in the whole book. Don Quixote comes home vanquished, recovers his senses, falls ill, and dies. Sancho weeps at his bedside in honest misery. Friends and servants stand round and listen in unaffected grief when he takes leave of them. When he is gone, the will is opened, and they find themselves all remembered. Cervantes says: 'The niece ate and the housekeeper drank, and Sancho Panza enjoyed himself: for to inherit property wipes out or softens down in the heirs the feeling of grief which the dead man might be expected to leave behind him.' To Mr. Ormsby this is 'a piece of commonplace cynicism, uncalled for, inconsistent with what had gone before, and regretted

regretted by most of Cervantes' readers.' Why should it be regretted? It is not cynical. It is not inconsistent. It records but a fact of poor human nature which is not the less real in its sorrow when it does not try to prolong its emotion artificially. Friends die and are buried; and their legacies give satisfaction, and life goes on as before. Cervantes does not mean to be bitter. The words are but a playfully sad reflection on the inevitable course of things, in the spirit of the whole story.

But we will criticize no further. Mr. Ormsby's faults, if they be faults, are at worst but exaggerations of a wholesome hatred of unreal sentimentalism. His translation of 'Don Quixote' is not only, as we have already said, the best English translation which we have examined, but to ordinary readers it is the first which has made the book intelligible, and we welcome it as a precious addition to our literature. The superiority of it to all its rivals will be immediately felt. It will pass through many editions; and if the few remarks which we have made seem to him worth attention, he will have ample opportunities of considering them. There are many admirable passages, both in the notes and in the Introduction, which it would have been a pleasure to extract and to praise, but they will be best read in their own place and in their proper connection.

ART. III.—*Histoire des Princes de Condé pendant les XVI^e et XVII^e Siècles.* Par M. le Duc d'Aumale. Tomes III., IV. Paris, 1886.

SIXTEEN years and a half have elapsed since the first instalment of the work named above was reviewed in these pages.* Even that long period, however, does not measure the entire interval which separates the new volumes of the History from the passing of the former portion out of its illustrious Author's hands; inasmuch as the first two volumes were in type as early as 1863, and would have been issued in that year, had not the government of Napoleon III., for some inscrutable reason, if the word can be used of so irrational a proceeding, for six years arbitrarily forbidden their publication. Why the desire of the lovers of genuine history to see the continuation of a work of so much interest and promise should have remained so long ungratified may, in the absence of any authoritative explanation, be only too probably conjectured. The position of the Princes of the House of Orleans has been no easy one, during the revolutions and storms of war that have swept over the country, which, in spite of its ingratitude, they have nobly loved to serve. Public duties and family anxieties and sorrows must inevitably have engrossed a large share of the Duc d'Aumale's thoughts during the last quarter of a century, and placed serious obstacles in the way of that patient research and conscientious completeness by which every page of his work is characterized. For his Royal Highness has not been content with sketching his story in broad outline, or treating the reader to a mere series of striking episodes in the lives of his heroes: every detail has been carefully filled in; every fact, however trifling, scrupulously verified; every actor in the varied scenes identified as far as possible, and brought into clear light. Indeed, the work is a perfect repository of biographical information; and we can imagine many an historical family of France learning for the first time, in its pages, the particulars of the part played by one and another of their ancestors, in the political struggles and civil wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

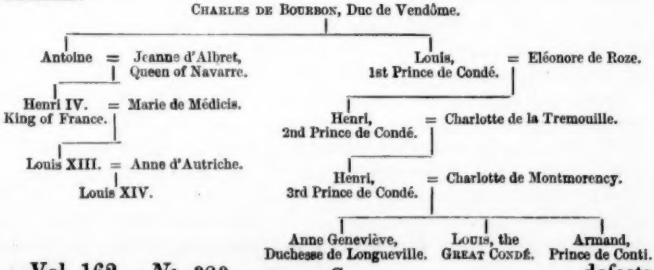
Before endeavouring to give some account of what the new volumes of the 'History' contain, we must premise, that the portion reviewed by us sixteen years ago carried down the story of the House of Condé to the tragic event which suddenly snatched from France her first Bourbon monarch, the heroic

* See 'Quarterly Review,' July, 1869.

Henry

Henry IV., after his strong hand had brought to an end the intestine wars of the League, and established a *modus vivendi* between the factions, which, for more than a quarter of a century, had convulsed the nation and exhausted its resources. So far as general French history is concerned, no more suitable break could have been chosen than the disastrous change wrought by the dagger of Ravaillac, when, to use the language of a contemporary, 'it seemed as if a universal deluge had in a moment destroyed all the hopes of France.' But in respect of the special purpose of the Duc d'Aumale's work, to trace the fortunes of the Condé branch of the Bourbons, the interruption of the narrative at that particular point was scarcely so appropriate. It may be recollected that the third Prince of the House, known as Henri II. de Bourbon, and standing to the great Henry in the relation, not of nephew, as he was usually called, but of first cousin once removed,* had been brought on the scene, and left, at the age of twenty-two, *planted*, as the French say, in a rather ridiculous position. A posthumous child, born six months (scandal said thirteen) after his father's death in the prison where his mother, Charlotte de la Tremouille, was for seven years confined, on suspicion of having been accessory to the poisoning of her husband, his real paternity was involved in serious doubt; although it suited Henry, who till several years later had no son born in wedlock, to acknowledge his legitimacy, and treat him as heir-presumptive to the throne. Between an unscrupulous mother and an incompetent tutor the young Prince seems to have fared badly for education; and whether it was owing to this, or to the absence of the genuine blood of the line to which he was affiliated, he grew up as unlike a Condé as possible, stony-faced and meanhearted, with not a spice of the dash, the gallantry, the chivalrous generosity, which had thrown a redeeming lustre over the

* The following table gives the relationship between the two lines of the Bourbons:—



defects or vices of his reputed ancestors. He had reached the age of twenty, when Fortune, by his royal kinsman's hand, played him the curious freak, described at length in our previous article, of bribing him to become the reluctant, and, it was hoped, accommodating husband of the most beautiful girl of the time, Charlotte de Montmorency, with whom Henry himself had fallen distractedly in love, and thereby engaging him in so hot a struggle for the possession of her person, that the peace of the kingdom was endangered by it. The King's furious attempts to get hold of the brilliant young wife, who, alas! was but too willing to be captured by him, were only cut short by his assassination; and when the curtain thus fell with a crash on the mad drama, she was fuming and scheming for a divorce at Brussels, her husband having, so to speak, eloped by night with her out of France, and for honour's sake, we may hope, but certainly not for love's, committed her to the custody of the Austrian Archdukes at the Flemish capital, while he himself sought a more remote asylum at Milan. Thence the news of the terrible catastrophe brought him in haste to Paris, to present himself to the Queen-Regent, Marie de Médicis, and the young King, Louis XIII.; and there the former volumes left him, without any particular claim on the reader's interest, beyond his nearness to the throne, and the fact, that he was the legal proprietor of a woman of irresistible and dangerous beauty, between whom and himself stood the barrier of what seemed to be an unconquerable dislike.

The second instalment of the History now in our hands takes it up at this point, the middle of 1610, and carries it down to the summer of 1645, ending with the battle of Nördlingen, won by the great Condé over the Imperialists. It thus nearly spans the remainder of the life of the third Prince of Condé, who died at the close of 1646, and leaves his heroic son just completing his twenty-fourth year. It needs scarcely to be said, that with the appearance of the latter on the scene the interest of the story greatly increases. The prosaic medley of intrigues, quarrels, and reconciliations, characteristic of so much of the reign of Louis XIII., becomes illuminated by the flashes of genius and romance with the advent of the youthful victor of Rocroy. But to reach this more stirring epoch, we have first to plod wearily through the story of his father's life, which even the Duc d'Aumale's clear and graphic style can hardly render attractive to the ordinary reader.

The truth must be confessed, that the third Prince of Condé, after all that the historian can do for him, remains a very uninteresting character. His heart was profoundly selfish, his tastes low,

low, his temper saturnine. Entirely destitute himself of generous impulses and warm sympathies, he was incapable of gaining the hearts of others, and never had a real friend. One passion ruled him from boyhood to old age, but it was an ignoble one in itself, and especially obnoxious in a great Prince; he was dominated by an insatiable thirst to be rich. To gratify this he submitted to an alliance with a woman for whom he never cared, and to whom he proved so indifferent a husband, as to give rise to the satirical remark of a contemporary, that the Princess never had but two happy days with him; her wedding-day, because of the exalted rank to which it raised her; and the day of his death, because of the liberty which she then regained. Two years later, when the assassination of the King brought him back to Paris, and every one was anxiously watching to see what line, as first Prince of the blood, he would take amidst the dire confusion and alarm, the sole business to which he gave his attention was a negociation with the Court to extort as large an income as possible for himself. During the next three years we find him alternately intriguing for additional favours, and sulking when refused, till in disgust at seeing every good thing absorbed by the partisans of Concini, the Queen-Regent's all-powerful favourite, he steals away from Paris and raises an insurrection, in hope of winning by arms what he had failed to obtain by solicitation; nor was the 'inexcusable revolt' without success, inasmuch as its result, as far as he himself was concerned, was to put into his pocket a large sum of public money as the price of his submission. Another year passes, and he is again in arms against the Crown, and this time with more serious consequences, on the pretext of opposing the Spanish marriages which the Regent, in contravention of Henry's policy, was now on the point of celebrating. For this he is declared a traitor; but seizing his opportunity before many months have elapsed, he makes advantageous terms for himself, and squeezes out of the Ministry the central government of Berry, several valuable domains, places, and privileges, and an immense sum in cash. From one of Richelieu's State papers we learn, that in the six years following the accession of Louis XIII. Condé wrung from the Crown, in extraordinary gratuities, the enormous sum of 3,665,990 livres.

Had this degrading avidity for wealth been confined to Condé's younger days, when he could plead the necessity of an establishment suited to his rank, there might have been less in it to reprobate. But his whole life unhappily illustrated the old saying: 'Crescit amor nummi quantum ipsa pecunia crescit.' To the end, when he had succeeded in making himself the richest man in France, the same grasping spirit was ever on

the watch for opportunities of self-aggrandizement, and whatever happened to himself, his relatives, or his enemies, the paramount consideration with him was how to turn the occasion into a means of increasing his lucrative offices and his possessions. For instance, when in the autumn of 1627 it pleased Richelieu to draw him from the disgrace and inactivity in which he had languished since the advent of that haughty Minister to power, and to offer him the command of the army of the South in the projected campaign against the Huguenots,—who, be it remembered, had supported him in arms but a few years before, and for whose liberties the former Princes of his house had valiantly fought and bled,—this degenerate successor allowed himself to be bribed to the savage work of devastation and slaughter by the promise of a large share in the estates of the noble Protestant leader, the Duc de Rohan. Of the same mercenary disposition another illustration, and certainly a ludicrous one, was furnished ten years later, when through his incapacity to command he was shamefully defeated at Fontarabia, and driven headlong out of Spain. Stripped of the last rag of military reputation which he had to lose, he sought an ignoble consolation in begging for abbeys to endow his younger son, and demanding compensation from the public funds for the capture of his private baggage and plate which had fallen into the enemy's hands. Even the tragic fate of his wife's brother, the chivalrous Montmorency, who was beheaded in 1632 for complicity with the fatuous insurrection of the King's petulant brother, Gaston, duc d'Orléans, was turned by the scheming Condé to good account for himself; for by means of ingenious financing, in which he took a strange delight, he contrived to buy up the interests of his two sisters-in-law in the succession, and become possessed of a large share of the domains of the great ducal house on which the fatal stroke had fallen. In fact, most of his life was spent in an atmosphere redolent of financial operations, bargains, lawsuits, monetary transactions of one kind or another, which ill became his exalted rank, and exposed him to many a satirical jest. As for public emoluments and patronage, he considered them fair game. Almost every vacancy in high office found him a candidate for something. When the younger of his two sons, afterwards known as the Prince de Conti, was born, his eyes turned greedily to the revenues of the Church for a provision; and while the child was still in the cradle not only were fat abbeys unblushingly solicited for him, but even the endowments of the highest ecclesiastical offices. We had in this country, some few generations back, a scandal of a 'boy-bishop,' who figured in the coarse caricatures of the period; but that lucky protégé of the Minister

Minister was at least of the canonical age of thirty. But to ask a bishopric for a babe just learning to prattle his infantine monosyllables would have seemed to surpass human impudence and cupidity, had we not the evidence of it in the following dry letter from Richelieu to the infant's mother, which fortunately has been preserved in the Condé archives:—

'Madame, it is very plain what deference Princesses like yourself show to those to whom they are bound by an oath, since to gratify Monsieur your husband you are pleased to make me a request, which I am sure you know that it is impossible for the King to grant. If rank bestowed the capacity for ecclesiastical offices, the birth of Monsieur your son would give him at once more than you desire. But inasmuch as both reason and the law of the Church ordain otherwise, you will, Madame, I am sure, allow the King to present to the bishoprick of Auxerre some one who can discharge its duties, and to reserve for other opportunities the desire to testify his affection for you.'

No doubt, in partial extenuation of the third Condé's low morals and mean character, may be pleaded the general demoralization of the Court and nobility, among whom probity, virtue, and patriotism, were rarely to be found. The notorious relations between Marie de Médicis and Concini, and again between Anne of Austria and Mazarin, were but symptoms of a plague of immorality which infected the upper ranks of society, and which has left its traces in the grave doubts in which the paternity of both Louis XIII. and Louis XIV. is involved. If the vigorous and unsparing hand of Richelieu for a time curbed the insolence of the patricians, and imposed on them respect for the Crown, the improvement was but external; and as soon as the pressure was removed by his death, the latent insubordination burst forth worse than ever in the miserable 'dédale d'intrigues' known as the Fronde. It is only just, therefore, to find some excuse for Condé's selfishness and insensibility to the calls of honour and virtue, in the prevalent lawlessness and vice of the time. But if not intrinsically worse than many others, the prosaic meanness of his character at least made him less interesting. One is at a loss to detect in him a single warm affection or generous sentiment. In spite of his splendid opportunities, his life remained on the same dead level of coarse self-indulgence and persistent egotism of purpose.

The turning-point of his public career was his arrest in September 1616, followed by a rigorous incarceration which lasted for three years. That he richly deserved such a punishment for levying war against the Crown in the previous autumn is undeniable; but the bad faith of the government was as flagrant

flagrant as his guilt, for scarcely four months had passed since the treaty of Loudun had assured to him and his partizans a plenary indemnity and security from future prosecution. But his imprudence and arrogance gave to the Queen-Mother's clique a plausible excuse for taking their revenge for the treaty which had humiliated them; and as it sometimes occurs in times of political ferment, a ridiculous mistake hurried on the crisis. At that conjuncture there happened to be in Paris a special envoy from England, James Hay, created Lord Hay of Sawlie in the previous year, but better known as the magnificent and spendthrift Earl of Carlisle, who ran through an immense fortune, and left not a house, an acre, or a penny behind him. This splendid and accomplished courtier, besides bearing congratulations to the boy-King on his precocious marriage, was instructed to sound the Court of France with regard to a union of the Prince of Wales with one of the daughters of Henry IV.; but owing to the secrecy in which this project was enveloped, and to the heated political atmosphere which was full of alarms and suspicions, a rumour obtained currency that the English Envoy was charged with a mission to promote a revolution, and place the Crown on Condé's head. Groundless as this rumour undoubtedly was, it had in its favour the fact, that such a scheme had really been entertained at the time of Henry's death by the Court of Spain, and urged on Condé by the argument, that both Louis XIII. and his brother were of spurious birth; a further semblance of the truth was also given to it by the intimacy of the English diplomatist with Condé and the recognized chiefs of his faction, at whose festive boards he was constantly to be found. It was at Condé's own table, in the midst of a large convivial party, including Lord Hay, that the incident occurred which produced the explosion. Towards the end of the noisy carouse, one of the Prince's boon companions brought in a newly issued pay-schedule bearing the signature of Barbin, the Comptroller-General, who was well known for his hostility to Condé and devotion to the Queen-Mother; and the fellow, to amuse the company, parodied it as he pretended to read it, and when he came to the signature pronounced it 'Barrabas'* instead of Barbin. 'Now "Barrabas" was a robber,' exclaimed Condé, amidst shouts of laughter, and cries of 'Barrabas! Barrabas!' Harmless buffoonery, one would have thought; but next day a report flew from mouth to mouth, that on the previous evening the English Envoy had drunk to the health of Condé as the future King of France, and that the

* In French the form is 'Barrabas,' not 'Barabbas.'

toast

toast had been received with enthusiastic shouts of 'Barre à bas,' meaning, 'away with the bar' in the Prince's escutcheon which indicated the younger branch of the royal house, thus virtually claiming for him the arms which were peculiar to the King. Misled by the circumstantial story, and believing the danger to be imminent, the terrified Court resolved to anticipate it by a sudden stroke, and a trap was skilfully laid for the seizure of the Prince, when he attended the early sitting of the Council at the Louvre. A band of adventurers was organized under the command of two soldiers of fortune, De Thémines and D'Elbène, and weapons for their use were smuggled into the palace in a chest of silken stuffs. In the course of the night the captains of the French and Swiss guards were taken into the secret by the Queen-Mother, and at her urgent entreaty undertook to oppose by force the escape or rescue of the Prince. Towards morning the young King himself placed in hiding the band charged with the arrest, and distributed to them the weapons which had been prepared. All being ready, his mother watched from a window the arrival of the victim, and exclaimed as he approached, 'Here comes the King of France, but to-day he will be only a twelfth-night king!'

Notwithstanding the unusual presence of troops under arms, and other signs of agitation, Condé could not believe that any attempt on his liberty was likely to be made in the palace. Under this impression he attended the Council as usual, and then with some of the officials proceeded to the Queen's private room to terminate the session in her presence. The rest may be told in our Author's own words:—

'Arrived at the Queen's chamber, he was startled at finding, contrary to custom, two guards stationed at the doors. He entered, and the King, who alone was there with three or four of his suite, saluted him in a friendly tone, and invited him to accompany him to the chase. The Prince excused himself; the King said "Adieu," remarking that his mother would presently come. At the same moment Thémines appeared at another door, and approaching Condé said, "Monseigneur, the King having heard that you are listening to proposals injurious to his government, and are urged to form designs ruinous to the State and to yourself, has ordered me to take charge of your person to prevent your falling into mischief." "What!" exclaimed the Prince, "arrest me—me? Are you then the captain of the guards?" And he made a movement to draw his sword. "No," answered Thémines, seizing his arm; "but I am a gentleman, and obliged to obey the orders of the King, who is my master and yours." On this, Condé turned to the members of the Council who had followed him, and seeing the Duc de Rohan, said to him, "My cousin, will you allow a Prince of the blood to be arrested in this

this way? Monsieur the Keeper of the Seals, was ever such an injustice done? Permit me to speak to the King and the Queen? What, have I no friends here?" "Monsieur," replied the Duc de Rohan, "the King must be obeyed." The rest remained motionless, with downcast eyes. Already Condé was surrounded by the sons and friends of Thémines; and silently he gave up his sword. They then led him to a lower hall, where he found D'Elbène with his band. Seeing them armed with pistols, he thought that his last hour had come. "Alas!" he cried, "I am a dead man! bring me a priest; give me at least time to think of my conscience." With difficulty they reassured him; he sat down, and remained in deep dejection. It was the noon of Thursday, Sept. 1; the precise day and hour on which, twenty-eight years before, he had come into the world.'

After a few days' detention in the Louvre, during which he was with difficulty roused to take food, Condé was conveyed to the Bastille, whence, a year later, he was transferred to Vincennes, where he passed the remaining two years of his captivity in the character of a State-criminal. To the surprise of the Court, nobody cared to lift a finger on his behalf. The Parliament, the bourgeoisie, the Huguenots, all of whom had been considered as his adherents, silently acquiesced; even the 'Princes,' the Dukes of Bouillon, Mayenne, and Vendôme, who had been his allies in the insurrection, and whom accident alone saved from being arrested at the same time, hastened to make their own peace with the Government, and left him to his fate. So much at ease did the Court find itself, that within a few weeks it gaily used the event to give piquancy to a burlesque entertainment. A ballet was performed by the courtiers, in which Damon and Sylvia, personating Condé and Marie de Médicis, danced to the rhythm of alternate pastoral couplets, the shepherd complaining of the cruelty of his mistress in depriving him of his liberty, and the shepherdess saucily retorting that she had only anticipated a similar action on his part.* But before the three years had elapsed, much had happened. Concini had been assassinated, with the King's connivance, and the weird Léonora Galigaï, to whom his royal mistress had married him, had been executed with legal formalities; the Queen-Mother, and the clique which had ruled in her name, had been driven from the Court; and a low-born favourite, Luynes, who had been the young King's falconer, had risen to be chief Minister of State. With these shiftings of the scene of political intrigue we have nothing here to do, beyond noting their effect on the fortunes of Condé. They opened the

* See 'Documents Inédits sur l'histoire de France (Richelieu),' vol. i. p. 218, note.

door

door of his prison, not because those who were for the moment in power were his friends, but because it had become more convenient to release so great a personage than to keep him indefinitely under lock and key. In fact, the King's government had no more cause to fear him. The discipline of confinement had effectually cured him of the propensity to indulge his ill-humour by taking arms against the Crown. He had discovered that insurrection was too hazardous an expedient for advancing his fortunes; the game was not worth the candle. As the Duc d'Aumale remarks:—'He was no longer the same; after a confinement of three years, he came out of Vincennes, if not changed, at least profoundly modified.' Self-aggrandizement, indeed, was still his master-passion; but henceforth he was resolved to pursue it by patient obsequiousness, and servile docility to the successive holders of power.

It was not only, however, in this respect that Condé's arrest became the turning-point of his career. It affected his family relations in a way which seemed highly improbable, and cast over his life the one gleam of romance that ever irradiated its prosaic tenour. Up to that time his beautiful wife had been treated by him with ostentatious neglect, resented on her side by contempt and aversion; and, although on his return to Paris after the death of Henry IV., he had consented to a formal reconciliation, and she had withdrawn her suit for a divorce, their relations continued to be cold and 'de simple convenance.' But as soon as the news of his arrest reached her in her provincial abode, she flew up to Paris, and besieged the Court with entreaties to be permitted to share her husband's prison. Sternly refused at the time, and ordered back to the country, she persevered in her purpose; and eight months afterwards, when the political changes had ameliorated the situation, being allowed an interview with the King, she threw herself at his feet, and urged her request with a warmth which he had no heart to resist. To quote again the Duc's narrative:—

'The same evening she entered the Bastille, accompanied by a single maid, and by a little dwarf who had followed her in the morning to the Louvre, and to whom the King at his earnest entreaty gave permission not to quit his mistress. Virey, in his poem on the occasion, affirms that Love himself had taken the form of the child to introduce himself into the Bastille; and amplifying the metaphor, the faithful secretary enlarges with satisfaction on the intimacy which the life of the prison brought about between the husband and the wife. Without entering into details, let us only say that by common consent they forgot the past, and were soon able to look forward to a pledge of their reconciliation.'

With

With regard to the hope of legitimate offspring which opened before the Prince, now that eight years after his marriage he had become something more than the nominal husband of Charlotte de Montmorency, our Author remarks, 'Nothing succeeded with Condé.' A son was prematurely born a few months after his reunion with his wife, but did not live; the same fate befell twin sons eight or nine months later; and shortly before the term of his imprisonment, when a third accouchement had a happier issue, it was only a daughter, afterwards the famous heroine of the Fronde, that was granted to his desires. These disappointments were all the more trying, because, in consequence of the apparently hopeless sterility of the King's marriage, nothing but the life of his young brother Gaston seemed at the time to stand between the House of Condé and the throne of France. But although hope was thus deferred, it did not the less receive an accomplishment, brilliant beyond Condé's brightest anticipations, before the expiration of the two succeeding years. Liberty, indeed, had loosened the ties which captivity had unexpectedly drawn close, and occasional short meetings between the Prince and his wife were all that they henceforth experienced of joint domestic life. Yet for the purposes of Providence the opportunities, though scanty, were sufficient; and while Condé was residing in his government of Berry, the impatiently expected news reached him that 'on September 8, 1621, at ten o'clock in the morning, in her mansion at Paris, Madame the Princess was delivered of a son'—the child who was destined to be the glory of his line and of France, the future hero of Rocroy, Nördlingen, and Lens, the great Condé, over whose coffin Bossuet delivered the finest and last of his funeral orations.

It would only weary the reader, were we to enlarge on the elder Condé's subsequent occupations. The story of his provincial administrations, blundering campaigns, and abortive sieges, is but a dreary one, and his public like his private life was disfigured by not a few revolting features of meanness and cruelty. 'It is not his military conduct,' our Author frankly confesses, 'which merits the attention of posterity.' Michelet's curt description of him is scarcely too severe: 'a man of intelligence, but mean, squalid, avaricious, carrying his miserly soul in his face, he had everything which could repel a woman.' How just the epithet 'squalid' is, may be inferred from the request which Richelieu found it necessary to make to him in 1639:—'When your Royal Highness,' said the Cardinal, 'goes to see the King, I beg that you will wear some respectable and clean dress, trim your beard, put on clean boots and stockings, and, in

in a word, no more appear in your Royal Highness's usual condition.' The Duc d'Aumale certainly makes the best of an ungrateful subject when he portrays him as being during the latter half of his career 'a docile subject and faithful servant of the State, very much occupied with his own private interests, neither seeking glory nor courting danger, but persevering in a line of conduct which, on the whole, was patriotic and sensible.' For one thing his country was assuredly indebted to him—the extreme care which he took to procure for his elder son the education which, according to his lights, he considered the best to fit him for playing a leading part in public affairs. 'He formed a man and a prince,' says the Duc d'Aumale; 'the result was the exquisite culture of a superior intelligence.' Yet we cannot be blind to the fact that even here, where there is more to praise than in any other part of Condé's life, the result was grievously affected by the deficiencies of his own character. Destitute himself of disinterested ardour for his country's welfare, of generous devotion to duty, and of chivalrous respect for women, he never thought of fostering in his son's heart the finer and more delicate qualities of our nature. His aim was to fit him for greatness; but it was the greatness of selfish ambition, not the nobler greatness of one

> 'Who cares not to be great
> Save as he loves and serves the State.'

What the consequences were began to appear only too plainly, as soon as the son escaped from the thraldom in which his youth was passed. We must not anticipate the course of events by dwelling in this place on the foibles, the passions, the heartlessness, which mingled themselves disastrously with the genius of the great Condé. It is enough here to note what our Author very guardedly hints in the following passage, where he is passing as favourable a judgment as possible upon the education by which the hero's character was moulded:—

> 'The Prince acted wisely in living habitually away from his son. It was only at a distance that his good sense, his perseverance, his firmness, could produce their effect; his continual presence would have made his tyranny unbearable. Moral training was not wanting; but in teaching, in impressing respect upon his son, Henri de Bourbon neglected to produce and cultivate in that young soul certain delicate sentiments, to touch certain chords which never vibrated in the great heart of Condé.'

The young Prince, known during his father's life as Duc d'Anguien, the older form of d'Enghien, made his first appearance on the stage of public affairs at the early age of sixteen years

years and a half, when he was entrusted by the Crown with the administration of his father's government of Burgundy, during the elder Condé's absence with the army operating under his command against the Spaniards at the foot of the Pyrenees. To avoid an embarrassing admixture of the details of the son's boyhood with the narrative of the father's public career, the Duc d'Aumale has wisely continued the latter without interruption down to this epoch, and then in a new chapter has gone back to the son's birth, and brought together the various particulars which have been preserved of his education and dawning genius. There is a good deal that is curious in the story. One marked feature of Condé's method of bringing up his heir was the immediate and persistent separation of the child from its mother. As soon as she recovered from her accouchement, she brought the infant down to her husband in Berry, who took it from her and gave it over to the charge of some 'intelligent, devout, docile women of humble rank,' whom he settled in his fortified castle of Montrond, built on a rock dominating the junction of the rivers Marmande and Cher, in the southern part of the Berry country. After this the Princess appears very seldom, if ever, to have seen her son, till she was invited to be present at his baptism, which was celebrated with great pomp in the noble Cathedral of Bourges, when he was four and a half years old, and was able to answer for himself, and to recite the Creed in Latin as well as French. From that time till he entered his sixteenth year, and was transferred to Paris for a course of military study at the 'Royal Academy for Young Nobles,' she was allowed nothing beyond occasional glimpses of him, strictly limited to his holidays or play-time. 'Should my wife come,' wrote Condé to the boy's tutor, 'let her know what hours I have fixed for his studies, and that her visits must be made at another time.' In the cruel barrier thus raised between the mother and her child, it would be a mistake, we think, to see nothing but a proof of Condé's aversion for his wife, and his determination to pay off old scores. There can be no doubt that he profoundly distrusted her influence, and feared that in the society of which she was the centre the boy might acquire a taste for idle gaiety and dissolute extravagance. Between Condé's tastes and aims, and those of his beautiful wife, the gulf was immense. To train up his heir in rigid economy, Spartan simplicity, and unremitting attention to study, was the task at which he was steadfastly labouring: that his work would be quickly undone there was ample reason to anticipate, if the boy were from time to time allowed the run of his mother's gay salon, where the wits of the Court talked scandal, and

and bright eyes shot amorous glances, and the very air was infected with gilded frivolity and hazardous intrigue.

The method of education adopted by Condé had another peculiarity, in that it broke entirely with the tradition of appointing some eminent noble to be governor of the scions of the blood-royal. When the Duc d'Anguien was eight years old, he was brought from Montrond to Bourges, and a home was made for him in the fine Gothic house, built by the famous Jacques Cœur two centuries before, not far from the Jesuits' College, from which he might conveniently attend the daily classes, like the other seven hundred pupils whom the reverend fathers had under their instruction. A gentleman from Dauphiny was entrusted with the charge of his person and household, and a Jesuit father resided with him as private tutor. But the whole routine of his life and studies was minutely regulated by his father, who was in constant correspondence with the lad and his guardians, and required from them precise reports of his conduct and progress: he even carried his supervision so far as to examine and criticize the little fellow's school-exercises. Under this high pressure the boy made rapid advance in learning. Early able to handle Latin as familiarly as French, his periodical letters to his father, from the age of ten to fourteen, some of which have been preserved, were written with ease and fluency in that language. We find him entering the rhetoric class at eleven, proceeding to mathematics and philosophy at twelve, and two years later grappling with jurisprudence, and puzzling the Professor by his acuteness in propounding knotty questions. Nor was it a mere smattering of the various sciences that he picked up. We are assured that 'all these studies were pushed *à fond*.' The College was evidently proud of him; and a wider world was astonished at hearing of a child, scarcely entered on his teens, being put up to sustain theses which were deemed worthy to be printed and distributed throughout France, and even of being brought to the Pope's notice. No one will dispute our Author's remark, that such an education 'was greatly above the level of the superficial instruction then esteemed sufficient for a man of the sword, for the son of a prince or a great noble, and resembled rather the programme of study for a youth vowed to the Church, to science, or to literature.' Besides all the headwork, the training of the body was not overlooked. Various physical exercises, especially riding and hunting, were prescribed for the young Duc, whose health had been delicate from his infancy; and the result was that when early in his fifteenth year he had finished with Bourges, and was taken to Paris

Paris to make his first bow to the King, his tutor could report to Condé that 'his son's health was now perfect, and, if he was not so tall as might be wished, he had become robust and jovial, vigorous in mind and body alike.'

About a year after his introduction at Court, the interval having been uneasily spent in Burgundy amidst alarms of invasion and pestilence, the Duc was brought back to Paris for the twelve months' study at the military College, to which reference has been already made. During this time it was impossible to keep him altogether apart from his mother, and it was in his visits to her that he first tasted the pleasures of society. At the end of the course, having passed out at the head of the Cavalry class, he received the King's commission to be his father's substitute in the government of Burgundy during the war with Spain, and went down in state to Dijon to open the Parliament, and preside over the provincial Council appointed to advise him. Fortunately no serious questions emerged during the eighteen months of his administration. But he made them a precious season of instruction, for he had the good sense to take his position seriously. He was never tired of conversing with learned civilians and men of culture, as well as distinguished military officers, and was always on the look out for opportunities of gaining an experimental acquaintance with the art of war. Every regiment passing through Burgundy was inspected and manœuvred by him; every local fortress examined, sketched, and skilfully criticized. He visited the outposts, traced the routes for troops on the march, and mastered the details of the Commissariat. He thus laid the foundation of that practical knowledge, to which his subsequent triumphs owed as much as to his dashing genius. Yet all this time his father endeavoured to keep him as tightly as ever in leading-strings. The governor of the great province found himself as strictly governed as the school-boy had been. His household expenses, his clothes, his pocket-money, were subjected to close supervision; and if when carnival time came he broke loose a little amidst the balls and fêtes, he soon felt the tightening of the curb, and was forcibly brought back to parsimony and obedience.

Few things in domestic life are more notorious, or more productive of mischief, than the reluctance of despotic parents to recognize the advent of the time, when their children become entitled to a voice in the disposal of themselves. Condé's temperament led him to push paternal authority to an intolerable extreme. He regarded his children as mere counters in the political game, to be used at his pleasure without the slightest respect

respect to their personal inclinations. Of this heartless propensity his heir was the earliest and chief victim. Before the youth was twenty, he was forced into a marriage with a girl of barely thirteen, of whom his subsequent treatment is the darkest blot on his memory. Ever since Richelieu had made himself supreme in France, it had been Condé's aim to advance his own fortunes by forming domestic ties with the Cardinal's family. This great Prince of the blood was ready to go down on his knees before the imperious priest to crave the honour of his alliance. He had named his younger son after him, on his consenting to be the child's godfather; and when he begged his niece for the Duc d'Anguien he would have thrown an only daughter also into the bargain, and betrothed her to the Cardinal's nephew, had not Richelieu dryly replied, that he would willingly give private gentlewomen to princes, but not private gentlemen to princesses. In such haste was Condé to draw close this bond with the autocratic Minister, that it needed all Richelieu's stern authority to prevent the scandal of a public betrothal of the Duc as soon as he entered his thirteenth year, and his destined bride, Claire Clémence de Maillé-Brézé, was but a child of five. Eight years later the formal contract was signed, and on the following day the wedding was celebrated with great festivity; damped, however, in some degree by the settled gloom of the bridegroom, and the ill-concealed rage of Condé at finding that his new daughter-in-law, though handsomely dowered by her uncle, was not to have any share in his succession. The Cardinal was at the apogee of his glory—

'He was triumphant everywhere,' says our Author, 'in Artois, in Germany; his family had become allied to the royal family, and to so many laurels he had now added the palms which most gratified his pride. *Mirame* had been received with applause by an illustrious audience, amongst whom, in imitation of the military shows of Rome, many captive generals figured. After a representation of the official tragedy, accompanied by novel diversions, the theatre was transformed as if by magic, and the Duc d'Anguien, leading in the Queen, opened the ball with her. It was remarked that the young Duchess, embarrassed in dancing by the high heels which she wore to increase her stature, tumbled on the floor amidst the loud laughter of the whole Court, her husband joining in it. People were not less struck by his extreme pallor and emaciated appearance.'

Looking back on the gay scene with our knowledge of the results of this ill-omened marriage, there is something very pathetic in the momentary glimpse that we catch of the poor child-bride in her finery before she was allowed to go back to her dolls. She deserved a better fate. Notwithstanding her

her husband's contemptuous neglect and flagrant infidelities, her conduct was always irreproachable in an age when, in high quarters, profligacy was the rule and virtue the exception; and her courageous devotion to his interests was beyond praise, at the critical period of his arrest by Mazarin at the beginning of 1650. Like a veritable heroine of romance, this delicate little woman of twenty-two flew to arms, headed in person an insurrection in his favour, and conducted a civil war of which she was the life and soul. 'Would you ever have believed,' exclaimed her husband, as he was beguiling his imprisonment by rearing pinks in a little garden within the walls of Vincennes, 'that my wife would have been waging war whilst I watered my garden?' How he repaid her devotion may be told in Lord Stanhope's words:—

'After all she had done and suffered for the interests of Condé, she might perhaps have hoped to receive from him some proof of his regard, or at least of his respect. But it did not prove so. Condé occupied himself with warfare in the summer, and with amours in winter quarters, and would not be interrupted in either of those pursuits. During the whole winter he never once deigned to visit her; and soon after he deprived her of her only remaining consolation—the presence of her son, whom he sent to the Jesuits' College at Namur to pursue his studies.'—'Life of Condé,' ch. x.

But worse was to come. After long seeking a pretext for getting rid of his wife and appropriating her income, he found one in a quarrel which arose in her presence between two of her attendants, and hastened to procure the King's authority to confine her for life in the ancient castle of Châteauroux in the Berry country. Thither she was sent under a royal *lettre de cachet* in February 1671, and there she languished during the remaining twenty-three years of her life. One might have expected that the death of her implacable husband, which occurred eight years before her own, but, according to Saint-Simon, was carefully concealed from her, would bring a term to her sufferings. But the hatred which burned against her in his heart as long as he breathed continued to pursue her from the grave. By a savage refinement of cruelty he left behind him a letter to the King, entreating that the Princess might never be released; and her 'unnatural son,' as Saint-Simon calls him, found his cupidity too well gratified by the possession of her large estates to utter a word on his unfortunate mother's behalf. So the doors of her prison never opened, except for the passage of her corpse to its obscure burial in the neighbouring church. What a contrast to the splendid obsequies of her husband, adorned by the stately and impassioned panegyric of Bossuet!

Bossuet! Into what a tragedy the brilliant comedy of her child-marriage had changed! Who will not share the emotion with which Lord Stanhope portrays it?

'No resource was left to the Princess. Her father, her mother, her brother, were dead, and her son had forsaken her; there was no kindred left for Clémence . . . She had now to enter that living tomb . . . From the summit of that Donjon, from the depth of those gloomy casements, the eyes of Clémence (for her eyes alone still retained their liberty) must often have sadly contemplated the open country which surrounds the town, or still further perceived, perhaps, without being able to enjoy, "the most lovely scenes of meadows and islets formed by the windings of the Indre, and planted with the finest trees." What smothered sighs! what unavailing regrets during these long years! how many prayers heard by God alone!'—Ch. xi.

We have been led by this pathetic story far beyond the limits of the volumes under review, and must now return to take up the thread of the young D'Anguien's life. It should have been mentioned that, in the year which intervened between the definitive arrangement and the celebration of his marriage, he made his first essay in war under the care of Richelieu's cousin, the Maréchal de la Meilleraie, as a volunteer in the army operating against the Spaniards on the Flemish frontier. The route taken by the eager youth to join the camp may have a historic interest; but, looking back with the pained eyes of the moralist on the horrible miseries caused by the wars into which France and Spain were plunged by the ambition of their rulers, we confess that we could well have spared our Author's remark: 'It seems that the God of armies, in directing his steps across the Thiérache to the Meuse, from Vervins to Givet, had wished to make him acquainted with those woods and plains, that rugged and broken country, where three years later he was to win the most brilliant of his victories.' After the close of the campaign which was crowned by the capture of Arras, D'Anguien, loaded with praises for his courage and indefatigable activity, returned by quite a different route; whether equally directed from above we are not told, but, at any rate, so plainly traced to avoid a meeting with his *fiancée* that Richelieu's suspicions were aroused, and he thought it necessary to demand an explicit statement of his intentions.

The young Duc's next campaign, still under De la Meilleraie, followed on his recovery from the dangerous fever which had seized him, and for a time threatened his reason, immediately after the celebration of his marriage. He assisted at the successful sieges of Aire, La Bassée, and Bapaume, and gave

increasing evidence of impetuous bravery and military aptitude. But before the end of the season an attack of illness brought him back; and then a curious struggle began between him and his 'terrible uncle,' to whom the old Condé had delegated his paternal authority over him, saying, 'He is your nephew, your creature, make of him what you please.' The chief, though not avowed subject in dispute was, of course, D'Anguien's attitude towards his young wife, who was by this time verging on womanhood. That of his own freewill he would never live with her, and would seek his pleasures elsewhere, Richelieu knew by this time enough of him to be certain; that grounds were being prepared for seeking a divorce after his death, which could not now be distant, was what he feared not without reason. The young Prince soon found that, in passing from his father's hands into Richelieu's, he had only exchanged one tyranny for another and a heavier,—the whips of Solomon for the scorpions of Rehoboam. The Cardinal took absolute possession of him, withdrew him from his mother and her circle of seductive beauties, chose for him the officers of his household, regulated his movements, exhausted every resource to drive him into the arms of his wife. D'Anguien, on his side, struggled for his liberty; haughtily asserted the claims of his rank as a Prince of the blood; made no secret of his passion for the enchanting and virtuous Marthe du Vigean, whom he had met in his mother's brilliant circle; and, worst of all, was suspected of aiming at a marriage with Gaston's young daughter, the great heiress of the Montpensiers, when the impending death of Richelieu should make it safe to take measures for breaking the hated bonds which bound him to Clémence. Hence arose very strained relations between the two, during the last year of the great Cardinal's life. On both sides there were fierce outbreaks of passion; the one sometimes storming and cursing as ill became a Prince of the Church; the other goaded out of all self-possession, till, blinded by fury, he talked wildly of abandoning France, and living by his sword in foreign lands. How the conflict ended may be gathered from the following passage, in which our Author delicately sums it up:—

'Richelieu did not intend to crush an instrument the value of which he knew, but he wished to have the Duc under his hand, pliant, humbled, docile even to servility. On one point especially he required a complete and sincere obedience. All these outbursts of the Cardinal's wrath against him had a general cause, the nature of the relations between D'Anguien and his wife. Richelieu knew what passed in their "alcove." He divined their tacit reserves, the arguments which were being prepared for a divorce. He wished before dying

dying to be sure that the Duc was a husband in reality, and he ended by saying so very bluntly. Did he obtain the assurance which he desired? What is certain is that, a little more than nine months after his death, the Duc d'Anguien had a son.'

The differences, however, between the veteran statesman and the young Prince were not urged so far as to produce an open breach. D'Anguien was too clear-sighted to suppose that he could stand alone against Richelieu, or had anything to gain by allowing himself to be drawn into the conspiracy of the King's young favourite, Cinq-Mars, which for a time threatened even the Cardinal's life. Indeed, in the acute crisis in the spring of 1642, when almost every one was anticipating the Minister's downfall, D'Anguien found himself in a position to render him not only loyal but important service. Richelieu had accompanied the King as far as Narbonne on the way to the siege of Perpignan, but was unable to proceed further. Covered with sores, incapable of moving without excruciating pain, tormented daily by the surgeons, 'presque en décomposition,' he felt himself almost at the mercy of his mortal enemy, who possessed the King's ear, and made no secret of his purpose on the first opportunity to seize his rival's person. In this extremity it was his nephew who stood by Richelieu with imperturbable self-possession, and took measures to ensure his safety. Warning the officers of his own and his father's regiments, which were before Perpignan, to be on the alert, D'Anguien rallied to him his provincial friends, and formed round the Cardinal a strong band of well-appointed horsemen ready for every emergency; by these precautions he kept the danger at bay, till a sudden turn of fortune placed in Richelieu's hands the treaty perfidiously negociated with Spain by Cinq-Mars, and brought the traitor's head to the block. It was a pity that the accord produced by a community of danger was not solid enough to last through the few months that the worn-out Minister had yet to live. After the fall of Perpignan in September, it was arranged, for the gratification of his vanity, that D'Anguien should return from the army by Lyons, for the express purpose of saluting, and giving precedence to, the Cardinal-archbishop, Richelieu's brother. In a magnificent salon, destined to witness the triumph of the Roman purple, the pompous and not too intelligent prelate awaited in state the arrival of his royal visitor; but waited in vain, for no one came except an officer of the suite with his master's compliments, while the young Prince passed his time feasting with his friends. Of this piece of insolence the natural effect was the revival of the estrangement in its

acutest form. Richelieu stormed, the old Condé was frightened out of his wits, and D'Anguien found it necessary to pocket his pride, travel back to the South, and humble himself before the silly Cardinal, who, to avenge the affront done to his dignity, had spitefully retired to his country seat at Orange, that the Prince might be compelled to take so much longer a journey to find him. By this humiliation, says our Author, D'Anguien was heartbroken; his blood boiled; he could not get over it, and was meditating one knows not what wild scheme, when all at once the scene changed. On December 4, Richelieu died. From all ranks a sigh of relief arose, as the hand, which had so long held France in an iron grasp, at last fell powerless. Even the stolid King, watching the funeral pass by in the rain, could make his little joke and say, 'Monsieur the Cardinal has a wet day for his journey.'

The removal of the great statesman, who had for so many years played a dominant part in the politics of Europe, could not but powerfully affect the destinies of France, both at home and abroad; and all the more, as Louis XIII. was well-known to be mortally ill, and a few months at most would certainly see the inauguration of a long Regency. To the Spaniards and Imperialists the time appeared to have come for striking a last blow at the heart of France, that with hands full of fresh conquests they might urge the larger claims for permanent acquisitions of territory, on the *uti possidetis* principle, in the coming negociations for peace. At home, Mazarin, into whose adroit and supple hands the reins dropped by Richelieu had fallen, needed all the support he could enlist, both to make good his own position, and to secure the Regency for the Queen, with whom he had cast in his lot. None could help him more effectually than the Condés, the family nearest to the throne and now almost overshadowing it: the old Prince, with his varied experience and enormous wealth; the young D'Anguien, with his military genius, high spirit, and grand air; the two Princesses, mother and daughter, the latter now become Duchesse de Longueville, the queens of beauty and wit, full of ambition and with the Court at their feet. To the Condés, therefore, Mazarin turned. The Prince was made chief of the Council; D'Anguien received the command of the army of Picardy; and by the time that the expected death of the King took place, and Louis XIV., a child of four years old, came to the throne in May 1643, Mazarin found himself so firmly seated that he could venture to set aside the late King's will, and make the Queen sole and unfettered Regent. By her grace and open-handedness Anne of Austria ably seconded her enamoured Minister's efforts, and

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in the early days of the Regency became so popular as to give occasion for the bon-mot, that in the Court circle the French language was reduced to five little words, 'La reine est si bonne.'

To no one was the change produced by Richelieu's death greater than to the young Duc d'Anguien. As our Author remarks:—

'He felt himself relieved from a very burdensome constraint; he was free to follow his growing taste for dissipation, and to listen to his passion for Mademoiselle du Vigean; yet not so much as to be deaf to the call of glory. A command was destined for him; he only needed to secure the King's favour, while the King retained the power of willing. The Duc knew how to please; he preserved in the mind of Louis XIII. the favourable position which the Cardinal, in spite of his fits of anger, had obtained for him. His desires were now accomplished.'

The Prince had entered his twenty-second year, and seemed with a bound to attain the full maturity of manhood, leaving all his youth behind him. It may be well to take this opportunity to present him to the reader's eye. His appearance has tasked the descriptive skill of many a writer, and though there are minor differences in their accounts, his general aspect comes out with satisfactory clearness. Well-proportioned and agile, but by no means tall, it was his face that arrested attention, and powerfully affected the imagination. A very remarkable face, 'la plus bizarre du siècle,' says Michelet. It irresistibly suggested a bird of prey. Sloping forehead, high cheek-bones, great hooked nose like an eagle's beak, large mouth, retreating chin, prominent steel-blue eyes, which flashed like a sword-blade in the sun,—such were its features, constituting altogether, to borrow M. Martin's phrase, 'a magnificent and terrible ugliness, the effect of which was singularly enhanced by the powerful movement of his active and robust body, and by the dignity of his gesture and bearing.' With this countenance and imposing air, at the moment of combat, when the light of battle burnt in his eyes, one can imagine that he looked like some incarnation of the demon of slaughter, as he led his soldiers impetuously to the charge.

Of the two volumes before us, the whole of the second is devoted to D'Anguien's first three campaigns, in the successive years 1643–5. In this portion of his work the Duc d'Aumale strikes us as being especially in his element. His style gains in vigour and vivacity. The knowledge of war, both scientific and experimental, which he has acquired by assiduous study and actual service in the field, has furnished him with every qualification

qualification for appreciating strategic movements, battles, and sieges; and the reader feels that he is in the hands of a master of the military art, whose keen eye and solid judgment may be safely trusted. It is impossible, however, for us in this review to follow him through the details of the marches and countermarches, the murderous combats, and the victories snatched out of the jaws of disaster, through which the Imperialist armies were driven back from the frontiers of France; all that we can attempt is to pick out and put together some of the more personal elements of the narrative, in order to illustrate and measure the genius and character of the young hero.

In the forefront stands the fact of D'Anguien's extreme youth. When he took up his command at Amiens, April 17, 1643, and set himself to collect and organize the staff and army with which, a month later, he won at Rocroy the most brilliant and complete victory that for a century had fallen to the French arms, he was just twenty-one and a half years old, and had never held even a subordinate command. What wonder that on the ground of such sudden and astonishing success he was acclaimed as a heaven-born general, endowed by nature with the knowledge and judgment which veteran commanders have only acquired by long experience in tented fields; and that the general sentiment should have been that which found its mouthpiece in Cardinal de Retz, when he said, 'Monsieur le Prince was born a captain, which never happened but to him, Cæsar, and Spinola!'

Yet this solution of the problem is manifestly insufficient. No doubt there is such a thing as a natural genius for war, an aptitude or faculty which is a native endowment, and a part of the original furniture of the mind. But however eminent this innate quality may be, before it can bear the ripe fruit of practical success it certainly needs to be cultivated by experience. An improvised, ready-made general is, as our Author says, a chimera, which never existed except in the imagination. We grant that in the absence of the natural gift no amount of experience, however varied, or of study, however assiduous, will turn out such masters of war as an Alexander, a Napoleon, a Marlborough, or a Wellington; but it may be confidently said on the other side, that mere genius, without the aid of knowledge, and deprived of the opportunities of acquiring practical experience, will never make at a stroke an accomplished commander. Young as D'Anguien was, five years of his life had already been devoted to the study of different branches of military science; and although he had never yet seen a pitched battle, he had served in three campaigns, been present at several sieges, and

and had shared in various petty enterprises and skirmishes. Here then was precisely the practical training which his quick and receptive mind required to give effect to its native inspirations, and furnish him for such fields as those of Rocroy, Fribourg, and Nördlingen. For it must be borne in mind that in his early campaigns, made illustrious by these three battles, there was no call upon him for the highest and most difficult part of the science of war. The more extensive the theatre over which a campaign is conducted, and the larger the forces which are handled, the greater is the demand on the Commander's tactical skill. But in these campaigns, the limited extent of the country, to which the operations were confined, gave no occasion for far-sighted combinations and complicated manœuvres; and the troops engaged were, in comparison with modern armies, little more than a handful of men, scarcely ever exceeding twenty-five thousand on a side, all arms told. Moreover, besides the comparative smallness of the scale on which the Duc d'Anguien's operations were conducted, it must be added that he was seconded by veteran lieutenants, whose practical skill in a considerable degree compensated for his own inexperience. At Rocroy, two in particular very largely contributed to the victory, and their names must always be associated with his in the glory of the day: Gassion, the commander of the right wing, a favourite captain of the great Gustavus, a soldier of iron mould, who took war for his bride, and refused ever to marry because, as he said, he cared too little for life to wish to become the author of it to any one; and Sirot, who was entrusted with the reserve, a veteran of many fields, who could boast of having captured trophies from no less than three kings in hand-to-hand fight, and of having put a pistol-ball through the cap of Gustavus himself. In the two succeeding battles it is enough to say that D'Anguien had at his side the renowned Turenne, the greatest of the French generals of the seventeenth century.*

The object of these remarks is by no means to extenuate the merits of the youthful hero, but only to reduce to its true dimensions the problem presented by his early victories. Enough of glory will remain to him, after the largest deductions which truth may require. His genius for war was incontestably proved, and it was shown to include almost all the qualities

* Of Gassion, on the very day of Rocroy, D'Anguien wrote to Mazarin:—'I can assure you that the chief honour of the battle is due to him;' and four days later to Condé: 'I declare to you that to him I owe a great part of the honour which I have gained.' Of Turenne, after the battle of Fribourg, he wrote to Mazarin: 'Monsieur le Mareschal de Turène has served in it with all the spirit and capacity imaginable.'

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necessary to make a great commander. At the foundation of it was unshrinking personal courage. Danger seemed his natural element. The thickest of the fight had an attraction for him which he could not resist: the front of the charge was the position he loved best. Repeatedly during these campaigns we find Mazarin taking him to task for his Quixotic rashness in exposing himself, and entreating him to remember that he had no business to hazard his life like a common soldier. At Rocroy, in heading the final attack on the Spanish phalanx, his horse was severely wounded, and he himself received two musket-balls in his cuirass, besides a contusion in his leg. At Fribourg, in the first day's desperate struggle to carry the enemy's lines, he was the first to leap over the abattis of felled trees; on the third day almost all his staff fell round him, and he was nearly stunned by a ball which smashed the pummel of his saddle. At Nördlingen the same exposure; two horses were killed under him, but, although bruised and shaken, he mounted again and dashed forward. Thus all aglow himself with the ardour of battle and the contempt of death, he was able to manifest the next great quality of a commander—the power of inspiring his troops with unbounded confidence in him, and leading them wherever he would. When he first assumed his command, the tone of the French army had been lowered by repeated reverses; 'it lacked ardour and confidence; it had the sad and resigned air which the habit of being defeated produces.' But under D'Anguien's hand all this was changed; his 'allégresse héroïque,' to use Michelet's expression, infected his subordinate officers, and from them passed to the ranks; the army became a band of heroes, eager, self-reliant, determined to conquer. His tenacity, too, was remarkable, especially in one so young. Like a bulldog of thorough breeding, where he had once fastened his teeth he could never bring himself to let go. In each of his first three combats there was an adverse crisis, at which to a timid general the battle would have seemed to be irrecoverably lost, and the time arrived to draw off and secure an orderly retreat. But to D'Anguien's soul retreat was hateful; an invincible resolution rooted him to the ground, and at any cost of men he renewed the strife and pounded away at the foe, till he wore down resistance and remained master of the field. Above all, he had a quick eye for a manœuvre, as he showed first at Rocroy. In that earliest of his battles,—which, all inexperienced as he was, he was fighting on his own responsibility, in the teeth of the advice of the veteran Maréchal de l'Hôpital, who had been given him for a mentor,—on bringing back to the field the cavalry with which he had charged and routed

routed the enemy's left wing, the sight that met him was an appalling one. He found his own left wing beaten and broken up, his centre in retreat, the whole of his guns, a poor dozen pieces, captured, and the main body of the enemy preparing to complete their victory by a final and overwhelming charge. It was nothing less than the defeat of the larger part of his army. But, says our Author,

'Not for a moment was he discouraged. He had only one thought, to snatch from the enemy his temporary triumph, and to extricate his own beaten wing, not by flying to its succour, but by striking elsewhere. A few instants of rest for the panting horses were sufficient to determine the plan of a new attack, an original conception of which no other battle furnishes an example. Leaving Gassion with a few squadrons to prevent any new massing of the Walloon cavalry, he wheeled his columns nearly round towards his left, and with an incomparable rush launched, or rather led, them obliquely against the rear of the enemy's lines . . . Like a torrent they broke into the midst of the hostile battalions. These were drawn up in such close order that they were afraid of firing on each other, and the contagion of disorder soon became irremediable. In a few moments the Walloon and German infantry were completely broken.'

It has been sometimes said, in disparagement of D'Anguien's claim to be placed in the first rank of the great commanders, that, in comparison with those who made war a serious profession, he was but a summer general. He was launched on his brief campaigns at the most propitious moment, just as the opening of the fine season of the year made operations easy; all that exhausted France had left of military resources was placed at his disposal, while her other armies were neglected and starved; and as Mazarin needed some brilliant victory every year to enable him to retain his political supremacy, it was D'Anguien's business to hazard everything, and at whatever present cost or future risk, to strike some startling blow at the enemy. All these circumstances, it has been urged, form a strong contrast with those under which the really great masters of the art of war, like Turenne and Mercy, conducted their long and intricate campaigns, and which called for the exhibition of qualities not possessed, or at least not developed, by the young Prince; such as untiring patience and endurance, far-sighted strategical skill, unfailing readiness of resource to repair defeats, eke out scanty resources, and baffle hostile combinations. Such is the pleading; and on consideration of the whole case, we are not prepared to deny to it considerable force. But the fact remains, that the genius of D'Anguien was equal to the task assigned to him; that he raised the drooping fortunes

fortunes of his country, defeated or paralyzed the best generals which the Spaniards and Imperialists could oppose to him, and averted the threatened invasion of France. Surely these were laurels enough for the brows of youth; and to him who was afterwards hailed as the great Condé they justly belonged.

We cannot lay down the pen without attesting how amply these volumes continue to vindicate the claim made by their Author in the original preface, that his work is emphatically '*de bonne foi*.' Sincerity and impartiality are imprinted upon them throughout. Neither the glory won for his country by Louis de Bourbon, fourth of the line of Condé, nor the sense of personal kindred, nor the witchery of the *genius loci* which was around him as he wrote—for Chantilly was his hero's favourite home,—has been able, in any degree, to pervert the Duc d'Aumale's historical conscience, or tempt him into a single concealment or distortion of the truth. 'We are not writing the panegyric of Condé,' he says, when relating honestly some discreditable facts; 'we are depicting the man and his times sincerely, such as we see them; and if we feel a joy mingled with pride in speaking of that greatness and glory which form part of the patrimony of France, we do not disguise the errors, the weaknesses, and the faults, nor do we seek to throw a veil over the distresses, the injustices, the oppressions, and the sufferings.' This is language worthy of the Duc's unsullied reputation for manliness and honour; and his volumes prove that he is entitled to use it.

Nobly too has his Royal Highness resisted the temptation to imitate the many writers of history, who covertly turn their theme into an engine of political warfare, and make their pages bristle with oblique innuendos and modern allusions. In all his volumes we have noticed but a single half-sentence where we seem to detect a reference to the governments of France since 1848, or to the treatment which his house has received at their hands. Even here the reflection is so natural and unobtrusive, that we may be mistaken in our reading between the lines of the passage; nevertheless we cannot but suspect that recent events had something to do with the shaping of the following remark on the arrest of Condé in 1616 by Marie de Médicis: 'It has always been true that illustrious rank and eminent services are no sufficient protection against arbitrary measures, when those who wield the fortunes and power of the nation are not restrained by respect for the laws, or for the faith which they have sworn to keep.' One other personal reference has attracted our attention and enlisted our warm sympathy; but its interest is of a totally different kind, for

for it has no political bearing. Having in the course of his narrative to mention the fall of an officer, Charles d'Houdetot by name, at the abortive siege of Montpellier in the Huguenot campaign of 1622, the Duc appends the following note, which we think cannot be read without emotion :—

'While writing this name dear to my heart, let me be allowed to render homage to the memory of General France d'Houdetot, the friend of my childhood, my comrade in Africa, and the voluntary companion of our exile. A soldier and a man of letters, as intellectual as he was brave and loyal, the very incarnation of honour! A gentleman of ancient race and a soldier of the Revolution, descended from one of the companions of William the Conqueror, wounded at sixteen by an English grape-shot at Trafalgar, held at the baptismal font by the Colony of the Isle of France, charging at Moskowa under the command of the gendarme who arrested Robespierre, aide-de-camp of Davoust in 1813, and of King Louis Philippe from 1827 to 1848—what contrasts, what experiences, what adventures in that noble life, which would well deserve to be narrated!'

With this extract we conclude our pleasant task; and if our readers are at all of our mind, they will feel that such a tribute to the memory of an old comrade, servant, and friend, does as much honour to the illustrious Prince who has penned it as it confers on its remarkable subject, and enriches us with one more of those precious touches of nature which have been said to make the whole world kin.

ART. IV.—TIRYNS: *The Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns. The Results of the latest Excavations.* By Dr. Henry Schliemann. The Preface by Professor F. Adler, and Contributions by Dr. Wm. Dörpfeld. With 188 Woodcuts, 24 Plates in Chromolithography, 1 Map, and 4 Plans. London, 1885.

THE world has by this time become used to hearing that Dr. Henry Schliemann has made some new and extraordinary discovery in Greece or in Asia Minor; and almost every Christmas brings us a bulky and elaborate record of some fresh victory achieved by him over the oblivion, which hides from us the life and doings of all the nations of Europe before a date which seems, at least to the geologist, comparatively recent. We are not among those who suppose discoveries in any field of knowledge to be in the main the result of chance. A man may deserve success without achieving it; but he, whom success persistently follows, will scarcely ever, if ever, owe his triumphs to fortune alone. In the case of Dr. Schliemann, it is easy to see why he has succeeded where so many have failed. Believing that the legends of early Greece had a solid historical foundation, he has persistently, and with indomitable patience, acted upon his belief. 'He that believeth,' it is said, 'shall not make haste,' and Dr. Schliemann has not made haste, but taking up one piece of archæological exploration after another, has not laid it down until it was finished. In the sites which he has chosen he has regarded everything above the virgin soil or native rock as his province, and removed the accretion of ages, layer after layer, in many cases passing every spadeful through the sieve, until he has either wrung from the ground every secret it contained, or else at least proved that it contained no secret. Possibly even work so persistent might have been rendered futile by persistent wrong-headedness; but when united with the present explorer's wonderful sympathy with early Greek life and literature, and his willingness to profit by the acquired knowledge of others, it has become an irresistible force.

It cannot be said that the results produced by the excavations at Mycenæ and Hissarlik and Tiryns have in all cases confirmed the views with which Dr. Schliemann set out. He began to dig at Hissarlik in the full persuasion that the 'Iliad' was history, but the results of excavation dispelled that view. 'I wish,' he writes in 'Ilios' (p. 517), 'I could have proved Homer to have been an eye-witness of the Trojan War! Alas, I cannot do it! At his time swords were in universal use and iron was known, whereas they were totally unknown at Troy. Besides, the civilization he describes is later by centuries than

than that which I have brought to light in the excavations. Homer gives us the legend of Ilium's tragic fate, as it was handed down to him by preceding bards, clothing the traditional facts of the war and devastation of Troy in the garb of his own day.' The road to discovery is paved with disillusions. Columbus sailed in order to reach India, and he found America instead. In the same way, though we are sorry that Dr. Schliemann has lost some of his cherished convictions, we must maintain that what he has found is quite as good for the world as what he expected to find. The 'Iliad' would surely not be raised in our eyes if we discovered it to be a record of sober history. But now, instead of having old ideas confirmed, we have before us a mass of new facts, and can gain glimpses of states of society of which we had neither knowledge nor record. We cannot prove that Agamemnon really led an army against Troy, but we can establish the truth of Horace's saying 'Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona,' and can even learn many definite and valuable truths as to the kind of life led by these early monarchs, and continue backward into a still remoter antiquity the line of descent which runs from the Greece of Homer to the Greece of history. If classical learning reaps a somewhat poorer harvest than might have been hoped, history and anthropology at all events are greatly furthered by this series of excavations.

And indeed we may remark, in passing, that in this very progress consists the whole history of classical archæology during the last century. So long as ancient monuments were regarded merely as convenient for the illustration of the Greek and Roman writers, archæology, as a science, could make no progress; and in fact the monuments themselves were entirely misunderstood. Instead of reading in them truths of the greatest value for the understanding of ancient civilization, scholars read into them traditional theories and pedantries of all sorts. It is only since the monuments have been studied for their own sake, by methods resembling the methods of physical science, that their true meaning and importance have been discovered. So long as archæology remained the handmaid of literature, she was blind and dumb; but in becoming one of the servants of history, she has found both eyes and tongue. English scholars do not yet fully appreciate the magnitude of the changes wrought in this field by K. O. Müller and Boeckh, Welcker and Jahn, and all their followers; and are not fully alive to the necessity of substituting the comparative and historical for the literary method in the study of ancient life and manners. Some of us, who

who laugh at the philology of Plato or Varro, accept without hesitation the archæology of Ovid or Pausanias.

Many of the sites made celebrated by Greek early tradition, and more particularly by the Homeric poems, have been attempted by Dr. Schliemann, and every site has yielded its own harvest. The results are in every case valuable, though to some people one, and to other people another of the excavations may seem to have been most fruitful. At Hissarlik, anthropology and history profited enormously by the discovery of a succession of cities built one after another on the same site in the Troad, but differing in the utensils, the pottery, and the weapons, found in each; while the Hellenic scholar received the gratifying assurance, that the story of the Trojan war was no mere fancy of the poets, but rested, in all probability, on actual traditions—traditions which of course were worked up by the poets into new and artistic forms, and yet which contained a basis of historical fact. The researches at Ithaca, while they proved the pretended discovery of ancient palace-walls by Gell to be little more than a delusion, yet demonstrated the former existence on Mount Aëtos, the highest point of the island, of an ancient town with massive walls like those of Tiryns. The excavations at Mycenæ, of which we gave some account in this Review in January 1878, not only dazzled Europe by the splendour of the works in gold and silver which they brought to light, but also afforded archæologists a sure and valuable starting-point for all researches into the history of Greek art and handiwork. And the complete investigation of the conical tomb of the Minyæ at Orchomenus in Bœotia showed us many new facts in the construction of these strange buildings, and especially brought to light a carved ceiling of purely Egyptian style, of which the beauty is only equalled by its historical suggestiveness.

The excavations carried on by Schliemann, with the help of the learned architect Dr. Dörpfeld, at Tiryns during the last two years have an interest which is mainly architectural. The pottery, terra-cottas, and implements, found in the ancient acropolis, are in the lower and earlier strata like those of Hissarlik, while at the upper strata they closely resemble the objects already found in Mycenæ, objects which have been already discussed in these pages. We propose, therefore, to devote most of the present paper to an attempt to explain what additions to our knowledge of the city-walls, the palaces, and the graves of primitive Greece, have resulted from the excavations at Tiryns. Such explanation is the more necessary, because the able architects Adler and Dörpfeld, who have written the greater part of the volume

volume before us, have unfortunately fallen too much into the language of their profession; and their discussions are so full of technical terms, that they are not easily intelligible to that wider public, which takes great interest in everything bearing on the history of ancient Greece, and on the rise of European civilization. Too great technicality is, however, the only fault that a reasonable man can find in this book, which for learning, clearness, and exhaustiveness, is worthy of all commendation, and which presents us, alike in text and plates, with a really noble and monumental record; a record on the same scale as the excavations of Dr. Schliemann, and the towns and palaces which he has brought to light.

Travellers who have been in Greece, and they are now no longer rare, must be forgetful indeed if they fail to remember the aspect of the lovely plain of Argolis, as one approaches it from the sea—a triangle, whereof lofty mountains shut in two sides, while the third is bounded by the blue, still, transparent waters of the Ægean. It is hard to say whether the scene is more beautiful when the rising sun throws the hard shadow of mountain on mountain, or when the peaks towards evening change colour almost as rapidly as do the clouds of a northern sky. Dr. Schliemann writes of it: 'I mentally recall the ascending peaks of the Himalayas, the luxuriance of the tropical world on the islands of Sunda and the Antilles; or, again, I turn to the view from the great Chinese wall, to the glorious valleys of Japan, to the far famed Yo-Semite Valley in California, or the high peaks of the great Cordilleras, and I confess that the prospect from the citadel of Tiryns far exceeds all of natural beauty which I have elsewhere seen.' This beautiful plain contains the sites of four famous cities. They cannot all have flourished together, and we know that the supremacy belonged to various of them at different times. Mycenæ, placed at the head of the plain, is a great mountain fastness, fit for a stronghold in unquiet days, when the seas were full of pirates, and a city nearer to the sea ran a risk of sudden sack by them. In more quiet times Argos, which naturally dominates the centre of the plain, would secure the primacy in virtue of its more convenient site and richer territory, and would, as in fact it did, establish a port on the sea, whence it could communicate with the outer world, Nauplia, the natural gate of the valley, but never its ruler. The stronghold of Tiryns is about three miles from the sea. The site was fitted for the seat of a powerful family, who wished to preserve communication with both sea and land, but it was not adapted for a large population. It was not large in area, to begin with, and possessed

possessed neither the grasp of the land obtained by Argos, nor the hold on the sea which made the fortune of Nauplia. Hence it was destined to fade away with the growth of great cities, population, and trade, which began in so marked a manner in the ninth and eighth centuries, B.C., in Greece; and its bloom was past when Sparta had scarcely eclipsed its neighbour Amyclæ, and Athens was disputing with Megara the possession of Salamis.

The huge walls of Tiryns are pointed out to every traveller. Their massiveness of construction dazes the visitor, as it dazed Pausanias in the time of Hadrian, and drew from him the somewhat exaggerated statement, that the stones of which they are built are so huge that the smallest of them could not be moved by a yoke of mules. And from the visit of Pausanias onwards, travellers have been content to gaze on the huge ramparts as a nine-days' wonder, and to pass on. The spade of Dr. Schliemann has changed all this. The walls are to the mere traveller as stupendous as ever, but to the archæologist they have become eloquent. Their plan and details are laid bare, and they tell us many a fact as to the architecture and the manners of a race, who lived in Greece in godlike splendour in the luxurious Achæan days, before the Dorian invasion burst on Peloponnesus. They justify us in believing that, noble as are the Homeric poems, they are the echo of a state of society worthy to give them birth; and they help to explain to us, why the Greeks of historical times regarded their ancestors as a race of heroes and demigods.

The exploration of the site of Tiryns is as yet, indeed, very incomplete. The massive walls enclose, as is shown in Schliemann's first plate, the ridge of a long and narrow hill, higher at one end than the other. The city was thus a lengthy oblong, and it may be divided by trisecting its length into three parts, parts which in the book are called the Upper, Middle, and Lower Fortress. It is the highest part of the hill, the site of the Upper Fortress only, which has as yet been fully excavated. Much yet remains to be ascertained; for there is no doubt that the remains of buildings will be found also on the lower parts of the ridge. Yet the excavations have already brought to light facts so important that the excavator has not chosen to keep them back; nor do we think it necessary to wait for the account of the whole site, before commenting on the data already before us. It seems almost certain that future excavations, though they may add to our knowledge of the history of Tiryns, will not in any way invalidate the conclusions, drawn from the excavations of the past two years with a wise caution

by

by the architects, whom Dr. Schliemann has had the good fortune to associate with himself in the work of discovery on the site.

As to the history of Tiryns, only two or three statements have come down to us from antiquity, and it is a curious fact that most of these are called in question by Dr. Schliemann, whom we should have supposed to be the last man likely to fall a victim to too great historical scepticism. In some cases he has, in our opinion, needlessly attacked tradition. The first statement is, that the walls of the city were built for King Prœtus by Cyclopean builders, who were natives of Lycia. This is a matter which we shall be compelled hereafter more fully to discuss. The second statement is the assertion of Diodorus and Pausanias, that the destruction of Tiryns was brought about by the Argives after the Persian wars, and was partly caused by the jealousy of the Argives, because Mycenæ and Tiryns had furnished men to the Greek armies at Thermopylæ and Platæa, whereas they themselves had not. Professor Mahaffy has, in an ingenious paper in the 'Hermathena' of Dublin, thrown doubt on this assertion, maintaining on the other hand that the conquest of Mycenæ and Tiryns took place much earlier, and Schliemann declares that his theory is borne out by the evidence of the excavations. For our part, we do not consider that either of these writers has made out his case. We must briefly discuss the point, since a great deal depends on the way in which it is settled.

Perhaps unsupported statements of either Diodorus or Pausanias would not carry very much weight. We are all aware that Diodorus' mind was feeble and inaccurate, and it has of late become the fashion in Germany to attack the credibility of Pausanias, though the soundest archæologists are still on his side, and the numismatic evidence in favour of his trustworthiness, which is now being developed in a series of papers in the 'Journal of Hellenic Studies,' is very strong. But, in the present case, the story of these writers is strongly confirmed from without, since Herodotus mentions the Mycenæans as having advanced with the other Greeks to Thermopylæ; while the presence of Mycenæans and Tirynthians at Platæa is asserted not only by Herodotus, but by a still more trustworthy authority; the names of the two peoples still remain inscribed on the brazen serpent-tripod, which stands in the hippodrome at Constantinople, among those of the other Greeks who fought in that memorable fight, and afterwards dedicated to Apollo the golden vessel which once stood on that venerable serpent-tripod.

An assertion of Pausanias, supported by a passage of Herodotus, and confirmed by an existing Greek inscription, must certainly be regarded as worthy of credit in the absence of very decisive testimony on the other side. What then is the rebutting evidence brought forward by Mahaffy and Schliemann? The former does certainly succeed in showing that the statements of Diodorus and Pausanias are not clear and not entirely consistent one with the other. And he allows the actual fact vouched for by Herodotus and the inscription to stand, the fact that people called Tirynthian and people called Mycenæan did fight at Platæa, but he would have us believe that it by no means follows, that these people came from the cities after which they were called. He thinks rather that they were exiles, the remains of the ancient inhabitants of those cities living abroad in other towns, but still clinging to their civic name. The real destruction of Tiryns and Mycenæ Mr. Mahaffy believes to have taken place centuries earlier, probably at the close of the second Messenian war.

One so familiar with ancient history as Mr. Mahaffy must be well aware, that perfect certainty in regard to any fact of which ancient writers speak is unattainable; we are obliged, in all cases, to content ourselves with a moderate probability. The web of history is not of strong enough texture to bear the weight of criticism when carried to a certain point. Thus if we decline to allow weight to *prima facie* evidence, and demand something which will satisfy a rigidly sceptical intellect, we must give up ancient history entirely. In the case before us we have *prima facie* evidence for a fact, and there is no evidence at all on the other side; the skill of Mr. Mahaffy's reasoning seems to us therefore quite thrown away. We must also refuse to concede to him, that exiles from Tiryns or Mycenæ living elsewhere would call themselves simply Tirynthians or Mycenæans; it is shown by many analogous cases in existing inscriptions, that they would add the name of their actual dwelling-places, and use some such formula as 'The Mycenæans at Cleonæ,' 'The Tirynthians from Ceryneia.' Communities like the Messenians, the Æginetans, and the Samians, did certainly remain together long after their home was taken from them; but we do not believe that they undertook military expeditions, struck coins, or exercised any of the functions of independent states; they wandered unhappily, like hermit crabs seeking a new abode.

Of course, if Schliemann could prove from archæological evidence that the independence of Mycenæ and Tiryns ceased long before the Persian wars, we should then be compelled to correct

correct Pausanias; but this he certainly cannot do. Even if no remains belonging to the seventh and sixth centuries had come to light in the upper part of the citadel, they might still remain underground in the lower part of the citadel, which has not yet been explored. But, as a matter of fact, a Doric capital has been already found at Tiryns, which is given by Mr. Fergusson to about B.C. 600. This capital is in itself an almost conclusive proof, that Tiryns was still flourishing and probably independent at the beginning of the sixth century; and so strongly confirms the testimony of Pausanias.

By rejecting Mr. Mahaffy's theory which would forcibly truncate the history of Tiryns, we put ourselves in a position to solve certain difficulties which have seemed insoluble to Dr. Schliemann, who accepts that theory. At page 126 he describes, and in Plate XVII. c. figures a vase representing an armed foot-race, of good Greek archaic work, a vase clearly of the sixth century B.C. On page 160 he engraves a terra-cotta figure of a goddess of about the same period (No. 95). As to both these objects Schliemann remarks, that it is extraordinary that they should have been found in conjunction with primitive pottery. We do not think it extraordinary. It is natural, but at the same time unwarranted, to suppose that vases and terra-cottas, which are rude, must be very ancient. The Greeks, as we know on good evidence, went on until a comparatively late period of their history copying in a purely conventional way the rude terra-cotta images of the gods. As to pottery Dr. Schliemann himself remarks, when describing an extremely early form of vase, 'jars of this form, with similarly moulded borders, still occur in Peloponnesus.' The fact is that the style of a vase or of an image can only prove that it cannot be earlier than such and such a date; style alone does not prove that it cannot be later than a given time, for it is impossible to say how long copies of works of archaic style may have gone on circulating. And thus we see no reason why many of the primitive figures of women, which Dr. Schliemann still calls cow-headed (Plate XXV.), may not have been made in the sixth century or even later. And we are ready to believe that the smaller objects found at Tiryns belong to all periods down to the time which succeeded the Persian wars.

Having thus cleared the ground, we shall venture with bolder hand to sketch out the great periods of Tirynthian history, as revealed to us in the remains which have come to light.

Schliemann and Dörpfeld are agreed that the great walls of Tiryns do not belong to the earliest settlement which we can

 discover.

discover. In certain parts of the acropolis quantities of pottery were found, which resembled that very early kind of ware discovered in the primitive strata at Hissarlik, and which is familiar to many people in London in consequence of the exhibition of much of it some years ago in the South Kensington Museum. This must be assigned to a very remote antiquity indeed, to days when the acropolis of Tiryns was a mere place of security for a few fishermen who dwelt in rocky caves at the spot where Nauplia now stands; to days before the Phœnicians had established their commerce among the islands and coasts of Greece, and before Greece had developed any of those activities which form the starting-point for European history. A few traces of floors and foundations belonging to this pre-historic, and in fact pre-traditional city, have been found; but they are of small importance. It is with the building of the massive walls and with the planning of the noble palaces of Tiryns, with that foundation which Greek tradition has connected with the name of the mythical King Prœtus, that the interest of Tirynthian history begins.

'Of Tirynthian history' we say, but the very phrase warns us that we must guard against misunderstanding. For the history of Tiryns, all the history we shall ever know, is archæological. In old days history was regarded as the chronicle of the doings of a few great men, their successions, their enterprises, their victories, and failures. Historians found little worth recording but the spread of empires, the results of battles, the founding of states. Modern history takes a different and a wider view, but it often fails to look beyond constitutions, laws, the working of political forces, and the changes of government. These are the subjects which now occupy, and with reason, the pages of historians. But archæology does not take the same view of history as do the historians of older or of modern days. Far from recording only wars, she has by far the most to say about peace and the manners and customs of times of quiet. Far from telling us of government and the balancing of political forces, she tells us rather facts about the external life of men, of the houses in which they lived, the weapons they used, what deities they adored, and in what light they regarded the life beyond the grave. From the outward facts revealed by spade and pick, we are enabled to judge of the degree of civilization attained by a nation, of its commerce and its art, perhaps of its ethnical affinities, but not of its laws or government, nor of its moral and intellectual condition.

Yet the chapter with which the archæological history of Tiryns begins is startling enough. We find that at a period which

which we are enabled by an accumulation of evidence to fix to the eleventh or tenth century before our era, the whole of the upper citadel of Tiryns was occupied by the splendid palace of a wealthy line of kings, who seem to show in the details of their luxurious abode, and in the massiveness of the great walls with which they surrounded it, the possession of wealth and splendour far beyond those belonging to any Greeks of historical times. The colossal size of the stones they used in building, which actually in one case at least reach a weight of twenty tons, combined with the fact, that the mechanical appliances of those remote days were extremely simple, proves that they must have disposed in the most absolute fashion of the labour of countless dependants. The number of the rooms in the palace, with the splendid porticoes and courts by which it was approached, testifies to the stateliness of their public life. The bath-room, carefully adapted for the purposes of bathing, and the drains made to carry away superfluous water, show the luxuriousness of their personal habits. And the way in which the rooms of men and of women are set apart affords us evidence as to the position of the husband in regard to the wife.

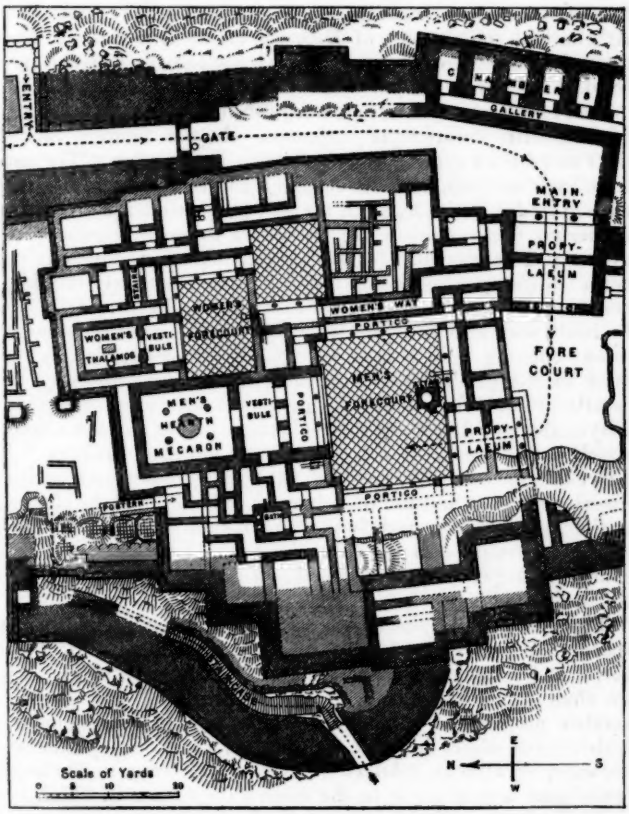
A moment's reflection will show us, that what is really by far the most surprising in all this is the fact, that the site is in Greece proper. If in the lands of Phrygia or Lycia, or among the hills of Etruria, we had found the same proofs of the ancient existence of wealthy and powerful and civilized nobles, we should have been far less surprised. We should expect the Mermnadæ of Lydia, or the Phrygian princes of the line of Midas, to live in this royal fashion. But we are accustomed to think of Greece as a land of political communities, of little self-governing states with agora, and harbour, and senate-house, and with an acropolis covered not with a palace, but with the temples of the gods. Such is the Greece of history. But utterly different was prehistoric Greece. There is a broad line dividing mythical from political Hellas, a line which seems to coincide with the great break made in the continuity of Hellas by the Dorian invasion. On the older side of that line we see the castles of magnificent princes standing amid the huts of their dependants, but no trade, no high art, curiously enough, no temples of the gods, though rude images of them. On the more recent side of the line we see vigorous communities, choosing their own governments, carrying on trade with all parts of the Mediterranean and Euxine, and planting colonies on all shores, full of the highest artistic feelings, and building on the heights, where the royal castles had stood, those magnificent temples to Apollo and Athene, Zeus and Poseidon, which were

were the centres of all the higher life of Hellas, so long as Hellas lived. But the tendency to revert to an original type is as strong in nations as in breeds of animals. So in Greek history we find constant instances of reversion towards the early organization in the rise of those tyrannies, which were a poor and feeble imitation of the splendour of monarchy. The Greece which we know and love, the Greece of art and song, of religion and philosophy, of conquest and trade, came to birth at the Dorian invasion, and is, in great part at least, the child of the Dorian genius and loftiness of character.

Just such a contrast, as exists between pre-historic and historic Hellas, exists also in Greek literature between Homer and the later poets. The Homeric poetry may have been reduced to form after the splendour of the Ionian and Achæan chiefs had passed away; but it breathes all the spirit of their sway. With Homer, too, the chief is the only man worthy of a thought, the common herd are fit only to be slain by him in the field of battle, or dragged by him into slavery. To Homer also cunning works of art are known only as importations from abroad. Homer knows comparatively little of temples of the gods. The courts and the camps described in the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey' are rather akin to those of Lydians or Etruscans than of historic Greeks. We must, however, guard ourselves from misunderstanding. In using the name of Homer, we do not of course assert that the Homeric poems had a single author. But we do assert the uncorrupt antiquity of those poems. Those archæologists, who find in them traces of the manners and customs of a later age, seem to us to prove themselves quite incapable of judging of archæological evidence. Homer reflects the pre-historic age of Greece as faithfully as does Herodotus the Greece of the Persian wars, or Pausanias the Greece of the age of the Antonines. We shall therefore make no excuse for using the Homeric text, when we find in it anything which seems to throw light on the antiquities discovered on early Greek sites, and more particularly on the site of Tiryns. Especially is it desirable to set side by side Homer's descriptions of palaces like those of Alcinous and Odysseus, and the palace of which the remains still exist at Tiryns.

The plan which accompanies this paper, a reduction of that at p. 309 of the work under review, will enable readers easily to understand the disposition and arrangements of the palace, of which the foundations have been unearthed at Tiryns, and of its surroundings. To the upper citadel, almost the whole space of which it occupies, access could be had by two means only. The main entrance through the outer wall was at the north-east

north-east corner, to which a gradual ascent from the lower ground led up. Entering by this way and turning sharply to the left, the visitor would pass along a narrow passage between the outer wall of the palace and the wall of the citadel, and



PLAN OF THE PALACE AT TIRYNS.

through a mighty gate, of which the socket is in its place to this day. We mark on our plan, by a dotted line, the route by which we intend to lead our readers. Passing through the gate which probably in plan and construction resembled the well-known Lion-gate of Mycenæ, our traveller would continue his way

way between the mighty walls, liable if he came with hostile intent to be slain many times over, even after thus obtaining an entrance, by the guard stationed on the citadel wall or the roof of the palace. At length he would reach the main entry. Students of Greek architecture have long been familiar with the fact, that access to Greek sacred areas, such as the Acropolis of Athens and the domain of Demeter at Eleusis, was obtained through a noble propylæum, of which the form is constant and fixed. The Greek propylæum consists of two porches set back to back, whereof one looks outward towards the outer world, the other inward towards the enclosure. At the common back of the two porches runs a solid wall with great gates. The construction combines, as do most Greek contrivances, great beauty with great convenience, since the two porches offered a pleasing shelter to those waiting for the doors to open, whether they wished to go out or in. Such is the fixed Greek custom, but it is not a little surprising to find a propylæum of precisely this kind guarding the entry to the upper acropolis of Tiryns. This fact, by itself, seems to carry back the history of Greek architecture three centuries. Of course, though the essential idea is the same in the pre-historic as in the historic Greek doorway, the details differ. We should be disappointed, if we sought at Tiryns the marble pillars, the sculptured friezes, the stone roofs, which were features of such propylæa as those of Pericles. At Tiryns there were pillars indeed, but they were of wood, let into limestone bases: and the roof, instead of being of slabs of stone or tiles, was almost certainly made of rushes covered with clay, after the fashion still usual in the East; but while materials change, form persists, the idea takes a new expression, but does not itself change.

Through the propylæum we pass into a large court or open space, round the sides of which are buildings used no doubt as barracks for the guards, and store-houses for provisions. But we shall direct our steps still north-west and pass through another propylæum of smaller size but similar construction, which leads direct into the forecourt of the men's apartments, the *αὐλή* of Homer. Afterwards we shall return to the outer propylæum and proceed to the women's apartments, which are at Tiryns kept studiously apart from those of the men.

The men's forecourt is a space of some sixty-eight by fifty-two feet. It is carefully paved with a concrete of lime and pebbles, and full provision is made for its drainage by the slope of the paving to a sink at one corner. It is on all four sides surrounded by porticoes, affording cool and pleasant retreats from the power of the sun. At one side of the court is a square construction

construction of peculiar interest, an altar with a hollow pit in the midst of it for the reception of the blood of victims.

Those familiar with the Homeric poems will scarcely read these few dry lines of description without recalling to mind many a passage in the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey,' which the new discovery sets in fresh light, or which fills with life and reality the skeleton of the new discovery. We remember many facts about the *αὐλή* of the palace of Odysseus; but they at once show us a difference between his abode and that of the rulers of Tiryns: the Ithacan palace was rude and rustic, and a far less splendid abode than that of which we can now trace the plan. When Eumæus brings his pigs for the feasting of the suitors he lets them feed in the forecourt; and cattle are tethered under the porticoes, while slave-women do their grinding of meal in the sheds round. Odysseus' house is, in fact, the abode of a gentleman-farmer; the palace of Tiryns is more like the glorious abode of Alcinous in Phæacian fairy-land, or the splendid house of Menelaus, which glittered like the sun and moon as one drew near to it. Yet the question is one of scale and of splendour, not of plan. So we need not fear to take the 'Odyssey' as our guide-book at Tiryns. Telemachus, we learn, had a bedchamber in the forecourt, so had Phœnix: such rooms we see at once were in the porticoes which surrounded it. The forecourt of Odysseus contained a great altar of Zeus Herceius, 'whereon Laertes and Odysseus had burned many thighs of oxen.' So, too, the aged Peleus burned in his forecourt the thighs of an ox in honour of thunder-loving Zeus. Can we then hesitate for a moment to identify the altar at Tiryns as that of Zeus? Only one puzzle which has long baffled the Homeric commentators remains a puzzle. In the forecourt at Ithaca was a *θόλος*, a circular building of uncertain use; and as there is no trace of any such building in the court at Tiryns, its purpose must remain a mystery for the present.

Homer's heroes when they go to a house always cross the court and enter into the *μέγαρον*, or great hall of the men, through a portico, the echoing *αἴθουσα* of which the poet often speaks. We must do exactly the same at Tiryns, as the plan will show at a glance. The portico which we now approach is the frontage of the most important part of the whole palace, shown to be so to an architectural mind by its occupying the very highest part of the citadel, and by its governing the orientation of all the parts about it. Though only the foundations of the wall remain, to the height of a yard from the ground, yet the patient induction of Dr. Dörpfeld has enabled him to recover many of the details of its construction. Its elevation

elevation is that called in the case of temples *in antis*; that is, it has a wall on three sides, while on the fourth side, that which faces the court, the place of a wall is taken by a couple of columns which support an architrave and a roof. The *antæ*, or foremost parts of the side-walls, exhibit sufficient remains in dowel-holes and the like to assure us, that the walls of the portico were covered by a thick panelling of wood, a panelling probably covered in turn, if we may trust the analogy of some of the buildings at Mycenæ and the Homeric testimony, with plates of bronze, which may well indeed have glittered like the sun and like the moon.

In the back wall of this portico were three doors, each provided with a stone sill (every one will remember Homer's λάϊνος οὐδός), leading into a sort of vestibule, from which a door again led into the main hall or megaron. It would seem that this vestibule was a feature only of very spacious or splendid houses: and we have reasons for thinking that usually the portico opened immediately into the main hall. Into this latter, therefore, we will proceed. It is a room of fine proportions, some forty feet by thirty-two in size, and we can still trace the foundations of the two rows of columns by which it was divided into three oblong sections. In the midst of the room is a round foundation, which indicates almost beyond doubt the place where was situate that hearth, which was the centre alike of the Greek house and of the Greek religion, at least in early and patriarchal days. The floor was paved with good concrete, in which a simple pattern of crossing lines was introduced for variety.

Such are the bare facts observable on the floor of the hall, but an architect, who knows his business so well as does Dr. Dörpfeld, is entitled to draw a few cautious inferences. Some of the safest of these regard the method of lighting and warming the hall. It is quite certain that as the hall has but a single door into the vestibule, itself not very light, light cannot have entered nor the smoke of the fire escaped by means of the door only. The hall of Odysseus is indeed spoken of in the 'Odyssey' as dark, and the armour hanging in it is said to have been blackened by smoke, but the room must have nevertheless been habitable. At Tiryns, the arrangement of the pillars in itself suggests what plan of lighting was adopted. Dörpfeld ingeniously argues (p. 218) that the four pillars mark the four corners of a part of the roof which was different from the rest; for he observes, that had the pillars merely borne beams running the length of the hall from end to end, then the space between pillar and pillar, and between pillar and bounding wall, would have

have been equal, which is not the case, for the places of the pillars by no means divide the length of the hall into three equal parts. But the question may still be raised, whether the space of roof which lies between the four pillars was left open, so as to form a hypæthral aperture, or whether the roof at that part was merely carried to a higher level, and openings for windows left at the side. Dörpfeld remarks:—

'It might be assumed that the whole square between the pillars was open; but so large an aperture, even in the southern climate of Tiryns, would have made the hall temporarily uninhabitable in winter. It would answer much better to cover the square included by the pillars, after the manner of a basilica, with a higher roof; in the vertical walls of the upper-structure (clere-story) smaller or larger apertures could be introduced, through which not only light would enter into the megaron, but also the smoke from the hearth would find an easy escape.'

It will be known to many of our readers that Mr. James Fergusson, to whom, by the way, the volume before us is dedicated, has recently discussed in a work apparently known to Dr. Dörpfeld only by hearsay, precisely the same question in regard to the lighting of the Parthenon at Athens, and arrived at a conclusion similar to that of Dörpfeld; he has even constructed a model of the Parthenon on the principle of basilican lighting, of which we can testify that on those rare days when there is in the English sky a light like the daylight of Greece, its effect is most pleasing. The concurrence of two such able authorities, as the Englishman and the German whom we have named, should be sufficient for mere laymen, especially when we consider that this method of lighting was certainly in use in Egypt at quite an early period, and that its existence in primitive Greece would account, better than anything else, for the arrangement of triglyph and metope as it existed in Doric temples of historical times. Only we must observe that in his statement, that a room with hypæthral opening would be uninhabitable, Dörpfeld goes too far, and appears entirely to overlook the well-known fact, that hypæthral courts were quite usual in Greek houses of historical times. It seems that moderns are far more sensitive to the weather than were the Greeks of Homeric or historic days.

Truly delightful is it with these new facts, so securely based, in our minds, to turn once more to the doings of Odysseus and Telemachus in the 'Odyssey,' which no longer seem to have taken place in some dim palace of romance, but in a hall of which the arrangements and details are familiar to us. Through the whole Homeric tale a light spreads like that which the presence of Athene spreads in the hall at Ithaca. 'A wondrous

drous sight, my father, meets my eyes. Meseems that the walls of the hall, and the fair main-beams, and the cross-beams of pine and the pillars that sustain them, are bright to my eyes as if with flaming fire.' Here is a stone threshold like that across which Telemachus stepped, as he placed his spear in the spear-stand at the door and went in. Here is a hall where many a noisy crew of Achæan chiefs feasted and drank and quarrelled. Here is a hearth on which they roasted great joints of oxen and swine, and sent down portions to strangers, seated like Odysseus on the threshold. Around hung the shields blackening in the curling smoke, or shining with fire when at night the braziers were kindled, and jest and song went on far into the night, till the feasters went out to cool their heated heads by sleeping in the airy porticoes of the court. Perhaps this floor, like that of Odysseus, once ran with blood during foreign invasion or faction fight, before the fire came which consumed all the woodwork of the palace, and left everywhere those charred remains which mark the end of the gay old Achæan life of Tiryns and the beginning of Argive ascendency.

Among the rooms which cluster about the megaron at Tiryns is one of quite unique interest. This is a small chamber, in size some ten feet by twelve, whereof the floor is formed of a single gigantic slab of stone, weighing about twenty tons, and the walls were wainscoted with solid and close-fitting planks. A gully at the corner, evidently made for the exit of water, at once suggested that this was a bath-room, and no other theory seems tenable. That Homer's heroes, like Greeks of later times, betook themselves to the baths before they went to dine in the hall, is well known to all scholars; and here again excavation gives material confirmation to the poet's words. But it does more than confirm, it also explains. Homer speaks of the chiefs as repairing to the ἐύξεσται ἀσάμινθοι, and the commentators have variously interpreted the phrase in the light rather of their own ingenuity than of comparative archæology. But a fragment of a large terra-cotta vessel, evidently used in bathing, has come to light at Tiryns, proving beyond reasonable doubt, that the bathing customs of the Homeric Greeks differed but little from those which the representations on vases show to have prevailed in historical times. In the midst of the floor of the bath-room was placed a large vessel full of warm water. In this, after laying aside his clothes, the bather sat, or over it he cowered, while a bathing man ladled over him the water which, falling on the floor, ran away by the sink in a corner of the room. After the washing came rubbing and oiling. It is however to be observed, that the place of the bathing-man is in the Homeric

Homeric descriptions supplied by a woman, sometimes even a high-born lady. At Pylos, Polycasta, youngest daughter of Nestor, bathes and dresses young Telemachus. Helen bathes Odysseus when he comes to Troy as a spy, and recognizes him in the bath by personal marks, as does old nurse Euryclea at a later period. It seems to be a mark of the extreme modesty of the same hero, that he declines to be bathed by the maidens of Nausicaa. Thus always when we compare Homeric and later Hellenic customs we find strong likeness and sharp contrast, presenting to the historian and anthropologist one of the most fascinating of fields for study, a field which they cannot as yet be said to have half occupied.

Thus far, the discoveries of which we have spoken have, in the main, confirmed the commentators on Homeric antiquities; but we now arrive at a fact which is totally unexpected. At Tiryns we find a second set of buildings by the side of those which we have described, smaller in scale, but very similar in design. Dörpfeld regards it as certain that this set of apartments belonged to the women, as the first set to the men. From the outer propylæum a narrow way led between walls to a forecourt, like that of the men, but smaller (see plan); and facing this court stands a hall with its vestibule, and in the midst of the hall a hearth. Between this women's hall and the outer wall of the palace cluster a number of rooms of various sizes, and there is reason to believe, that it is possible to indicate the place where there was a staircase, leading to an upper story, of which of course no trace now remains. Among these rooms Dörpfeld would look for the bed-chamber of the mistress of the palace, for the treasury where the valuables were kept, and other rooms necessary to a princely establishment.

That this scheme of arrangement was by no means peculiar to Tiryns appears certain, when we re-examine the ruins of that city on the hill of Hissarlik, which Dr. Schliemann, not without much reason, regards as the historical prototype of the Homeric Troy. There we find as central mass of the remains two oblong blocks of buildings, side by side, a lesser and a larger, which in previous works Schliemann, misled by Hellenic analogy, had supposed to be temples. There can now be little doubt, as Dörpfeld shows, that they are not temples at all. Temples occupied the acropolis-hills of sites in Greece and Asia Minor in historical times, but not in these prehistoric days, which are so fast becoming clearer to us. Then the most important places were occupied by those earthly gods or god-like heroes, the wealthy and splendid race of Zeus-descended kings. At Troy too, then, we must take the ruins to be those of

of the men's and the women's apartments respectively; and in fact, looking on their ground-plan in the new light, we at once see the remains of the family hearth. When a Greek site and a Trojan site tell us exactly the same tale, we can scarcely refuse to give credit to their testimony.

We therefore regard it as proved, that in the prehistoric Greek palace the men's apartments and the women's stood apart, though side by side; each with its own forecourt, vestibule, and hall. This is, as we have said, decidedly a discovery. For the commentators have, almost with one voice, supposed that the thalami, or apartments of women in Homeric times, were merely attached to the back of the men's hall or megaron, just as, in historic Greek houses, the peristyle of the women lay behind the court of the men. Dr. Hayman has maintained, that in the palace of Odysseus no portion was specially devoted to the women, but that the women's rooms were scattered round the men's hall and over it; Mr. Lang has been led by the analogy of the Scandinavian hall into a not dissimilar opinion. All these views must now be considerably modified. Nevertheless, Dörpfeld seems to us to be going beyond his evidence, when he asserts, that at Tiryns the only communication between the apartments of men and women was by long and roundabout passages. For all his evidence consists of walls, or rather bases of walls, some three feet high. That these walls are unbroken does not prove that a door may not have existed at a certain height above the ground. And as some of the chambers at Tiryns have on all four sides unbroken walls, it is certain that they at least were entered by doors at a higher level, and if they, why not other rooms also? On this point there is, in the 'Odyssey,' evidence which is valuable and, as it seems to us, explicit. Homer mentions as existing in the megaron of Odysseus an *ὀρσο-θύρη*, a word which commentators have already explained as meaning a door raised above the ground; and in fact Homer expressly speaks of *going up* to it. When then it appears, from a host of passages, that Penelope and other Homeric ladies were in the habit of going direct into the men's hall by a door which opened out of their own quarters, we are justified for once bringing in Homer to supplement the spade, as we have so often used the spade to supplement Homer, and in presuming that at Tiryns there must have been some ready communication between the men's quarters and the women's, even though the place of such opening cannot now be traced.

Not only does the plan of the palace at Tiryns inform us as to the dwellings described in Homer, but it is also important as evidently a prototype of the wealthy Greek house of later times.

A paper

A paper published in the 'Journal of Hellenic Studies' in 1882, showed, before Tiryns was excavated, that the line of descent of the historic Greek house could be traced through the Homeric palace, maintaining that the forecourt, or *αὐλή*, of the Homeric palace becomes the *andronitis*, or men's court, of the historic Greek house, which, like it, contains the great altar of Zeus, while the men's hall, or megaron of Homer, shrinks into the dining-room of later houses, still retaining the hearth or altar of Hestia. This view receives confirmation from the present excavations, as a reference to our plan will show. It is also observable that the orientation of the Tirynthian palace, which faces the south directly, is exactly that prescribed by Vitruvius to builders of Greek mansions in his time.

We must, however, pass on from the ground-plan of the palace at Tiryns to one or two important discoveries of detail. The notices of Dr. Schliemann's book have been full of the *θριγκὸς κυάνοιο*, the cyanus frieze, which the excavations brought to light in the vestibule of the men's hall, and which probably adorned that chamber, at some height above the ground. This beautiful frieze is made of alabaster, carved in patterns of Egyptian character, with pieces of blue glass inserted at intervals, to give it colour and variety. In this case, too, recent archæology had proved the soundness of its methods, by giving an explanation very near to the truth. Dr. Helbig had argued that the frieze of cyanus could not be of steel, or any of the other metals which have been suggested, but must have consisted of small plates of blue enamel, inserted into some underlying substance, and worked into the pattern of a frieze. This is remarkably near the truth, and a fresh proof that archæology, having arrived at a capacity for divining what is not yet discovered, has the right to be considered a fully established science.

Scarcely inferior to the alabaster frieze in interest, and very similar to it in design, are the mural paintings of which fragments were found in many parts of the palace. It is useless to attempt to describe their designs, for they can only be studied or understood by turning to Dr. Schliemann's plates. Their style is perfectly unmistakable: every one who has turned over Rosellini's or Lepsius' plates of Egyptian architectural designs will, in a moment, see that their true parentage is Egyptian. No one who has learned the lesson of Mycenæ, or has seen a drawing of the marvellous stone ceiling of purely Egyptian pattern, which was found by Schliemann in the conical tomb at Orchomenus, would expect to find in the wall-decorations at Tiryns any designs save of Egyptian origin. But when we

use

use the phrase 'of Egyptian origin,' we must do so with circumspection. The native art of Egypt is now known to be, not less than Greek art, a thing of gradual evolution along definite lines. In this fixed and ordered series the patterns at Tiryns have no place. They are eclectic and eccentric; in fact, they are what archæologists term barbarous imitations. The idea of them comes from Egypt, but in the realization we see the genius of another race. And there is a curious peculiarity about the transcription. When Gauls and Britons copy the coins of Massilia, or of Philip of Macedon, they have an inveterate tendency to pervert lines and patterns into animal and vegetable forms: on the Gaulish coins, in particular, we find quite a bewildering variety of winged monsters, boars, dragons, and birds, all developed out of the simple head of Apollo, and the chariot of Philip's gold pieces. At Tiryns we discover precisely the same tendency. The Egyptian patterns grow into the form of birds or winged monsters, some of which have so much of pattern and so little of animal about them, that it takes a close study to discover the radical perversion which has taken place, a perversion exactly the opposite to that to which we are accustomed in modern art, where animals and plants become conventional and sink into patterns. The delight in animal forms was very strong in Phœnician and early Greek art, and dominated it more and more as time went on. In one specimen of Tirynthian wall-decoration we have a direct and curiously vigorous representation of animal form, in that very remarkable bull, bearing a human figure on its back, which is one of the most startling of the results of Dr. Schliemann's excavations, and which furnishes a new illustration of the law, that in all art of all nations there are spasmodic outbreaks of naturalism, sudden touches of that nature which makes the whole world akin.

The massive Cyclopean walls, which surround the citadel of Tiryns, and which formed an outer line of defence to the royal palace, are familiar to travellers. But things familiar to us often hide from us their secrets. So it is here. The industry and ingenuity of Dörpfeld have revealed to us many unsuspected facts in regard to these walls. First, it is now proved that the universal belief, that they were constructed without mortar, is erroneous. A strong cement of lime held together the huge polygonal masses of stone: this has now disappeared from the face of the wall, having been washed out by the rain; but still remains in the interior of the structure. Secondly, the nature and uses of the galleries, which have long been known to exist in the thickness of the walls, have been fully explored. It

It is now shown that, in two cases at least, these galleries led to a number of vaulted chambers, built in the wall, and used beyond doubt for the storage of provisions and water and warlike material. Some of these chambers appear at the top of our plan. Thirdly, it seems to be quite established, that there existed on the top of the wall a covered way, a gallery or portico, admirably adapted for the shelter of the garrison of the castle, and for the discomfiture of assailants. If all cities of prehistoric Greece were thus fortified and provided, it is no wonder that Thebes repulsed Tydeus and his comrades, and that the siege of Troy lasted ten years. A further very interesting discovery is, that the citadel-wall is pierced on the west side by a postern gate, from which a long and winding stone staircase leads (see plan) up into the back of the palace.

Dr. Dörpfeld lays great stress on the fact, that recent excavations have revealed in the massive walls which surround Byrsa, the citadel of ancient Carthage, galleries and chambers for storage which in plan and construction differ but slightly from those at Tiryns. He even goes so far as to say (p. 325), 'As long as a similar casemate-like construction has not been found in Lycia, or in any other district of Asia Minor which had not been visited by the Phœnicians, the conformity between the structures of Tiryns and Byrsa must be looked upon as a proof that both were erected by Phœnician builders.' This direct statement compels us to face a question, which we have more than once already had difficulty in escaping in this notice—the question, whether the palace and the walls of Tiryns are to be regarded as the work of native Greeks of the Achæan race, or whether we must consider them the production of some race of foreign settlers, wealthy chiefs from Asia Minor, or Phœnician merchant-princes. Dörpfeld, though in other places he seems to hesitate, finally, in the passage we have quoted, asserts their Phœnician origin. And Schliemann, to our surprise, adopts the same view, arguing that the connection of Tiryns with Heracles, the Phœnician Melkarth, shows the Phœnician origin of the city; and that Palamedes, the mythical founder of the neighbouring Nauplia, is, like his variant Palæmon, a Phœnician sea-god.

It is not without regret that we find ourselves in this matter, which is a sort of moral to the whole book, compelled to differ from Schliemann and Dörpfeld. And if Tiryns were Phœnician, what becomes of Schliemann's belief in the historic character of the princely legends of Argolis: and what of Dörpfeld's constant comparison of Homeric statement with Tirynthian fact? In fact, we believe that Dr. Schliemann at

all events will be grateful to us, if we call in doubt the view which he has been led into advocating, and give reasons for our belief, that the city of Tiryns, as revealed in these excavations, is Greek, or at least proto-Greek.

Primitive legend, if that be worth anything, is most explicit as to the connections of the early kings, if not the early inhabitants of Tiryns. The city was built, we are told, by Cyclopes, whom the Argive Prœtus brought with him from Lycia. This is but one of several tales which indicate close connection in prehistoric times between Argolis and Lycia, and these tales form together a group among several groups of legends, which go to prove that the princely houses of Greece had frequent intercourse with the princely houses of the Asiatic coast, of Troas and Phrygia and Lycia and Cyprus. We hear continually of migrations of the heads of clans from Asia to Europe, or from Europe to Asia; and everything indicates that they were of kindred races, living the same kind of life and strongly united together by aristocratic class feelings. Whether, therefore, the race which ruled in Tiryns were Achæan, or Lycian, or Phrygian, or even of Phœnician extraction, does not greatly matter. They were the sort of kings of whom Homer writes, and through such in their day passed the line of succession of Hellenic ideas and nascent European civilization. It is clear, then, that the ruling race of Tiryns may fairly be considered as Greek, for all practical purposes. And the people whom they ruled were almost certainly of Hellenic stock. Works of such magnitude as these colossal walls are not raised by a handful of resident aliens; they are the result of the slow and patient labour of the people of the country where they exist.

But the main question is, after all, not as to the nationality of either king or people, but of the architects who directed and controlled the works. Shall we declare them to have been Phœnician? This is a more hopeful question, for the existing remains give us much material for an answer. For our part, we do not think that the evidence, as a whole, indicates Phœnician architects. Seven years ago, when we reviewed our author's 'Mycenæ,' we were strongly inclined to the belief, that the Phœnicians were the main channel through which civilization flowed into Greece. But of late years evidence to the contrary has increased. Mr. Ramsay has found in Phrygia great lions carved on the rocks, which seem clearly to be in the direct line of descent of Greek decorative sculpture. And still more recently, last year's excavations at Naucratis have proved that the Greeks borrowed largely from the Egyptians direct, and

and not through the mediation of the Phœnicians. We cannot therefore allow, that the existence at Tiryns of a particular mode of erecting storehouses in the walls, which is found also on Phœnician sites, proves necessarily the presence there of Phœnician architects. Phœnicians and Greeks, and the natives of Asia Minor, may very probably all have acquired the method of construction from some common and older source.

The fact rather is, as indeed Dr. Adler points out in his Preface to the work before us, that the architecture of Tiryns, and of the closely similar city of Mycenæ, presents analogies to the remains of several ancient peoples. The general form of the conical tombs, like the so-called Treasury of Atreus, with its underground *dromos* or approach, seems to derive from Phrygia, where dwellings of this form, and similarly covered by a mound of earth, existed in the time of Xenophon, and exist even to this day. To Phrygia, too, we may trace back the style of the sculptured lions over the gate of Mycenæ. The wooden pillars, and the roofs formed of trees laid side by side, of which we find traces at Tiryns and Mycenæ, remind us most of the tomb-architecture of Lycia, the style of which is based on the use of wood. The beautiful carved ceiling of Orchomenus, and the painted wall-patterns of Tiryns, distinctly derive from Egypt, whether directly or through the mediation of the Phœnicians. And besides all this, there is both at Tiryns and Mycenæ a great deal of decoration and drawing, which seems autochthonous. The Mycenæan warriors, the Tirynthian bull, the patterns of the gold plates at Mycenæ, a thoroughly Hellenic torch-holder from Tiryns, all betray native Greek ideas and art. In this connection we must mention also the pipes used in the drainage of the Tirynthian palace, which closely resemble those used in the aqueduct constructed at Samos by Eupalinus. It seems therefore most probable, judging from the evidence at present available, that the walls and palaces of the Argolis were not merely raised by Greek hands, but also designed by a Greek brain, though we may trace in them the influence of several of the peoples, which surrounded the Greeks, and which were probably at the time more advanced than they in material civilization. At all events, there is no reason why we should hesitate to connect the facts of archæological discovery in that region with the descriptions of the Homeric poems.

At this point we must leave the history of Tiryns. And it must, we fear, remain somewhat uncertain how far down we have brought that history. We have found on the site a palace of prehistoric, probably Achæan, kings of Tiryns. That palace was certainly burned down, probably by hostile hands,

and there are several traces visible of fresh arrangements of space on the site, the building of new walls, and the adaptation of old ones. But of these traces as yet little can be made. We have above stated our reasons for thinking, that no sufficient case has been shown for the rejection of the ordinary account, which makes the final destruction of Tiryns by the Argives date from the times after the Persian wars. But certainly the glory and wealth had departed from the city long before that time. Of the period between the fall of the Achæan race of kings and the Persian wars we have, in the upper citadel, but few certain traces. And of the traces which have been found, the most important by far, a fragment of a Doric temple-column, has probably been brought from another part of the citadel. The question of the history of Tiryns after the heroic age, therefore, still awaits the result of excavation. In this matter far more material is sure to be forthcoming, if Dr. Schliemann is able to add to the services, already enormous, which he has rendered to the cause of archæology, by proceeding to excavate the lower parts of the Tirynthian citadel. There, in all probability, he will find evidence, which will finally determine the date of the fall of Tiryns, and will give us means of tracing the fortunes of the town in the days before its fall, and in the days of its subsequent partial re-establishment by the Argives. At present we will close our review in the only fitting way, by once more heartily expressing the thanks due from all who love ancient art, or history, or literature, to one who has done so much to throw fresh light on all three.

ART. V.—1. *The Country Banker.* By George Rae. Fifth edition. London, 1886.

2. *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of the Finances.* Washington, Government Printing Office, 1884.

3. *The National Bank Acts and other Laws relating to National Banks.* Washington, Government Printing Office, 1882.

4. *Il Credito Popolare in Italia.* Relazione di Luigi Luzzatti. Roma, 1882.

5. *Manuale per le Banche Popolari Cooperative Italiane.* Ettore Levi. Milano, 1883.

6. *Statuto della Banca Mutua Popolare di Firenze: Società Anonima Cooperativa.* Firenze, 1883.

THE wonderful power of development which, during the last half century, has made such enormous changes in the structure of society in this island, shows itself nowhere more remarkably than among the contemporaneous alterations in English Banking. If we could look back fifty years even, certainly sixty years back, we should find ourselves, so far as banking is concerned, surrounded by methods of carrying on business which had descended, traditionally, nearly from the period of the Civil War. We should have found the 'City' not a mere collection of offices, thronged during working hours by a busy crowd, and left at night to the care of messengers and policemen, but inhabited by some of the members of many firms, who lived with their families over the places in which the head of the house laboured during the day. Recent changes have, we believe, caused the removal of the last City banker as an inhabitant from Lombard Street, and the habit, once broken, is never likely to be resumed. But there are still parlours with stiff respectable-looking furniture, fitted up for family life, now never likely to be so employed again, with old-fashioned pianofortes and solid sofas, within a few yards of the Mansion House; and further to the west, though on the inside of Temple Bar, old traditions are still maintained. Within living memories the partners of banking firms adhered firmly to the practice of their fathers. Tradition reports, that the children of these families, hard-set for places to walk in when little, were 'exercised' on Blackfriars Bridge, then protected from traffic by a toll, and within the Tower Hill enclosure. Provincial bankers followed the same mode of life, and a banking house not inhabited by a member of the firm was rather the exception than the rule. Most business men would now consider the obligation to reside near the scene of their

their occupations, a needless and most unwelcome burden. The difference in the mode of living was not more marked than the difference in the system on which business was conducted. Till the Act of 1826 was passed, no Joint Stock Bank whatever, except the Bank of England, could exist in England. That Act permitted the establishment of Joint Stock Banks with the power of issuing notes, provided the business was not carried on within sixty-five miles of London. This was followed by the Act of 1833, which removed many difficulties from the course of Joint Stock Banking, and many of our most flourishing Joint Stock Banks date from that period.

Though the success of Joint Stock Banking in London has been very considerable, its progress in the provinces has been even more marked. The position of banking in London was vividly described by the late Mr. Walter Bagehot, in his volume named 'Lombard Street.' The position of banking in the provinces has now found its historian in Mr. George Rae, who has embodied the experience of forty years in his recent work, named 'The Country Banker.' We have named these two books together, though the scope of the two is very different—the one containing a general description of the London money market, with a brilliant sketch of the principles involved in the management of higher finance; the other seeking, in the words of the Preface, 'to exhibit the machinery of banking in motion.' There is this uniting link between them; while the one endeavours to make the theory as well as the practice of monetary business clear to those not versed in the subject, the other seeks to make the practice clear, while never losing sight of sound theory. And both have this high merit; they are written by men possessing thorough practical knowledge of what they describe.

The advantage, which the power of immediate disposal of ready money affords to mercantile and general business, can hardly be over-estimated. It means often either the being able to make use of an advantageous opportunity for trade, or the being unable to do so. The great majority of all private firms and persons carrying on business in this country are compelled to borrow, from time to time, to enable them to conduct their business. The Companies with limited liability which have so often been formed during recent years to conduct industrial business, rarely borrow in exactly the same manner as private firms. But even to them, amply provided with capital as they usually are, the assistance which their bankers can be, in the way of an immediate supply of ready cash, is often of the highest importance. In business matters, action

action to be successful must almost always be prompt. The employment of loanable capital, placed by a banker at the command of his customer for a short time (and this is the basis of the idea of banking loans proper), gives a far sharper impetus to business than an advance made by means of capital borrowed for a long time. It is a succession of these short sharp strokes, often renewed and repeated, which drives the wheel of trade round, if the analogy may be permitted, more rapidly than any other motive power.

'The incidents of an experience, now stretching over forty years, of the life and work of country banking, in its relations with customers and shareholders, the officials in its employment, and the general public,' to which Mr. Rae makes reference in his Preface, has supplied him with a vast mass of illustrative materials which he has skilfully employed in the volume under notice. Human nature is wont to show much the same results under similar circumstances, and Mr. Rae's examples of the different classes with which a banker has to deal may be regarded as typical. To many persons the business appears the most easy thing in the world to carry on. It is merely necessary to be sure, that every one to whom an advance is made is solvent and honest, and no further anxiety can arise; and, if all the persons who do business with a bank, the merchants, manufacturers, shopkeepers, solicitors, shipowners, minor traders of every grade, individuals not in actual business, like clergymen, and half-pay officers, who come occasionally to a bank for loans for the most varied purposes, from an advance needed to start a new local railway, or to provide materials for a great manufacture, down to one required to enable a boy to be sent to school or college, or even to pay last year's household bills, when the applicant has been disabled by sickness, till other funds can be brought in—if all these persons could be divided into two classes, those who are dependable and those who are not, the business of a banker would be easy indeed. It will be said 'he should never make an advance without security.' And, strictly speaking, security should always be taken. But a banker, and especially a provincial banker, is beset by two difficulties. In the first place, he may often be asked to make an advance, which is an advisable advance, so far as the borrower is concerned—for which no security can be given; and in the next place, it is not always so easy as may be imagined to define what really is adequate security.

It is often most difficult to know how to deal with an application such as is referred to under the first of these heads, that is to say, for an advance which would clearly be advantageous to

to the customer and also, as sometimes is the case, to the trade of a district. Nothing is more remarkable than the manner in which, frequently, trade interests are intertwined. When one large branch flags, others are sure to suffer in sympathy. Working-men are thrown out of employment, the takings of the little shopkeeper are curtailed. The larger dealer, who supplies the little shopkeeper, is hampered. The result to the district is like the lowering of the circulation in the human body below its accustomed force. All sorts of complications arise. And the banker, like the doctor, knows that a vigorous application of a tonic may be the best means of restoring health; further, that the advance he is asked to make would supply that tonic in its most effectual form. Let us hear what Mr. Rae says:

'The leading subject of your daily education as a banker will be to learn whom to trust.

'Given a certain individual as principal or surety in a proposed transaction, the question which you have to solve is—how many hundreds or how many thousands, as the case may be, will he be "good for" to the Bank; at what figure can you safely put his individual responsibility?

'To insure a reliable solution, you have first to ascertain what a man is "worth"—that is to say, what he would have remaining for himself, in money or money's worth, after clearing off the whole of his debts and other liabilities.

'For the most part you will have to rely for this knowledge on hearsay, and the opinion of others. You will consequently have to sift the information which you may gather as to the position of individuals, with the utmost care, because on no other subject of daily gossip is there a greater tendency to exaggeration or mischievous credulity.

'You will have early occasion to observe, amongst other things, that the opinions afloat as to the means and position of people are mostly of stereotyped character. The origin of these opinions is always more or less obscure: but when it once comes to be said—it does not seem to matter when, nor by whom—that So-and-so is good for so much, his worth will pass current for that amount for years without challenge; until some day he collapses, to the surprise of all, and a general chorus of—"Who would have thought it?"'—'The Country Banker,' pp. 6, 7.

We may follow this quotation from Mr. Rae with the very apt one he has himself cited from Quarles: 'Let the greatest part of the news thou hearest be the least part of what thou believest: lest the greater part of what thou believest be the least part of what is true.' The opinion on which credit is founded can never be sifted too closely. To illustrate the arguments which he has employed, Mr. Rae gives examples, doubtless

doubtless drawn from life of various classes of traders. He shows how completely different the solvency of one class of trader may be from another, even when both appear at first sight equally well-provided with substantial means. Perhaps the most doubtful form of security referred to in the volume is that of a small trading company with limited liability. The Act of Parliament, by which the creation of such companies was permitted in England, is one of those curious instances showing, as such instances not unfrequently do, that systems which work well in one country may not work by any means well elsewhere, especially if the safeguards by which the method of procedure is protected in the one case are omitted in the other. These remarks do not apply so much to banking companies with limited liability, and to undertakings of a similar and substantial character, but to the countless small trading and industrial companies with limited liability, which have of recent years been formed in this country, and in many instances have been very prejudicial in their effects. They have fostered bad trade, they have encouraged reckless trade. The shareholders' money has in many instances been wasted. The proper liability belonging to the managers of the company has not been enforced. Hence these companies in many instances have greatly promoted inflation of trade, and reasons exist for believing that their conduct in this respect has assisted, through over-production, in producing the existing depression of trade by a reaction from the over-stimulant thus applied.

We can hardly hope, in this place, to render our readers completely acquainted with all the details of country banking. If they wish to be so, they had better make themselves acquainted thoroughly with Mr. Rae's book. They will find it very bright and pleasant reading; and as almost every grown person, certainly almost every one in the position of the head of a household in this country, must of necessity keep an account with a bank, they will do well to learn in this manner something about a business with which they are almost certain to come into relations, either as borrowers or depositors. But as some borrowers from banks think that they place banks under obligations to them when they borrow their money, and yet have no security to offer for what they borrow, it may be well to quote Mr. Rae's well-considered remarks on this point.

'The unsecured advances of English banking, from the outset, were doubtless made with an assured faith in every case that the borrowers were individuals, or firms, of acknowledged means and unimpeachable credit. It is not to be imagined that any Manager or Board of Directors ever made an advance in the deliberate expectation and

and belief of its becoming a bad debt. Unfortunately, however, as we have seen, it is always in the matter of advances made without security, that the unexpected happens.

'That would be a remarkable return, if it were to be procured, which should show the net result to English banking of uncovered advances. Place in one scale the aggregate of profits, and in the other the aggregate of loss upon such accounts, and who can doubt for a moment which scale shall instantly, and with a vengeance, kick the beam? The losses upon uncovered advances, within recent memory, have been of a magnitude sufficient, one might suppose, to impress upon the minds of bankers, with an emphasis that should be lasting, the danger of such advances; and the expediency of rendering security henceforward an indispensable condition for money lent or advanced.

'To give general effect to the principle would, no doubt, require a greater degree of concert and a livelier sense of common danger, on the part of English banks, than exist at present; because no bank can act upon the principle rigidly, whilst its competitors play fast and loose with it, without a certain loss of business. Those persons who have come to regard an uncovered over-draft, less in the light of a favour than as a matter of custom and right, would no doubt exclaim against the adoption of a system that would restrict them to a narrower range of operations: and they would without scruple take their custom elsewhere, provided they found banks prepared to take them at their own valuation, and adopt their accounts on their own terms.

'But against the loss of income thus occasioned place the loss that might arise some day on one or other of these uncovered accounts: and it is at least a possibility that your present loss might prove your future gain. Better lose the profit on a naked over-draft now, than its principal amount hereafter.'—'The Country Banker,' pp. 37, 38.

It should be remembered that the banking institutions of this country are concerned with far wider interests than the concerns of individual borrowers alone, however important those concerns may be, and however closely the banker may become identified with the business of the particular district in which his operations lie. By systematically promoting local objects he is greatly assisting the general welfare of the country. The prosperity of Scotland has doubtless been founded, in great measure, on the banking system of that country, and there is no question that England is largely indebted to the banks which carry on business within her boundaries for the great prosperity she has attained. Few persons, except those who have actually witnessed what the absence of banking accommodation means, can have any idea of the inconvenience and hindrance to all the arrangements of life which such an absence causes. The power of rapidly taking up any new industry depends on the fluidity of capital; and this can only be secured by

by the intervention of banking arrangements. Meanwhile the severity of the competition among banks is the surest guarantee, that the charges for such accommodation will not be exorbitant, and that no reasonable demand for accommodation will fail to be supplied. The advantage, which one industry gains from the assistance given to it, is by no means confined to that industry alone. An industry requires the assistance which the employment of further capital will provide, because those who conduct it find that a further development of their enterprise is possible. The moment that they do this an immediate impetus is given to trade. Wages in the particular industry rise, fresh workpeople and labourers are attracted to it. The other trades, in which these labourers were previously employed, have to offer better terms to retain their workmen. Thus the circle widens, and the effect of the improvement becomes diffused through the country. It is just on occasions like these that banking judgment becomes important. The trained sagacity of a man, who has had a long experience in matters of this description, ought to be able to decide whether the assistance desired is advisable or not, and as the safety of every advance he makes is of very high importance to him, he is bound under heavy penalties to preserve a sound and cautious judgment.

It has been said, and by very high authority, for we may quote Mr. Thomson Hankey, who derived his dictum from his relative C. Poulett Thomson, that any one can make a good banker who can learn the difference between a bill of exchange and a mortgage in the security offered to him. At first sight, no two things can appear more different than securities of these descriptions. A mortgage is a formal legal document giving a charge on real property, generally land, or if not land, something valuable of a fixed character, like a block of buildings in a town, a mill, or a hotel,—something of a very permanent nature. It is a document which gives powers of sale of a very peremptory description, and, in fact, places the mortgagee for many purposes in the position of the owner. It is an engagement usually entered into for a long, sometimes for a very long period, and the amount which it covers, when once advanced, cannot be withdrawn without due and formal notice. A bill of exchange, on the other hand, represents a transaction of an entirely different nature, transient in character, thus entirely different, at first sight, from a mortgage. A bill of exchange, it may be well to explain for the benefit of our non-mercantile readers, does or should represent a definite mercantile transaction. Thus an exporter of wheat at Chicago, or of cotton at one of the Southern ports

ports of America, ships his goods to England, and forthwith draws a bill on the merchant to whom these goods are consigned. The bill is drawn at a certain date, so many days or months after the date of the shipping of the goods or after the bill has reached this country. The sale of the goods themselves ought to provide the means for the payment of the bill. Time is given during the period which the bill has to run, not only for the goods to arrive, but to enable the merchant to whom they are consigned to dispose of them. If he has not been able to do this, he has at all events the goods themselves to offer as a security should he require an advance to enable him to meet the bill. Thus a document of this nature is said, in the language of trade, 'to turn itself into money' with certainty.

This example may be taken as typical of a high class of bills, such as a bank may willingly receive and allow the person who held such, to have an advance on them. But a genuine bill may be drawn on a house of business and yet represent a transaction of a totally different character. A manufacturer, for example, may have had a new steam-engine constructed, and may not be able to pay for the whole cost immediately the engine is delivered and set to work. In this case a bill may be drawn on him for the whole, or a part of the outlay. In form and appearance this document would exactly correspond to the other which has just been described. It may have taken its origin from business circumstances as completely legitimate as the bill does which is drawn against a consignment of wheat or of cotton. The names to the bill, that is to say the names of the firm who drew it, and of the firm who accepted it, may be as high in standing and as likely to be solvent as in the other example, and yet it represents business of an entirely different description, and could never be considered by a bank as a document of exactly the same character as the former. The reason for this is clear enough when once it is thought out. The bill, which was drawn on account of the purchase of the steam-engine, represents fixed capital which the manufacturer has invested in his business. He hopes to repay himself for the outlay, not by the sale of what the bill represents, namely, the engine—as the merchant does who holds the bills drawn on account of the wheat or cotton—but by the economy which he expects the engine will enable him to make in the manufacture of the goods he sells, or by the extension of his trade which he hopes the employment of the mechanical power of the engine will secure. Fixed capital, not floating capital, is the source from which this debt must be paid, and it stands therefore on a totally different level from the former document.

Bills

Bills are not unfrequently drawn, which represent business transactions even of a more fixed character, and therefore more nearly approaching to a mortgage than the one we have described. But, between the two extremes, there are often bills which may be considered as of an intermediate character. Thus a hide merchant or a currier will draw a bill for leather, supplied to a shoemaker who may be a manufacturer on a very large scale. Here it will be seen, that different elements of business come in from either of the two examples which we have previously imagined. The wheat or the cotton was intended to be sold either to the miller or the manufacturer who would use them in his business, or to some broker acting as intermediary between purchaser and seller. The steam-engine requires the use of capital fixed in the business to pay for it. The leather, in our last example, was not to be employed in the same way exactly as either the wheat or cotton or the steam-engine. The shoemaker would have to engage workpeople to make up his materials. Their wages therefore enter into the price of the goods before they can be sold. The shoemaker has therefore two factors to consider before he can dispose of his goods when finished, besides the prime cost of the material employed, namely, the wages of his workpeople, and the chance of finding a customer. This transaction cannot therefore be considered as standing exactly on the same level as the first, while it represents floating capital more distinctly, by far, than the second example does.

These three examples must be regarded as typical only in the very broadest sense, and the transactions have been supposed to be represented by a bill, in order to place them more clearly before the mind of the reader. The changes which modern methods of procedure have made in business transactions tend, on the one hand, to supersede the old-fashioned 'bill' by the more rapid 'telegraphic transfer,' while the greater abundance of floating capital in the hands of bankers renders ready-money transactions more frequent.

How then can a bill, representing thus a transient transaction, being in fact an obligation for which the most rapid mode of communication—a telegram sent, perhaps, from the Pacific coast of America, or from one of the further ports of China even—can readily be substituted? How can a mere direction to pay a sum of cash at a given date ever become transformed into a fixed obligation like a mortgage? The answer is this. Everything depends on the nature of the transaction which the bill represents. If it is merely the representative of goods sent from the producer to the merchant, and is provided for and paid out of the sale of these goods, no arrangement can be

be thought of more certain to secure a lender of money that he will receive the amount which he lends, the moment when it becomes due. But if the transaction on which the bill is based is of a different character from this; if it represents the employment of fixed capital, like the construction of a steam-engine, as suggested in the second example, the means of payment must be met out of the solid resources of the debtor, and not out of the proceeds of the particular operation itself. The bill may be convenient in the way of allowing him time to collect his resources together, but the transaction on which it is based will not of itself provide the means through which the money will be found. A bill of this nature is really a mortgage at a short date. Placed before us in this broad way, any one can see at a glance the difference between a bill and a mortgage. But, in actual business, the boundaries are not marked out so sharply, and trained skill only can define how the two classes are to be separated into their infinite and narrow subdivisions.

A banker is sometimes offered personal security; that is to say, some one who knows the individual requiring the loan is found willing to guarantee the due repayment of it. The person who becomes 'bondsman' for the debt is necessarily a personal friend, more often a relation of the borrower. From some points of view no arrangement can be better than this. The banker feels that he can place confidence in a man whose character, habits, and conduct, justify another responsible person in placing so great a confidence in him as to become bound for the repayment of the debt. He feels not only that he is making the advance on security which is good from a business point of view, but that the circumstances justify a belief, that the borrower is a man who will employ the resources placed in his hands in a sensible and useful manner. The moral influence of transactions of this character on the community generally must not be lost sight of. As has been said:—

'The influence of the system of advances on the personal security of bondsmen is one tending to sobriety and soundness of trade. If this system of personal guarantee ceased to exist, its loss would leave a gap among the causes which assist in restraining unduly speculative business. Advances made on the security of property of any description have not the same influence. The lender looks to the security—not to the man.'

Mr. Rae's remarks on this part of the subject show great kindliness of disposition, as well as keen business insight. The point is one more likely to come home to many persons not in business, than some of the other heads which are dealt with in the volume, and we shall therefore do our readers a useful service

service by placing before them what Mr. Rae has said with respect to the different classes of persons who are sometimes proposed to a banker as guarantors, and whose security in some instances it is distinctly desirable for the bank to avoid taking, not only for its own sake but for their own:—

'As regards annuitants, professional men, life-renters, and all other persons whose incomes cease with their lives, if we found them ineligible as principals, we must pronounce them equally ineligible as sureties: unless they have inherited, or saved and set aside, during their lives, sufficient securities or property to provide for their posthumous liabilities.

'A man who owns a property for life, for example, which brings him in say 1500*l.* a year, and who requires it all for the expenses of his household and the education of his children—how is he to repay the 1500*l.* advanced on his guarantee, to some good-for-nothing relative, without loading his life interest with such an annual weight of charge, as will bring daily discomfort and social privation to his family and himself?

'Still worse: suppose a clergyman to become surety for a few hundred pounds, the amount, it may be, of his whole year's stipend, for some pious and plausible rogue; and that the unhappy vicar has in the end to make good the debt. In such a case, if he has no property to fall back upon, the result must be either immediate ruin or some arrangement for deferred payment, which will make him a struggling man for life.

'Poor F——, with his salary of 250*l.* a year, a wife and half-a-dozen children, how is he to find the 200*l.* for which he became surety for his brother-in-law, in whom he had a boundless faith, and who has just filed his petition and won't pay five shillings in the pound?

'If, therefore, you would have a business conscience void of offence, you will strive to minimize, if you cannot quite avert, such wretched possibilities in the future.'—Pp. 92, 93.

A work on practical banking could hardly be complete which did not take some notice of the runs to which a bank is occasionally subject. At times when there is some latent anxiety in the air, 'runs' on banks have been known to take place without the slightest justifying cause. Banks have sometimes been threatened because institutions bearing somewhat similar names have been in danger. The credit of a bank has been doubted because a neighbouring bank, within a few doors, has been in difficulties. There is a historical example of a run on a bank because a fruit vendor's stall was overturned near its door, and the assembled crowd could imagine no other cause for the unwonted concourse than that the bank itself could not meet its liabilities. Runs have even been

been caused by malicious persons, acting not from any impulse which might have made them feel a grudge against the bank, but from simple malevolence; in one instance, it is said, from having laid bets that a bank would fail by a given date, and being anxious to save their wagers. In Ireland recently a run is stated to have been made on one bank, not because there was the smallest reason to doubt its solvency, but because the excited people thought, or were induced to think, that it had not given sufficient assistance to another bank which had been compelled to stop payment. In this case it was abundantly shown, that those who withdrew the money did not act in any respect from timidity, as the moment they received their deposits from the one bank they placed them again with another close by in the same street. The veterans, who still remember the days when communication between one part of the country and another was less frequent and rapid than now, can relate stories of the means resorted to for giving confidence to customers when gaining time was important, and tell of the barrels tightly screwed to the floor, filled with rubbish, and a thin stratum of sovereigns strewed at the top, which it was found impossible to move, as was believed, from the weight of their contents. And a legend lingered long of the timidity of an agent at a branch bank, who was not to be pacified till he was provided not only with funds sufficient to pay off at once all the depositors in the books of his branch, but with a good lumping sum more to enable him to meet any further contingencies that might arise, as he thought, but the possibility of which no one else could imagine. Mr. Rae refers to these long past days, and to his own earlier experiences also, in the following words:—

'In the good old coaching days, before the electric telegraph was thought of, and whilst railways were yet in their infancy, a branch was sometimes distant from its centre, or Head office, several days even by post. A sudden and unexpected run had then to be differently faced. The object to be gained was time, to tide the branch over the first rush of depositors, until supplies could arrive from head-quarters. The traditional shifts resorted to for this purpose were varied, and sometimes tinged with humour. The cashier who inscribed "No funds" on a large cheque, which he had not money enough in his till to meet, must have been a born humourist; and only thirty years ago a writer of the name of Bullion is to be found, who calmly recommends a branch manager to begin to pay everything during a run in his own notes. The adoption of this course, the cynic observes, will have the effect of gaining time, and obliging each depositor to resort to a series of fictions on the spot, as reasons why he would rather have gold. To go still further back,

back, "the bankers are so called upon," writes Pepys, in 1667, "that they will be all broken, hundreds coming to them for money, and they answer, 'it is payable at twenty days—when the days are out we will pay you;' and those that are not so, they will make tell over their money, and make their bags false, on purpose to give cause to re-tell it and so spend time."

'But the necessity for all such shifts now-a-days no longer exists. The railway and the telegraph have practically brought the head-office of a bank and its branches under one roof; so that the entire resources of the establishment can now be brought to bear, at a moment's notice, on any point assailed.

'If I had been writing the present book only a few years ago, I would have omitted all mention of a run upon a bank, as a thing long since obsolete, and as barbarous in its day as rick burning or the wilful destruction of machinery. But the events of December, 1878, effectually upset this complacent view of things. The country then became the astonished witness of persistent, and in certain cases, concerted runs, directed against some of the largest deposit banks in the kingdom—not headed by the more ignorant classes of depositors, for whom there might have been some excuse; but by persons for whom there was none. Happily for the common weal, the banks run upon were, without exception, of assured strength; they were shorn of many millions of deposits in a few weeks, but they passed through the ordeal with untarnished credit, and thus averted a momentary crisis, of which it would be difficult to estimate the range or the consequences.'—Pp. 127, 128.

Besides the chapters on the practice of banking to which we have referred, there are some very pregnant remarks in Mr. Rae's book on the subject of the general system on which English banking is conducted, including that very difficult question, the maintenance of an adequate banking reserve. It is to this point, as well as to the careful manipulation of every-day work, that the attention of our business men should be directed. The daily duties connected with banking are neither few nor light. 'So far,' says Mr. Rae, 'from the control or management of a bank being a thing which any one can understand at sight, there is, perhaps, no business more difficult of ready grasp. I have given a long business-life to the practice and study of it, but do not look upon my education as even yet complete.' Every now and then something new arises, some combination of circumstances unthought of before occurs, to which the lessons from old experience are not applicable without considerable modification. It is in this spirit that Mr. Rae approaches the question as to the future outlook of business. Will matters continue to move in the same grooves as heretofore; are we to be confronted, once in every ten years, by a paroxysm in the money market? There

are people whose lives have never been overshadowed by the slightest touch of mercantile trouble, to whose minds the question has never occurred, what is to be done if the main-spring which sets all our machinery in motion were snapped, if the heart whose pulsations vivify the whole of our business body politic were stopped? Such persons are often keen, hard-headed men; but it no more occurs to them to reflect on the steps which should be taken in case a commercial crisis were raging, than it would occur to them in an ordinary way to think what course they ought to take if they were in a great Atlantic steamer, with a storm raging in mid-ocean, and the screw-shaft broken, or all the boilers disabled. They might be more likely, perhaps, to think out what course they ought to take in the latter case than in the former. Passengers with cool heads and ready resource have sometimes done good service, both to themselves and those embarked on the same voyage with them, on occasion of sudden emergencies, when captains and crews have been paralyzed by fear, or given way to the demoralization which often succeeds to despair. But the coolest head, and the ablest, too, might well shrink appalled at the thought of what should be done in the midst of a general commercial crisis with the Bank reserve at zero. Mr. Rae points out, with the utmost clearness and the utmost truth, that the very perfection of our monetary machinery causes a vast danger if that wonderfully delicate organization is suddenly subjected to too severe a strain. To use a very common illustration of what constantly occurs in ordinary life; a common wagon will emerge triumphantly after being subjected to strains which would have wrecked a more delicate vehicle. The heavy lumbering horses which drag the one, would, without turning a hair, move easily a weight which the thoroughbreds, far more swift but less solid, could never have stirred. And so it is with our financial machinery. The fragile and ingenious apparatus, which we have constructed for ourselves with infinite pains and labour, performs its work swiftly, smoothly, with a vast economy both of time and labour; but its very delicacy, its very perfection, expose it to constant dangers to which a more rough, but less complete organization, would never be exposed. The business world knows perfectly well, that virtually the whole reserve of ready money kept in this country is in the hands of the Bank of England, and that the balances of the London bankers kept with the Bank not unfrequently fully equal, and sometimes have greatly exceeded, the amount of the reserve. It is perfectly true, that our whole mercantile system is based on gold; but, as a matter of fact, the financial skill of the country has been directed towards seeking to

to 'economize the use of gold well-nigh to vanishing-point,' and this, as Mr. Rae truly says, 'has its disadvantages.'

'Whilst the public mind is at rest concerning monetary affairs, the immense operations of banking, trade and commerce go evenly and swiftly on; money passes readily from hand to hand, and the currency is equal to its work: and by currency or money I here mean only Bank of England Notes and specie. But when a time of discredit supervenes, the circulative power of the currency becomes impaired; not necessarily from any reduction in its amount, but from a growing indisposition on the part of holders to part with it freely.'—Page 296.

Mr. Rae, after having said this, continues to point out the ordinary conditions which lead to a panic. These have not been witnessed, fortunately, in England during any recent years, but there is no knowing when they may not recur again, and whenever a panic does arise, the arrangements by which all the banking reserve of the country is concentrated with the Bank of England does, no doubt, add to the perils of the time. Of all things, fictitious additions to the circulating medium are to be shunned; but a relaxation of the clauses of the Act of 1844, which regulate the Issue Department of the Bank of England, cannot, in a domestic panic, be interpreted as an undue extension of what our American friends call 'soft money.' Mr. Rae's remarks on this subject, which are virtually a suggestion that England should take a leaf out of the volume of German Law, and adopt the arrangements followed by the Bank of Germany, should be read with attention.

'As matters stand, the Ministry of the day must either look helplessly on during the march of a crisis, and see the country arrive at a condition of monetary dead-lock; or take the grave responsibility of suspending an Act of Parliament. Would it not be a more politic arrangement, by means of a short rider to the Act, to empower the Government, when things shall arrive, in their judgment, at panic point, to suspend the restrictive clauses of the Act—the same high rate of discount, be it 8, or 10, or 12 per cent., being maintained, until any excess of issues thus occasioned shall have returned to the Issue Department and been cancelled? The probability is that no such excess would then ensue. What adds to the intensity and peril of a money crisis is the well-founded dread that the time is at hand, when, owing to the operation of the Act, it will be impossible to obtain bank notes at any price or at any sacrifice: hence the forestalling and hoarding, in view of eventualities, which locks a large portion of the currency up, and practically withdraws it for the time being from circulation or use.

'There is nothing revolutionary in the suggestions here made: on the contrary, it is precisely what has been done, and with the

happiest results, on each of the three occasions on which the Act has been suspended. All that I would urge is that, in this respect, the measure shall be rendered self-acting, and not, as at present, self-destructive. Let its relaxation at the right moment be a fulfilment of the law and not a breach of it.

'The Act makes no provision for an abnormal condition of things. Its working is faultless, so long as the times are easy, and there is smoothness in the money market; but when there comes a general breakdown of credit, the Act in its operation, so far from allaying public alarm, enhances it to a point bordering on frenzy, and then breaks down itself.

'"Nothwithstanding the beneficial operation of the Act of 1844," says Mr. John Stuart Mill, "in the first stages of one kind of commercial crisis, (that produced by over-speculation) it, on the whole, materially aggravates the severity of commercial convulsions: and not only are contractions of credit made more severe by the Act—they are also made greatly more frequent."

'The framers of the measure would appear to have taken for granted the perpetual sanity of all classes of the community in respect of monetary affairs, and made no provision for casual aberrations. The Act was not framed so as to yield or bend for a moment to that final rush of unreason and alarm which culminates in panic, and, like a tidal wave, sweeps all before it, the Act itself included.'—Pp. 299, 300.

We must now take our leave of Mr. Rae's very interesting book; a volume which, we well believe, will find many readers beyond the circle to which it is immediately addressed. It is written in a pleasant bright style, and adorned with many quaint quotations, which show a range of reading unusual even among men of the most cultured leisure.

The union of pecuniary sagacity and educated refinement, which, as has been well said, specially marked the old-fashioned private banker in London, and of which Samuel Rogers and George Grote were perhaps the best known, or at least were the most conspicuous examples, is to be found also occasionally, though more rarely, among provincial bankers; both those who have directed the management of private and of the more modern form of joint-stock institutions. Several causes have led to this. The business, when carried on with judgment, should not be an exhausting occupation; the opportunities for cultivation, if not long in duration, recur with sufficient frequency to prevent the subjects studied from becoming stale. The mind, when unbent from business cares, gladly lends itself to occupations which, though not hard, are sufficiently engrossing to render the 'change of work' an acceptable relaxation. The long winter evenings, the half hour in the shady garden

garden in summer, the quiet times on the deck of the yacht, even the few minutes snatched from the daily journey to and from the office, all will bear their fruit, if persistently and systematically employed. To obtain and to keep up a knowledge of those pithy writers, principally centering about the Elizabethan age of our literature, who must be classed, we fear amongst England's almost forgotten worthies, has been clearly, as his copious quotations from among them show, one of Mr. Rae's favourite pursuits, and this study has done his readers good service by supplying appropriate mottoes to the chapters, and occasionally providing short and apposite summaries of their contents. We will sum up our remarks with one of them.

'The Golden Age, it is but too true, is not the lot of the generation in which we live; but if it is to be found in any part of the track marked out for human existence, it will be found, I trust, not in any part which is past, but in some part which is to come.'

The Golden Age in banking will never arrive till the possibility of participating in the troubles, which attend a commercial crisis, is eliminated from the casualties which may occur to a bank. This much-to-be-desired consummation must clearly be regarded as to be looked for, if ever it is to be reached, in the time which is to come. It has not been reached in other countries any more than in our own, but we will commence a slight sketch of some other banking systems with a reference to the Bank Law of Germany, remarking, in doing so, that, as has been observed before, the arrangements of the Act of 1844, by which our banking system is governed, constitute an additional and very serious danger at the periods when a crisis bursts on the commercial community. The German Banking Law provides a better method of procedure than the Act passed by Sir Robert Peel in 1844. According to that Act, the amount of notes which the Bank of England is allowed to issue is determined by a hard and fixed line, being governed by the quantity of bullion held by the Bank, and any departure from this principle requires the authority of the executive Government of the day and the subsequent sanction of Parliament. Hence, owing to the natural repugnance to making such an application before it is found to be absolutely necessary, and to the formalities which have to be observed, considerable delays arise, and the permission, only three times invoked during the last forty years, has not been granted till great injury has been done to important commercial interests, and hence great loss inflicted on many innocent persons. The Bank of Germany, however, is allowed,

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in case of necessity arising, to issue notes in excess of the fixed limit upon payment of a tax, which practically is a heavy fine to the Bank. The Bank of Germany was established in 1876, and between that date and the end of the year 1884, that is to say within a period of nine years, it had exceeded the limit three times. On all these occasions it paid the fine itself, and did not seek to shift it in any way on the shoulders of the general commercial community. The Bank of Germany, still directed by its first President, Herr von Dechend, is a very powerful institution, and has been since its establishment of great service to the prosperity of the Empire. Its branches ramify from the wealthy districts adjoining and close by the Rhine, and the wealthy seaports of Hamburg and Bremen, to the most backward and poverty-stricken provinces of East Prussia and Prussian Poland. This bank was founded on one which had existed in Berlin for many years; but it was remodelled, and has attained its existing proportions only since the establishment of the Empire. There are other powerful banks in Germany, particularly in Frankfort and Hamburg, the two of the ancient Free Cities, which, with Bremen, have upheld the longest, and the most courageously, their time-honoured privileges of 'Free Exchange.'

Another comparatively modern and powerful system of banks is to be found in the National Banks of the United States of America. This system, which commenced its growth among the troubled times of the war between the North and South, has now struck its roots deep into the fertile soil of the States. The wealthiest of these banks are, naturally, to be found in New York City, but a strong contingent exists in Boston, Philadelphia and Baltimore; they ramify to New Orleans, Chicago, and San Francisco, and many other great and growing cities, extending largely over the face of the country, numbering scarcely fewer than 2700 in all. Besides these, there are many State Banks, Savings Banks, and Private Banks, the total number amounting to nearly 7500, wielding resources, in the way of capital and deposits, of between seven hundred and eight hundred millions sterling. This amount probably about equals the resources in the hands of the Banks of Great Britain and Ireland, as nearly as may be computed. By far the larger part of this vast sum in the United States has been accumulated during the last twenty years. It is referred to here, in order to show how enormous the accumulation of capital is becoming in the United States, and how vast an assistance this power of employing loanable capital will be to the industry of that country. Outside Great Britain no similar accumulation of available capital

capital exists on so large a scale. We had almost written hoards of capital, but that word would not have expressed the same meaning. The hoard describes the secretions of the miser, the hard cash hidden away in the stocking-end, or under the hearthstone. The masses of money, represented by book credits throughout the civilized world, may be as much the savings of niggardliness, but they rather are the surplus capital, the fringe so to say, the margin resulting from successful enterprise. Unlike the miser's hoard, which rusts unprofitably hidden from view, these accumulations may be applied, and with great rapidity, to stimulate production whenever required.

Though the National Banks of the United States form neither the half in number, nor hold half the deposits of their country, they are still the most powerful body of banks in the United States. The law by which they were founded only dates from 1864. Several auxiliary Acts have since been passed. We need not lead our readers through all the mazes of these Acts, nor pause further than to explain, that so slight an alteration among their internal arrangements as the pulping down their unused and old notes, instead of burning them to ashes, required a special authorization of the Legislature. It is here sufficient to remark, that the system upon which their note issue is founded, requiring every note issued to have security of a most solid class, that of the Funded Debt of the United States behind it, besides provision being made for cashing them in specie on presentation, appears to be one of the very best, as well as the simplest, which the world has yet seen. It is far superior to that in force in this country, which is both defective in the theory, and injurious in the practical application. In Europe, the system of the Enskilda Banks of Sweden comes near to it in excellence of arrangement. The Swedish Banks have already, in their way, promoted the progress and prosperity of their country as much as the Scotch Banks have done within the sphere of their operations. But while we may admire the courage and the skill, which in the case of Sweden have assisted, in a country with a soil and a climate nearly comparable in barrenness to Lapland, the development of a civilization rarely to be paralleled in the most fortunate parts of Europe, we are bound to remember, that the admirably organized banking institutions existing in the United States are planted in the midst of a great and growing Commonwealth, rich both in men and in natural advantages. The next decade will probably see a vast development of their resources, with, it may also be expected, a great increase in their solidity. It should be borne in mind, that these banks are directed by men of much intelligence, resource,

resource, and skill. It takes some time to train a sufficient number of skilled chiefs fit to undertake such occupations. But the gradual growth of the system has provided such men in sufficient numbers, and the annual congress of the bankers of the United States can show, as the result of its deliberations, discussions of serious financial problems, and intelligent recommendations to the executive authorities which may supply subjects for careful study, and hints which may be followed with advantage by their brethren of the craft in more settled countries.

We have but a moment to glance at the banking systems of Australia, New Zealand, and our Colonies. The group of Australian Colonies has developed, in proportion to population, a remarkably powerful body of banks, whose services to their communities may fairly be compared with those which the Scotch banks have rendered to the northern part of this island. In one respect, these Colonies are ahead of the mother-country. An official series of Bank Returns is published, the summary of which shows, that these banks possess assets approaching a hundred and twenty-five millions sterling. The supply of stored-up capital, available for employment in the promotion of new industrial enterprise, is comparable to a stock of engine power, ready to be laid on for any remunerative undertaking requiring the employment of mechanical force. Canada, we may mention, possesses banking deposits of some twenty millions. It may give us some idea of the assistance available to industry, if we see how much these deposits amount to in proportion to the population. We may roughly say, that in Canada they are 5*l.* a head, in the United States about 14*l.* a head, in Great Britain and Ireland 20*l.* a head, in the Australian group of Colonies 40*l.* a head. A most complete contrast to the wealthy banks of Australia, as far as resources are concerned, though not in utility, is presented by the Popular Banks of Italy. There are in Italy many other strongly constituted banks, and we are thus comparing only a portion of the banking institutions of the one country with the entire body in the other; but we do this from a desire, not to endeavour to make an estimate of the wealth of Italy in comparison with that of Australia, but to point out how much institutions of this description, humble in character, but directed with intelligence, may do towards promoting the prosperity of the districts in which they are formed. The planting of these co-operative local banks in Italy is the work of Signor Luigi Luzzatti, now a member of the Italian Parliament, who, about the year 1864, being then a young man of some twenty-three years, sought successfully to adapt to his own country the system of co-operative credit institutions

institutions which Schulze-Delitzsch established in Germany. In the course of three or four years the system of 'Popular Banks' became established throughout Lombardy, Venetia, the Romagna, and Piedmont. The whole amounts wielded by these banks are small, though the number of persons assisted by their means is considerable. A short time since the capitals of these banks, then two hundred and twenty-five in number, only averaged about 8500*l.* each, the capital of the whole number being less than two millions sterling. The funds at the disposal of each Bank averaged less than 70,000*l.*, the total resources of the entire body being not so much as sixteen millions sterling. There are vast differences between these banks. They range upwards from the tiny 'Banca Popolare Agricola' of Erbusco, in the Province of Brescia, which boasted two years since a capital of about 150*l.*, and total resources of 240*l.* in all, up to the well-grown 'Banca Popolare' of Milan, which possessed at that date 317,000*l.* capital, and total resources of more than four millions—fully a quarter of the whole holdings of these Banks. The management of the banks, as described in the 'Manuele per le Banche Popolari Co-operative Italiane' of Signor Ettore Levi, rests entirely on the intelligence of the shareholders themselves, working through different committees, acting for different portions of the administration. The president and the members of the council are unpaid, and though the clerks and working managers may receive payment, yet their remuneration is most minute, as, among other instances, is the case with the Mutual Popular Bank of Florence, an institution established to assist the many small traders, and intelligent, but impecunious artists, of that industrious as well as artistic city. The leading principle is mutual responsibility and self-help. The claim to have the use of a loan must be based on being the holder of at least one share. To prevent the wealthy from obtaining more than their due share of advantage, the number of shares any individual may hold is limited, and at the general meetings each shareholder has only one vote, whatever the number of his shares may be. The annual statements entitled 'Il Credito Popolare in Italia,' by Signor Luzzatti, give curious details of the classes from whom the shareholders are taken. Small agriculturists, day labourers, workmen, figure among the shareholders, together with small traders and tradesmen. The largest number of deposits is for amounts under 50 francs (2*l.*). The largest number of loans is for sums less than 20 francs (16*s.* 8*d.*), and from the details of the accounts it would appear that loans even of *one* franc are not unknown. Advances required on a scale like this are sure

to

to reveal that a usurious rate of interest is often charged to the small borrower. Thus it is mentioned that, at Castelfranco Veneto, from 30 to 50 per cent. had been charged for small loans before the 'People's Bank' was established there. At Palazzolo sull' Oglio, in Lombardy, the rate had been 60 per cent. Syracuse, however, throws all the other places into the shade for extortion. The charges there had been 5 per cent. weekly for a loan, that is to say, at the moderate rate of 260 per cent. a year. An example, given by Signor Ettore Levi, shows the use which small loans on moderate terms may be to the working trader. He mentions a baker who used to hire a hand-cart to carry his loaves out, but, being enabled to purchase one through a trifling loan, repaid the cost in six months by putting by the hire. The instance was in Belgium, where, as in Germany and Italy, such Popular Banks are found.

The assistance these banks give to the small trader and the agriculturist may be well understood. They act the same part towards him as large banks do to the wholesale producer and the merchant. The practicability of the whole system turns on the fact, that the management is local, and that, as each shareholder mutually guarantees his fellow, every one has an interest in preventing the bank from being defrauded. Losses occasionally occur, and the fact, that in some instances banks are congratulated in the Report on making none, is not without significance. But a system, which will not admit a single new shareholder without two of the existing shareholders vouching his respectability, is carefully devised to avoid risk; and the loans to non-shareholders, though not absolutely refused, are yet studiously restricted. These appear to be made often rather as acts of benevolence than as strict business advances.

It is not, however, so much to the details as to the principle that attention should be directed. These banks gather up minute savings, in this respect like our savings-banks, but the methods of administration and of employing the funds collected are diametrically opposed to our own. With us, the whole administration of our Post-Office Savings-banks, the successful rivals of the older Trustee Savings-banks, is official. There it is in the hands of elected representatives of the shareholders. Here the funds collected are in the hands of the Post-Office Savings-banks exclusively, in the case of the Trustee Savings-banks almost exclusively, employed in fixed Government securities; there they are employed in promoting local industrial enterprise. Which system, we may well ask, is the more truly a genuine banking system? Which renders the greater service to the community at large,—a system, which takes up every morsel

morsel of money-savings it can gather, and places them in investments which, though eminently sound, by no means represent reproductive employment of capital, or one which employs the resources collected from the classes who make savings, in promoting the well-being of the industrial classes of the population? In the one case, the precious drops of fertilizing moisture are stored away, safe, no doubt, but out of reach; in the other, they are diffused in carefully-directed and life-giving streams over districts which would for ever remain barren without their aid.

The competition between the different countries of the civilized world is now so sharp, the manner in which commercial interests are intertwined is now so close, that none can despise the assistance which small things can give, any more than they can dispense with the support of the most powerful machinery. We have shown how a great and growing system of well-organized and skilfully directed banks, with resources which rival, if they do not surpass our own, is working and thriving in the United States; we have pointed to the powerful credit institutions of our Australian Colonies; we have shown the pains taken in Italy by a careful employment of small local resources, disposed of through a banking organization, thoroughly adapted to the wants of each district, to make use of every means available for the promotion of local industry. Mr. Rae has placed before us the picture of the typical English banker, despising no one, however humble, needlessly trusting no one, however powerful, over-much. The examples of what is being done by other nations show us, that we cannot afford to sit still and rest our future hopes on the remembrance of what we have achieved in former times. To us, whose supremacy as a Nation is closely bound up with our commercial prosperity, the successful management of our industrial ventures is a matter of the most vital importance. As fresh difficulties arise, fresh means for overcoming them must be found. Old methods must be adapted to new wants. Our care must be to avoid being carried down by the tide. As in the case of those ferry-boats which, firmly moored, yet floating freely, convey passengers securely across the foaming torrent, we must direct the force of the stream which otherwise would bear us down, and compel it to bring us in safety to our desired destination.

ART.

ART. VI. — 1. *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*: recensuit Theodorus Bergk. Editionis quartae Vol. I. Pindari carmina continens. Lipsiae, 1878.

2. *Pindari Carmina.* Recognovit W. Christ. Lipsiae, 1882.

3. *Pindar: the Olympian and Pythian Odes, with Notes explanatory and critical, Introductions, and Introductory Essays.* By C. A. M. Fennell, M.A. Cambridge, 1879. *Nemean and Isthmian Odes.* By the Same, 1883.

4. *The extant Odes of Pindar translated into English, with an Introduction and short Notes.* By Ernest Myers, M.A. London, 1874.

5. *Pindar for English Readers.* By the Rev. F. D. Morice. Edinburgh and London, 1879.

6. *Pindars Siegeslieder.* Erklärt von Friedrich Mezger, Professor am Gymnasium bei St. Anna in Augsburg. Leipzig, 1880.

7. *Scholia Vetera in Pindari Nemea et Isthmia.* Edidit Eugenius Abel. Berolini, 1884.

8. *Pindar, the Olympian and Pythian Odes, with an Introduction, Essays, Notes, and Indexes.* By Basil L. Gildersleeve. London, 1885.

IT is perhaps hardly too much to say that no student has ever come to the first reading of Pindar without disappointment—without a more or less pronounced feeling that he does not realize what the quality was in Pindar which made him an inspired sage in the eyes of Hellas, a saint with a niche beside Homer; which consecrated even his most casual utterances to Plato and to Cicero; and which made Horace select his art as the very type of the inimitable.

Not only has the sober judgment of antiquity given to the Theban lyrist a place only second to Homer, but the airy tongue of legend has singled him out as the special favourite of the gods. It was on his lips, as he slept in childhood, that a bee lit and gathered honey. He it was who taught Pan his song, and to whom Persephone came in a dream, ten days before he died, and told him that he would soon be with her to make a song for her. And honours almost meet for a god were paid to him. His iron chair was preserved as a sacred relic at Delphi; and every night as the priest closed the doors of Apollo's temple he cried aloud, 'Let the poet Pindar come in to the supper of the God.'

Such being the extraordinary reverence paid by antiquity to the poet, it seems strange that among us so many should fail to see

see his greatness, and that even his admirers should often feel constrained to mix apologies with his eulogies. The fact is, the character of the 'Odes of Victory' as a literary phenomenon has been very imperfectly apprehended. It is hard for us to figure to the imagination a form of art which partakes in nearly equal parts of the nature of a collect, a ballad, and an oratorio; or to enter into the mind of a poet who is partly also a priest, a librettist, and a ballet master; who, while celebrating the victory of (perhaps) a boy in a wrestling match, yet feels that he is not only doing an act of divine service and worship, but preaching the sacred truth of the unity of the Hellenes and their common descent from gods and heroes. The Odes of Pindar have their source in a religious feeling, almost as alien from ours as it is from that which sent the children through the fire to Moloch, or strewed with corpses the path of Juggernaut's car. We find ourselves confronted with poems, which seem to us to deal with very inconsiderable events, but which are conceived in a strain almost burthened with a sense of the importance and dignity of the subject—poems of which the salient feature is their wild freedom and *abandon*, but which reveal to the closer gaze a strong sense of conscious art, and a singular conformity to technicality.

It is the utter absence of any modern analogue to the 'Odes of Victory,' which has on the one hand piqued and stimulated the interest, and on the other hand retarded and dwarfed the achievement, of successive generations of scholars from the revival of learning to the present day. And this is the reason why English writers have, to a great extent, refrained from characterizing the poetry of Pindar. Voltaire has spoken of him as 'this inflated Theban,' adding that his French translator had imparted to his poetry all the clearness and beauty which it could claim. We have not seen the version of M. de Chaumont, but we fancy it must be a strange piece of work if he, as well as Voltaire, looked on Pindar as being merely a 'chantre de combats à coups de poing,' or, at best, a First Violin in the court of Hiero. France may indeed be said to have, in her own phrase, 'the courage of her convictions,' since through Voltaire she has condoled with England on having had her taste spoiled for two hundred years by Shakespeare; and, by the mouth of La Harpe, has called the Divina Commedia 'une amplification stupidement barbare.' English writers about Pindar have not been so outspoken. But their enthusiasm is often qualified and half-hearted. Historians of Greek literature in England—even editors of Pindar—have shown a tendency to make large concessions to unbelief when they are called on to give an answer

answer to the question, Was Pindar one of the poets of the world? Even those whose panegyrics have been most eloquent—and among these Mr. Symonds naturally assumes a foremost place—have a habit of tempering their eulogies with excuses for 'turgidity' and 'bombast.' We shall afterwards endeavour to show that Pindar is not turgid nor bombastic. Here we would fain offer some considerations to those who regard Pindar as 'the poet of the ring,' and who give his poems a place only among prize verses and installation odes.

Pindar's 'Odes of Victory' are *sui generis*, and so were the occasions which called them into being. Local *fêtes*, in their events and prizes more or less resembling the four great national festivals of Hellas, are mentioned in large numbers by Pindar. But the four great national festivals will here furnish enough to engage our attention. How is it that they excited in Pindar as deep an interest, and kindled in him as vivid a flame of inspiration, as have been awakened in other poets by love, hate, war, destiny, patriotism, religion?

The answer to this question is difficult. It is hard to reconstruct for our imagination the feelings with which the games were regarded by Hellas. Yet we may perhaps fairly say that it is easier for us than for other nations. First, the English love for athletics, the English glorification of physical prowess, has its good as well as its bad side, and in its best aspect has an Hellenic affinity. If we could take away from it all that savours in any way of gate-money and the betting ring; and if it were possible (or indeed desirable) to add to the English sentiment in favour of athletics, that worship of the body which struck its root so deep in Hellas; the feeling thus modified would be akin to that which inspired Pindar. Physical strength has not now that practical weight in battle which it had when the ancient Greek warriors 'bare up the war against the hedge of spears.' * Yet Wellington said that Waterloo was won in the playgrounds of Eton, and Kinglake seems disposed to think, that but for the hard riding practised in the English shires, our cavalry would never have been able to win the heights above the Alma.

But there is another, and a still closer, point of contact between the English and the ancient Greek mind. With both the desire to keep up the breed of horses assumed the proportions of a social—almost a religious—duty. In eulogizing Xenocrates of Acragas, Pindar writes—

* Nem. 8, 29, Myers' trans.

'August was he in his converse with citizens, *and upheld the breed of horses after the Hellenic wont.*' *

Could such a eulogy have been uttered by any other save an English poet, or on any other save an English noble? To win a great race, to keep the hounds, to maintain the breed of horses, undoubtedly does give or add *prestige* to an English gentleman. But to a Greek ἱπποτροφία was still more important as a road to distinction. There were no great landholders in ancient Greece, nor could one become eminent by surrounding himself with rare works of art. At the time of Pindar, the works of art which existed were the property of states, not of private individuals.† Much splendour, no doubt, embellished the courts of Hiero and Arcesilaus, but the chief opportunity for display, without any violation of good taste, was afforded by the games, and the festivities of which they were the occasion. Pindar declares constantly that the outward and visible sign of cultured opulence is the readiness to enter for the games—best of all the chariot race at Olympia; that the next best thing to success in the games is failure in them; that if a man be so blest as to achieve victory, it is his glorious privilege to spend and spare not on the feast, and the triumphal ode which is its chief ornament; but 'if one at home store hidden wealth and laugh at them that spend, such an one recketh not that inglorious he giveth up his soul to death.'‡

The public games were to the Greeks something like what the great public schools and the Universities are to an Englishman. In both cases the imagination was touched by the antiquity—real or supposed—of the institution, and both institutions gradually came to be a social test. Pindar is often fain to tell how the victor's family had competed at the games—whether successfully or not—for many generations; just as an Englishman might congratulate himself that his ancestors, generation after generation, had gone to Eton and Oxford, even though none of them might have attained any signal distinction at the school or the University.

To a Greek the public games were all that we have said, and

* Isthm. 2, 37. Myers' translation. In every place where we have used Mr. Myers' most tasteful and spirited version, we have acknowledged our debt in a note.

† This observation has been well developed by the Rev. F. D. Morice in his 'Pindar for English Readers,' the title of which is prefixed to this paper. We have derived much pleasure from his book, which is plainly the work of a highly cultured scholar, and is admirably fitted to meet the needs of the English student, while there are few classical scholars who will not derive much instruction from it.

‡ Isthm. 1, 67.

more,

more, for we must not forget that the right to compete was the test and proof of nationality. The Macedonian princes were obliged to afford satisfactory proof of Hellenism before they were allowed to enter the contests. It was no small thing which moved Hiero and Arcesilaus to transport their chariots and teams from Sicily or Cyrene to Olympia. The phrases in which Pindar dilates on the supreme blessedness of the Olympian victor surprise us, until we remember that Cylon is said to have owed his political prominence to a triumph at Olympia, and that Alcibiades was borne over a very ugly political quicksand by the tide of enthusiasm which rose when the 'Heralds of the Seasons' declared the brilliant young Athenian, who had entered no less than seven chariots, to be winner of the first and second prizes on the Elean plain.

To gain some conception of an Olympic festival, we must not only figure to ourselves the great English festival of the Derby day, with both Houses of Parliament adjourning; but we must remember the sacred truce which the Heralds proclaimed throughout Greece for five days; we must bear in mind that the games were a religious rite, which became even a starting-point for chronology; we must impart to the mind of the Greek at the games the feeling with which a man listens to an anthem, as well as that with which he witnesses the victory or defeat of his old school at cricket; we must think of the busy traffic which went on along the banks of the Alpheus by day—the Greek of Cyrene, for instance, who came with the horses of Arcesilaus, brought with him, no doubt, good store of the much-prized silphium from the 'Garden of Aphrodite'—and we must think of the festal joy on which the midmonth moon looked down; and to all this one must add a sort of Christmas feeling, a sentiment of peace on earth, goodwill towards men, which with us is called forth by the great festivals of the Church.*

Therefore, to Greeks at all events, he was not a mere 'glorifier of fisticuffs,' whose highest imaginings were kindled by the great Hellenic festivals. So infinitely important were these festivals to the Greeks that they were not remitted even when 'the Stone of Tantalus hung over their heads.'† When Xerxes was advancing on Bœotia, and the combined fleet was retiring from Artemisium, the Greeks were celebrating the Olympic games. How to us Pindar's 'Odes of Victory'—

* The points on which Isocrates (*Panegyr.* 44) chiefly dwells are—the general truce, the sense of unity and common descent, the common prayer and sacrifice, the renewing of old friendships and the forming of new ones, and the general feeling of mutual good-will and charity.

† Isthm. 7, 10.

without

without the Hellenic associations, unglorified by their connection with the founders, Heracles or Adrastus—should appeal, will afterwards be more fully considered. We now pass to an examination of the poems themselves.

The list of works given above shows, that the poetry of Pindar now more than ever fascinates the scholars of Germany, England, and America. The main object of this paper is to set forth and discuss a theory concerning the *structure* of the odes, which has found much favour in Germany, but has hardly been noticed at all in England;* and which puts in a new and very interesting light the poetry of Pindar as a literary phenomenon. To do this, we must take a short retrospect.

Before the epoch made by the labours of Böckh and his follower Dissen, Pindar was without form and void. His 'Odes of Victory' seemed a strange medley of disjointed proverbial philosophy and dark mythic allusion, bursting now and then into a grand flash of semi-epical ballad. To Dissen mainly is due the view now held by all scholars, that Pindar's odes are by no means mere prize poems or installation odes, but marvellous specimens of the highest constructive skill and the fullest lyrical inspiration—where every phrase, every allusion, fits as aptly into its own place as each bit in a piece of mosaic work, yet the whole poem rushes on with the impetuous volume of a lava stream.† Pindar's matchless mastery of construction is now duly appreciated, and a great poet of our own day has described him as thoroughly intoxicated with the spirit of style.‡ But his precise relation to his age and his art is hardly yet sufficiently apprehended. Mr. Symonds compares the body of lost Greek lyric poetry to the mass of church music which exists in Germany and Italy, in MS. and print. Lyric poetry was as indispensable to the life of the Greek as music to the churches of Europe. As every church in Europe now has its organist, so every town in Greece had its professional poet and chorus. But the poet was not merely the organist, he was also the celebrant of the rite, the conductor of the *cantata*, and the

* Prof. Gildersleeve, of the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, has just made an important contribution to Pindaric literature in his edition of 'The Olympian and Pythian Odes,' a work showing much vigorous scholarship and brightness of style, together with a thorough mastery of the result of German industry on Pindar up to the present date. He has briefly noticed the theory referred to in the text, but he is not disposed to accept it.

† ἁπλάτου πυρὸς ἀγνόταται παγαί, Pyth. 1, 21.

‡ 'A sort of intoxication of style—a *Pindarism*, to use a word formed from the name of the poet, on whom, above all other poets, the power of style seems to have exercised an inspiring and intoxicating effect.'—Matthew Arnold, 'On the Study of Celtic Literature,' p. 144.

preacher of the word, whose duty it was to set forth impressively the glory of the god who gave the victory, and the virtues whereby the victor won his favour. For this the poet received pay, just as our clergy receive pay in their capacity of professional conductors of public worship. When we remember that the professed lyric poet was bound not only to produce in his poem a work of art, but also to compose appropriate music, and to superintend the dancing as well as the singing of the chorus, we can understand how Pindar found full occupation in his art through the troublous times of the Persian wars; and we are not surprised to learn that he sometimes had to postpone, even for years, a commemorative ode which he had undertaken to execute.

Though Pindar's odes formed the chief part of a ceremony which was always more or less an act of worship, nothing could be a greater mistake than to look on them as religious poems. Their main characteristic is their exuberant buoyancy. The poet often speaks of his craft in terms which recal the 'gay art' of the Middle Ages.* The Ode is a main ingredient in the revel, an appanage of luxury and the feast—

'Behold I send thee this honey mingled with white milk, and the foam of the mixing hangeth round about it, to be a drink of minstrelsy distilled in breathings of Æolian flutes.' †

The lay is more comforting to the victor than the warm bath to his limbs strained with the conflict.‡ To Chromius he says,§

'Victory burgeons into fresh bloom by the lay that falls so soft on his ear; with the bowl the singer's voice rises brave; mix now the bowl, sweet inspirer of revel lays, and hand round in the goblets the vine's lusty son.'

Very often the poem is itself called a draught of wine, and once the ode's twofold character as a prayer and a work of art is exquisitely indicated in the words 'a suppliant I bear a Lydian crown wrought cunningly with sound of song.' ‖

Thus, it only requires a little reflection to reconstruct the feelings which inspired the poetry of Pindar, and the occasions

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* The very phrase for 'gaiety' is used in Isthm. 3, 57,

κατὰ ῥαβδὸν ἔφρασεν
θεσπεσίων ἐπέων λοιποῖς ἀθύρειν.

Cp. κῶμον . . . Ἀπολλώνιον ἄθυρμα, Pyth. 5, 20.

† Nem. 3, 76, Myers' trans.

‡ Nem. 4, 4. We shall afterwards have to quote a splendid comparison of his verse to a crown of ivory, gold and coral.

§ Nem. 9, 48.

‖ ἱκέτας . . . φέρων
Λυδίαν μίτραν καναχηδὰ πεποικιλμέναν.—Nem. 8, 15, Myers' trans.

which

which gave rise to it; and to recognize broadly the fact, that Pindar was no *improvisatore*, but a careful and cunning artist. But as to the precise method of the poet's art, as to the material structure of his odes, a theory has been recently put forward which certainly has the merit of definiteness, and which in many ways must attract and fascinate students of Pindar.

The work of Professor Mezger has undoubtedly made an epoch in the study of Pindar. He is a willing follower of Dissen in the elaborate ingenuity with which he seeks to unearth the *Grundgedanken* of each ode. But he introduces entirely new principles in his theory about the structure of the poems. R. Westphal,* by a very searching examination of the choric odes of Aeschylus, was led to the conclusion, that each ode consists of four choric songs and one lament or *commos* (the latter sometimes replaced by a processional hymn). Of the choric songs Westphal held, that the real model was the old Terpandrian *nome*, which, starting from a central point (ὀμφαλός), expanded itself into pairs of members on each side of the ὀμφαλός. This fact seems to be recognized by Aristophanes (Ran. 1281) when Euripides checks the threatened departure of Dionysus in the words,

> μή. πρίν γ' ἀκούσῃς χἀτέραν στάσιν μελῶν
> ἐκ τῶν κιθαρῳδικῶν νόμων εἰργασμένην,

and follows up this description of the melic inspiration of Aeschylus with the celebrated travesty of the first choral ode in the 'Agamemnon' to the accompaniment of τὸ φλαττοθραττοφλαττόθρατ. The names of the various members of the Terpandrian *nome* are given by Pollux,† and are thus enumerated by Mezger:

> προοίμιον,
> ἐπαρχά,
> ΑΡΧΑ,
> κατατροπά,
> ΟΜΦΑΛΟΣ,
> μετακατατροπά,
> ΣΦΡΑΓΙΣ,
> ἐξόδιον.

Of these the ἀρχά, ὀμφαλός and σφραγίς must be present in every ode. The others may be present or absent, just as the surface of a lake, broken by a stone thrown into it, may spread itself into more or fewer concentric circles of retreating water. Mezger

* 'Prolegg. zu Aesch. Trag. 1869.'

† The προοίμιον was not mentioned by Pollux, because it was common to other artists with Terpander. By some the ἐπαρχά is called μεταρχά, and the ἐξόδιον the ἐπίλογος.

maintains that Pindar, in his 'Odes of Victory,' in nearly every case* takes for his model the Terpandrian nome. The kernel of the poem is the ὀμφαλός, which very nearly always contains the myth. There are six exceptions. In Pyth. 1 and 9, Nem. 1 and 10, and Isthm. 2 and 6, the myth is not in the ὀμφαλός; and sometimes there is no myth at all, as in Ol. 5, 11, 12, Isthm. 2. But in every other ode the myth is an elaborately executed *vignette*, set in the ὀμφαλός, with the other parts of the ode for its massive frame. From the ὀμφαλός expand the ἀρχά and σφραγίς, one on each side. These deal with the glorification of the victor and his family. They are connected with the ὀμφαλός by *transition-pieces*, the κατατροπά on one side, and the μετακατατροπά on the other, in which the poet refers, under the guise of metaphor, to himself and his song. For instance, in Pyth. 4, 247, he compares the course of his ode to a highway, and declares that he knows a short cut to his goal; in Pyth. 10, 51 the ode is figured as a bark on the sea; in Pyth. 11, 38, both metaphors are combined. When Lord Tennyson wrote 'a random arrow from the brain,' he used a figure under which Pindar in the κατατροπά and the μετακατατροπά constantly refers to the products of his Muse. These two transition-pieces rarely lack a certain correspondence with each other, whether of sentiment or expression.† For instance, in Nem. 7 the κατατροπά (17–24) contains a splendid eulogy on the power of poesy—

'Rich and poor alike wend their way to ultimate death. But I hold, that the fame of Odysseus was greater than his sufferings by reason of the minstrelsy of Homer. For on his fiction and his soaring craft a kind of majesty is stamped, and his art beguiles us and carries us away.'

Closely connected with this is the μετακατατροπά (75–80), which describes in words of magic beauty the meed of poesy itself under the figure of a crown of gold, and ivory, and coral:—

'Let me be: if I soared too high when I shouted the victor's praise, no niggard am I in paying my due. To weave wreaths is a light matter. Strike the prelude! For thee the Muse welds together gold and stainless ivory and the lily-flower that she hath filched from the ocean's foam.'

In Isthm. 6 the κατατροπά (16–19) says:—

* The exceptions are six odes of very small compass, Ol. 4, 11, 12, 14; Pyth. 7; Nem. 2. Nem. 11 is not an Epinician Ode.

† The exceptions, curiously, are all in the Pythian odes. No correspondence between κατατροπά and μετακατατροπά can be traced in Pyth. 2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 11; but it appears in all the others.

'Sleeps

'Sleeps the fair deed of olden time, clean gone from the minds of men, save what hath attained unto the perfect meed that poesy can give, being wedded to the tide of song.'

To which the antiphonal response of the *μετακατατροπά* (39–42) rings clear in the passage beginning

'I will twine my hair with wreaths and sing.'

In Isthm. 7 the poet in the *κατατροπά* (15–18) introduces the myth with a promise that he will 'give first to Aegina the fairest boon of the Charites;' while the *μετακατατροπά* (59 ff.) leads us away from the myth by the reflection, 'So this thing found favour with the Gods *too*—to give over a hero even dead to the hymning of the Heliconian maids.' The promise of the poet in the *κατατροπά* receives in the *μετακατατροπά* the sanction of the example of the Gods.

That this method of structure was not in any sense a caprice of the poet—neither a *tour de force* of his youth, nor an affectation of his decline—may be seen by examining three odes, corresponding respectively to the beginning, the middle, and the close of his poetic activity. In Pyth. 10, the earliest of Pindar's odes, written about 502 B.C., at the age of twenty—verses 27–30 and 51–54, proclaim themselves to be *κατατροπά* and *μετακατατροπά*. Both have the metaphor taken from a voyage by sea, to which the poet so often turns; and between the two the myth is set in the *ὀμφαλός* as a precious stone within the bevil of a ring. After the *μετακατατροπά* the *σφραγίς* (55–71) resumes the theme of the victor's praise which the *ἀρχά* (4–26) had begun. Finally, while the *προοίμιον* (1–3) had glorified the nobles of Thessaly, the *ἐξόδιον* (71 f.) declares that 'in the hands of good men lieth the good piloting of the cities wherein their fathers ruled.' *

The structure of the ode may be thus exhibited to the eye:—

$$3\ (\pi.) + 23\ (\grave{a}.) + 4\ (\kappa.) + 20\ (\grave{o}.) + 4\ (\mu.) + 16\ (\sigma) + 2\ (\acute{\epsilon}.).$$

The fifth Isthmian ode coincides with about the middle of the poet's artistic life (B.C. 482). It displays the very same structural phenomena, save that the *προοίμιον* and *ἐξόδιον* are absent, as is often the case. It will not be requisite again to enter into details. The reader, on referring to the ode, will see that its form is this:—

$$18\ (\grave{a}.) + 5\ (\kappa.) + 32\ (\grave{o}.) + 4\ (\mu.) + 16\ (\sigma.).$$

* Myers' translation.

The

The thirteenth Olympian ode belongs to the close of the lyrist's career, composed about 464 B.C. The *προοίμιον* in this ode is a prelude in the strictest sense of the word. The ode proper begins with the *ἐπαρχά* (24–29) and its prayer to Zeus, which has its antiphone in the *ἐξόδιον* (114 f.) This is its structure:—

23 (π.)+6 (*ἐπ.*)+17 (*ἀ.*)+6 (κ.)+40 (*ὀ.*)+5 (μ.)+16 (σ.)+2 (*ἐ.*).

In the cases which we have hitherto examined, the very substance and matter of the *κατατροπά* and *μετακατατροπά* show their transitional function. But, in many cases, there is no such clear note of their character. This would seem, at first sight, fatal to the theory of Westphal and Mezger. For how are we to disentangle the *κατατροπά* and *μετακατατροπά* from the rest of the poem? The hymn composed on the Terpandrian model has been compared, as a whole, to the pediment of a Greek temple. Take away from the sculptured pediment the groups on each side of the central figure, and all the symmetry is gone. The central sculpture must be flanked, on both sides, by corresponding pairs of designs, until the whole pediment is embellished. So the central *ὀμφαλός* of the hymn must shade off into *ἀρχά* and *σφραγίς* through the transitional *καταπροπί* and *μετακατατροπά*. The hearer must feel the transition, else his ear, or his sense of symmetry, will be hurt, as his eye would be hurt by want of symmetry in the sculptured pediment.

Now these are the very cases in which Mezger sees the strongest proofs of the soundness of his theory. When the transitional pieces do not by their subject matter declare themselves to be such, it is the habit of the poet to mark the place of the transition by the repetition in the *μετακατατροπά* of some particular word in the *κατατροπά*, and that in the same foot of the same verse in the strophe. Thus in Olymp. 7, of which the form is:—

19 (*ἀ.*) + 7 (κ.) + 50 (*ὀ.*) + 4 (μ.) + 15 (σ.),

the myth is introduced (verse 20) by the words—

ἐθελήσω τοῖσιν ἐξ ἀρχᾶς ἀπὸ Τλαπολέμου
ξυνὸν ἀγγέλλων διορθῶσαι λόγον.

There is nothing here to show the transitional character of the *κατατροπά*, nothing to show that this is the *κατατροπά*. So the poet in the first line of the *μετακατατροπά* introduces in the same foot of the same strophic verse the word Τλαπολέμῳ, to serve

serve as a sort of cue or catchword. As the myth, which forms as usual the ὀμφαλός of the ode, was introduced in verse 20 by the word Τλαπολέμου, so by Τλαπολέμῳ in the same foot of verse 77 is the myth dismissed,

> τόθι λύτρον συμφορᾶς οἰκτρᾶς γλυκὺ Τλαπολέμῳ
> ἵσταται Τιρυνθίων ἀρχαγέτᾳ.

Thus this device of the poet would serve as a kind of rubric. The κατατροπά would say 'here beginneth the ὀμφαλός,' and the μετακατατροπά would say 'here endeth the ὀμφαλός.' No doubt, moreover, the repetition of this was emphasized by traditional modifications of the music and the dance.

On first meeting these acute observations of Mezger, one is disposed to exclaim with Horatio, ''Twere to consider too curiously to consider so.' But we must again call to mind the circumstances under which Pindar's odes were composed. Such a device might seem childish to us, with our complete array of typographical expedients. The mere employment of a different type, or the setting in or out of the same type, would call attention to a correspondence between two parts of a poem. But the poems of Pindar, if they were written at all, were certainly not written to be read but to be heard, and could not possibly have recourse to any structural device save such as would appeal to the ear.

Professor Mezger has pointed out many cases in which Pindar thus employs a recurrent word to guide the hearer to the proper apprehension of the nomic march in his poems; and Mezger is himself so strongly convinced of the soundness of the principle, that he is guided by it in the arrangement, the explanation, and even the criticism of the odes. He shows, for instance, that Bergk is wrong in still protesting, now in his fourth edition, against the fusion of the third and fourth Isthmians into one ode—an arrangement which was long ago proposed by Heyne, and has been accepted by all subsequent editors, except Bergk. That the two odes are really one is clearly shown by verses 19–24, which, according to the pre-Heynian arrangement, were verses 1–6 of Isthm. 4. These verses are the κατατροπά of the whole poem made up by combining Isthm. 3 and 4. They correspond to verses 60–63, which are the μετακατατροπά. This is made certain, in the opinion of Mezger, by the fact, that the name *Melissus* is introduced as a catchword in the same foot of the same strophical verse in the κατατροπά and the μετακατατροπά.

In the eighth Olympian ode the narrative is suddenly interrupted at verse 28 by the exclamation—

ὁ δ' ἐπαντέλλων χρόνος
τοῦτο πράσσων μὴ κάμοι.

The explanation of this, Mezger ingeniously observes, is that the τεθμός of the Epinician ode here demands the κατατροπά, which is ushered in by the words quoted. The catchword is πράσσων, which finds its echo in πράξαις (verse 73) in the same foot of the same strophical verse in the μετακατατροπά:—

Αἶδα τοι λάθεται
ἄρμενα πράξαις ἀνήρ.

These two places also correspond in their subject matter, dealing with the ways of fate, and leading on to a new topic.

In the ninth Nemean, verse 28:—

πεῖραν μὲν ἀγάνορα Φοινικοστόλων
ἐγχέων ταύταν θανάτου περὶ καὶ ζωᾶς ἀναβάλλομαι ὡς πόρσιστα,

Mezger sees in ταύταν a catchword corresponding to ταύταν in verse 54—

εὔχομαι ταύταν ἀρετὰν κελαδῆσαι σὺν Χαρίτεσσιν,

and founds on this basis a quite new interpretation of this difficult passage. He regards φοινικοστόλων not as a proper name, but as a characteristic epithet of ἐγχέων, 'mit Roth d. h. mit Blut überzogen.' The poet having described the destruction of the Argive host at Thebes, and thinking of the recent Persian invasion, prays that far from him may be 'such high arbitrament by blood-boultered spears, where life and death are the stake.'

Naturally enough Pindar is satisfied, according to the view of Mezger, with any catchword that will lead back his hearers to the desired point. He does not feel it necessary to employ in the μετακατατροπή the very same expression as he had used in the κατατροπά. In the same way, some of the greatest of our modern poets content themselves with an assonance instead of a complete consonance. Mrs. Browning is satisfied with the degree of similarity in sound which subsists between *turret* and *chariot*, when she writes—

'Crowned Cybele's great turret
Rolls and quivers on her head;
Roar the lions of her chariot
Toward the wilderness unfed.'

But the catchword must have sufficient resemblance to serve as a mnemonic for the hearer. For instance, in the tenth Nemean ode, the phrase μοῖραν ἐσλῶν (verse 20) in the κατατροπά is recalled by μοῖραν ἀγώνων (verse 53) in the μετακατατροπά. In the

the fifth Nemean, χρυσεᾶν Νηρηίδων (verse 7) finds its echo in χρυσαλακάτων Νηρεΐδων (verse 36). In the twelfth Pythian, the discovery of the νόμος πολυκέφαλος is described in the κατατροπά; then comes the myth of Medusa; then in the μετακατατροπά we are led back to the κατατροπά by the word δονάκων.

It would be tedious here to pursue Mezger's system any further in its application to each ode. That it is not merely fanciful we have said enough to show. The reader will, we think, find that to read Pindar from Mezger's point of view will certainly not detract from his interest in the poems, and will probably dispose him to look more favourably on the hypothesis itself.

On this fascinating theory, the first reflection which will occur to the reader is that it presents to us Pindar, not as a singer whose lawless imagination sweeps him on in unshackled numbers, but as the most painstaking of artists, bound by more rules than those of the sonnet, the *ballade*, or the *chant royal;* yet supremely successful in giving to these laboured poems all the outward semblance of a strain of unpremeditated art, as profuse as the song of the skylark. Is then the theory a just one? Did Pindar really model his ode on the Terpandrian nome, and use all the art which Mezger ascribes to him to emphasize his method?

It has been already remarked, that a Pindaric ode so constructed might be compared to the sculptured designs on the pediment of a Greek temple. Now Pindar frequently boasts that he has introduced some novelty into the melic art. The novelty introduced seems, from the way in which he refers to it, to have been some new method employed in the *structure* of his odes. For instance, in Olymp. 3, 4, he declares—

'Hereunto hath the Muse been with me, in the finding of a glossy-new device, to fit to the Dorian step the voice of the hymn.' *

In Pyth. 4, 247, he exclaims—

'I show the way in the poet's craft.'

Some innovation of Pindar's was attacked by his rival, Simonides. This innovation seems to have been in the structure of his odes. It can hardly have been (as has been suggested) the employment of mythical narrative, though this is so leading a feature in his poetry. The one statement which tradition gives us on this question is, that it was his rival Corinna who recommended to

* Μοῖσα δ' οὕτω τοι παρέστα μοι νεοσίγαλον εὑρόντι τρόπον Δωρίῳ φωνὰν ἐναρμόξαι πεδίλῳ.

him

him the use of the myth; and she no doubt had employed it herself on the seven occasions on which she defeated him in trials of poetic skill. She even censured him for a misuse of her teaching, when she curbed his youthful exuberance by telling him 'to sow with the hand, not with the whole sack.'

Now Pindar's poetry is informed with an enthusiasm for Greek art. His 'Odes of Victory' are 'an embodied joy' in the great past and present of Hellas, which now, after repelling the barbarian, was awaking to a buoyant sense of new life, national and artistic, 'even as the earth after the murk of the changeful months burgeons anew with red roses,'* or as 'when the chamber of the crimson-clad hours is opened, and the harbinger gales usher in the incense-breathing spring.'† Of this sense of a new and great existence, Pindar was full to overflowing. It is alien from the genius of the Greek poets to give elaborate descriptions of nature and natural objects; but chance-dropt expressions here and there show, that Pindar looked on nature with a painter's eye, and lead us to infer that he must have been deeply impressed by the painter's art. 'The midmonth moon in car of gold lit up right before him the eye of eve,'‡ is what would now be called a word-picture; and so is the phrase in which he describes the infant Iamus as 'bathed in the yellow and purple glow'§ of the flowers which gave him his name. The description of the eagle of Zeus in the beginning of the first Pythian ode reads as if the poet had a picture before his mind's eye; and we have in another place the simile of the eagle with his prey in his talons—a favourite device on the coins of his time.‖ But while the poet's work was deeply coloured by the kindred arts of painting and sculpture (to which he so often refers); while we find him even alluding, in a noble passage already quoted, to the triumph of the goldsmith's craft;¶ there is only one art which he explicitly and in plain terms sets forth as the analogue of his own. This art is Architecture. A remarkable passage of this kind is the

* Isthm. 3, 36.
† Frag. 75. Bergk, ed. 4.
‡ Olymp. 3, 20.
§ Olymp. 6, 55.
‖ Nem. 8, 80. This subject is magnificently treated by Sophocles in the first choral ode in the 'Antigone,' where the Argive invasion of Thebes is described as a fight between an eagle and a serpent. The skill with which the poet suggests the picture of the eagle and the serpent while telling of the actual invasion seems peculiar to the Greek poets and Mr. Swinburne, in whose 'Erechtheus' the human warriors who invade Attica seem to loom larger than men, and the onset of the assailants merges itself into the onset of the elemental hosts which war against the Attic coast. Pindar finely describes the elemental hosts as a 'fierce levy of storm battalions from the thunderous cloud-rack.' —Pyth. 6, 10.
¶ Nem. 7, 77.

opening

opening of the sixth Olympian ode, where he likens his poem to the *façade* of a noble building :—

'Golden pillars will we set up in the porch of the house of our song, as in a stately palace-hall; for it beseemeth that in the fore-front of the work the entablature shoot far its splendour.' *

Again, he exclaims :—

'Lo, a basement of gold has been fashioned for our lays; come, let us build a fair work of art with words wrought cunningly.' †

He calls a promised ode now completed 'a god-*built* debt,'‡ in close connection, moreover, with his most explicit assertion of his claim to rank as a discoverer in the melic art. He speaks of a treasure-house of song being built, and of its fair *façade*.§ Even the expression 'poet-builders,'‖ though it does not seem unnatural to us who are familiar with Milton's 'build the lofty rhyme,' must have been a significant expression when it was used by Pindar; since we find it parodied by Aristophanes and Cratinus.¶ But perhaps the most striking passage in which the poet speaks of a connection between Architecture and his own Art is the following (Olymp. 13, 17) :—

'To the inventor belongeth every work. Whence was revealed that enhancement of the rite of Dionysus that came with the Dithyramb? Who to the gear of steeds added that wherewith to curb their course? *Who placed on the shrines of the Gods the twin eagle, king of birds?*'

Surely this is a very remarkable coincidence, if it is nothing more. In close connection with an invention in the melic art, the poet places the first employment of the pediment in Greek Architecture; for of course he refers to the two pediments of the temples themselves, in referring to the eagles which were placed as finials on each gable, and from which the pediment itself was called *ἀετός*, *ἀέτωμα*.**

It seems then not an unwarranted inference, that it was some architectural device—most probably the treatment of the pediment—which suggested some striking feature in the structure of his odes. Now, Pindar must often have admired the sculptured pediments of the temple of Athene at Aegina. And it is very

* Olymp. 6, 1, Myers' trans.
† Frag. 194, Bergk, ed. 4.
‡ Olymp. 3, 7.
§ Pyth. 6, 8–14.
‖ Pyth. 3, 113.
¶ Aristoph. *Aves*, 527, and *Schol.*

** There is, indeed, very considerable authority for the theory, that the field of the gable was itself called *ἀετός* from the resemblance of the whole pediment to an eagle with outstretched wings; see Schol. on Aristoph. *Aves* 1110, and Bekk. Anecd. p. 348. 3, *ἡ γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς προπυλαίοις κατασκευὴ ἀετοῦ μιμεῖται σχῆμα ἀποτετακότος τὰ πτερά.*

remarkable,

remarkable, that those very pediments furnish the themes of some of his most beautiful episodes. The following instructive passage from a paper on Pindar by Professor Jebb, * though not written with any reference to the theories of Westphal and Mezger, seems to us greatly to strengthen their hypothesis:—

'But the school of Aegina is that of which we naturally think first in connection with Pindar. Of his extant epinicia, Sicily claims 15; the Epizephyrian Locrians, 2; Cyrene, 3; the mainland of Greece, 13, of which 4 are for Thebes; Aegina, 11 . . . The temple of Athene at Aegina had groups of sculpture on both pediments,—the east (which was the front), and the west. The Aeginetan marbles at Munich are statues which formed part of these groups. Their date falls within Pindar's lifetime. The subject of the east pediment (it is unnecessary to enter on controverted details of restoration) was that war against Lacedaemon, in which Heracles was helped by Telamon. The subject of the west pediment was one probably connected with the death of Patroclus, and the chief figure was Ajax, son of Telamon. All through Pindar's Odes for Aeginetan victors, the dominant mythical theme is fitly the glory of the Aeacidae, Telamon, Ajax, Peleus, Achilles. In the fifth Isthmian Ode, Pindar gives a most brilliant treatment to the initial episode of the very theme which occupied the east pediment of the temple at Aegina,—Heracles coming to seek the aid of Telamon against Troy, when Telamon gave his guest a wine-cup rough with gold, and Heracles prophesied the birth and the prowess of Ajax. Here then is a case in which we can conceive, that the poet's immediate theme may have occurred to his mind as he gazed on the sculptor's work in the splendid entablature of the temple; and we recal Pindar's own comparison of an opening song to the front of a stately building,—*ἀρχομένου δ' ἔργου χρὴ πρόσωπον θέμεν τηλαυγές.*'

What then could be more probable than that the poet, to beautify (*δαιδάλλειν*) his own poems, should seek to achieve in their structure some approximation to the kind of embellishment, which he must often have admired in the temple, which adorned the favoured home of Greek athletes? Since he has treated with the highest efforts of his genius the themes which occupied its pediments, is it not natural that he should have tried to make each poem itself a kind of pediment of song? The same complete regularity of detail would not, of course, be attained in ordering the parts of a poem, but the principle at least might be employed. Before leaving this part of our subject, we will make another extract from the same brilliant essay of Professor Jebb (p. 179), showing how much Pindar owed to Architecture with its handmaid Sculpture:—

* 'Hellenic Journal,' iii. 1, 177.

'The

'The Gigantomachia (Pindar, *Nem.* 1, 67) adorned the pediment of the Megarian 'Treasury' at Olympia; next to Zeus, Poseidon, and Ares, the chief figure was Heracles, whom Pindar also makes prominent. The wedding of Heracles with Hebe (Pind. *ib.* and *Isthm.* 3, 78) was the subject of a relief (of Pindar's age) on the low wall round the mouth of a well (*περιστόμιον*) found at Corinth. Pindar may have lived to see the eastern pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, by Paeonius, though not the western, by Alcamenes; the subject of the eastern was the chariot race of Pelops and Œnomaus (Pind. Ol. 1, 76); of the western the war of the Centaurs with the Lapithæ. Pindar's mention of the "*fair-throned* Hours" (*Pyth*, 9, 62), reminds us that the Heraion at Olympia possessed a chryselephantine group of the Horae seated on thrones by Smilis of Aegina, whose date has been referred to the earlier half of the sixth century.'

If the attractive theory of Mezger be accepted, a further question suggests itself. The model of Aeschylus and Pindar being a Terpandrian *nome*, why did they employ the division into strophe, antistrophe, and epode? Is not this a kind of cross division? Is not each ode built on two frameworks? 'We cannot,' writes Prof. Gildersleeve, 'admit a logical division which shall ruthlessly run across all the lines of the artistic structure. We must seek the symmetry of thought where the symmetry of the form is revealed in strophe, in triad.' In search of a solution for this problem we turn to the odes of Aeschylus and Pindar, and at once notice that the strophic framework has nothing whatever to correspond to it in the odes themselves. The strophic modification does not conform to any modification in the sense, the tone, or the construction of the poem. A new train of thought, a new narrative, a new clause, will begin in the last verse of a strophic system and flow over into the next, which will then take quite a new turn. Conformity with the strophic division seems even to be avoided by Pindar. No approach to it appears save in the thirteenth Olympian ode, where the five strophical systems do coincide curiously with the nomic divisions, and where, moreover, the normal structure of the ode on the basis of a Terpandrian *nome* is very clearly marked, thus: *—

23 (π.)+6 (ἐπ.)+17 (ἀ.)+6 (κ.)+40 (ὀ.)+5 (μ.)+16 (σ.)+2 (ἐ.)

If,

* The 6th Olympian, written probably about 467 B.C., exhibits a greater conformity than is usual between the end of the clause and the end of the strophe; and the individual strophes, antistrophes, epodes correspond to some extent with the nomic structure; the *προοίμιον* exactly coincides with the first strophe; the *ἀρχά* includes the whole of the first antistrophe and epode; the *καταρτά* coincides

If, then, Aeschylus and Pindar did not take any account of the incidence of strophe and antistrophe as regards the subject matter, or construction of their poems, why did they write in strophe and antistrophe at all? When they employed the strophic system, why did they not make the end of it a halting point for the thought and the clause, as well as for the feet of the dancers? We cannot suggest any answer to this question, save that the Stesichorean recurrence of strophe and antistrophe had become *de rigueur*. Aeschylus and Pindar, who did not frame their odes on this basis, were forced to employ it, and their successors, finding that the strophic arrangement was demanded by the public, wisely resolved to make it the framework of their choral odes. Lasus of Hermione, the teacher of Pindar, threw off the shackles of strophe and antistrophe: perhaps he found that his experiment was a failure.* At all events it is significant that Timocreon the Rhodian, abandoning the simple stanza of Alcaeus and Sappho, clothed his satires and lampoons in the elaborate garb of choral strophe and antistrophe. The Stesichorean discovery of the sequence of strophe, antistrophe, epode, was originally for the convenience of the dancers, and possibly the dancers were unwilling to dispense with its aid even when the poet's art had taken a higher flight. The innovation of Aeschylus and Pindar demanded qualities not to be found in the ordinary chorus. However this may be, it would certainly seem that in the odes of Aeschylus and Pindar the nomic division was the real division, the antistrophic structure being perhaps a concession to fashion.

We have already referred, in passing, to some characteristics of Pindar's style; and we have adverted to the strange circumstance, that English writers—even the most enthusiastic—seem to find themselves obliged to apologize for his 'turgidity' and 'bombast.' It is not easy to reconcile the enthusiasm with the apology. If the poetry of Pindar does not satisfy the taste of

coincides with the second strophe; the *ὀμφαλός* with the third and fourth strophes and the second and third antistrophes and epodes. At this point the coincidence fails. There is no real connection between the nomic divisions of this poem and the systems consisting each of strophe, antistrophe, epode; save that the first system coincides with the *προοίμιον* and *ἀρχά*, and therefore with real factors of the ode. This phenomenon, as well as the circumstance, that the individual strophes, antistrophes, and epodes in this Ode often end with a clause, is no doubt due to chance.

* Mr. Fennell on Olymp. 13, 18, *ἅπαν δ' εὐρόντος ἔργον* (a passage already referred to), suggests that some reaction against the recitative character of the Doric dithyramb is alluded to in *Frag.* 79 (Bergk), *πρὶν μὲν εἶρπε σχοινοτένεια τ' ἀοιδὰ διθυράμβων.*

the

the critic, either the poetry is at fault, or the taste is at fault, or the poetry is misapprehended.

George Eliot has observed, that there are very few who can glory in what is actually very great and beautiful, without putting forth cold reservations and incredulities to save their credit for wisdom. We began this paper by admitting, that Pindar is essentially a writer of whose study it may be said that *l'appétit vient en mangeant.* Those qualities in his style, which some describe as bombast and turgidity, are really splendid proofs of a keen instinct for style that enabled him always to maintain his poetic elevation, though dealing with events which, however glorified by associations, were in themselves not considerable. Pindar does say, 'reft from the beardless ones,'* where he might have said, 'immediately on emerging from boyhood;' the 'vaulting ambition' of Shakespeare is with him, the 'huntress craving;'† while the English poet writes, 'the labour we delight in physicks pain,' the Theban more boldly calls a cloak 'warm *physick* 'gainst the winds of heaven;'‡ 'Nemea never failed him' is with Pindar, 'Nemea clave to him;'§ compare the Biblical phrase, 'sticketh closer than a brother.' The savoury smoke of the sacrifice puffing up at irregular intervals is said to 'kick the air;'‖ the fruitful fields after lying fallow 'clutch back their strength;'¶ the glory of the family of Melissus which had 'fallen on sleep' is said in Miltonic phrase to 'awake and *trick its beams* like the Daystar.'** We call to mind—

> 'Or to take arms against a sea of troubles,'

when we meet such mixed metaphors as—

> 'Methinks a whetstone shrills at my lips; it draws me on right fain with a current of sweet breath composed.'††

Here the poet means, that the thought of the relationship between Thebes and Stymphalus (where a branch of the Iamidae whom he is celebrating had settled) makes founts of inspiration well through all his fancy. This thought takes the garb of three different figures in the exuberant fancy of the lyrist. It can better be felt than expressed. And this is true of many of the expressions which have been called turgid. To a question as to the meaning of the Miltonic

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* Olymp. 9, 95. † Olymp. 2, 60. ‡ Olymp. 9, 104.
§ ἀ Νεμέα μὲν ἄραρεν, Nem. 5, 44.
‖ λακτίζοισα, Isthm. 1, 3, 84. ¶ ἔμαρψαν, Nem. 6, 11.
** ἀνεγειρομένα χρῶτα λάμπει, Ἀωσφόρος θαητὸς ὡς ἄστροις ἐν ἄλλοις, Isthm. 3, 41.
†† Ol. 6, 82; compare Hamlet iii. 1, 98, 'and with them words of such sweet breath composed.'

'Smoothing

'Smoothing the raven down
Of darkness till it smiled,'

the best answer is *si non rogas intellego*. We feel, rather than think, about such passages. If we plead that night may be compared to a bird of black plumage, and that melody might be conceived to soothe the night as stroking would soothe a bird; the critic has only to urge, that neither a bird nor the darkness can smile. We are silenced, but the thought affects the imagination as powerfully as ever.

A main source of the obscurity and apparent turgidity of Pindar's language is a recoil from the commonplace. He has to tell of a boy who won the prize for wrestling after vanquishing four competitors, and thus escaped the humiliation which attended on defeat. He thus expresses it—to render quite literally, for that is here the point of the quotation—

'He put off from himself on four lads' bodies the return home most painful, the tongue to dispraise turned, and the furtive path.'*

Pindar refuses to draw from many of those sources to which moderns go for their effect. He never enters into the details of the combat; never more than vaguely hints at a particular incident of the particular victory commemorated, sometimes, even by a single word, by using δυσπαλές for 'difficult' in an ode which celebrates a victory in wrestling, or ζεῦξαι μέλος in commemoration of a chariot race.

On many sides his art offers contrasts to modern methods. He does not make use of descriptions of nature to beautify his themes, as a modern writer would certainly do. Yet who can have read the Olympian Odes without feeling the soft splendour of the scenes through which wended the comus-procession under the full moon? Nay, so sensitive is the poet to the touch of nature that we miss the influence of the Altis and the smiling banks of the Alpheus, when we read the odes which celebrate victories won in Nemea, a wild glen surrounded by 'bleak barren hills worn by the winter torrents into a thousand furrows.'† He does not dwell even on the tender passion, save on 'love's sanctities'‡ and the sweet αἰδώς and mutual adoration of lovers,

'The exalted portion of the pain
And power of Love,'

as in the exquisite tale of the love of Apollo and the nymph Cyrene, in the beginning of the ninth Pythian—surely the most

* Olymp. 8, 68. † Clark, 'Peloponnesus,' p. 65.

‡ κρυπταὶ κλαῖδες ἀντὶ σοφᾶς Πειθοῦς ἱερᾶν φιλοτάτων, Pyth. 9, 39, 'secret are wise Persuasion's keys unto love's sanctities.'—Myers' trans.

beautiful

beautiful of all his odes, not even the fourth Pythian or the sixth and seventh Olympian being excepted. It is indeed marvellous that Pindar, neglecting so many sources of poetic effect, could have produced such poetry.

Again, we must not forget that words or expressions in an ancient language, if they happen to coincide with some modern *argot* or vulgarism, take on a grotesque association which is not due at all to the phrase itself, but which makes the phrase seem much bolder than it really is. In telling why Ajax slew himself, Pindar says, 'it was envy that wrapped him round his brand,'* —that is, 'made him sheathe his sword in his body.' To this phrase clings a reminiscence of the American 'humoristic' expression, according to which a man 'puts himself outside' that which he eats or drinks. This is the reason why slang is to be protested against. It does violence to language which ought to be sacrosanct. It is 'verbicide' in a higher sense than that in which Oliver Wendell Holmes applied the term to punning. When Achilles 'shows the door of Persephone'† to the Trojan heroes, we are reminded of a vulgar synonyme for dismissing an intruder. Even within the limits of our own language and literature, we meet with cases where a word has in the lapse of time assumed grotesque associations. Who could now read the passage in which Chaucer speaks of

'That conceited clerk Homere,'

without a mental picture of the Foreign Office dandy, or the humbler velvet-coated cigar-smoking functionary of the Bank or Post Office?

We must remember too that Pindar aims at making his language 'caviare to the general.'‡ Like Thomas Carlyle, he exults in phrases which seem to be the birth of a moment, the outcome of exuberant carelessness, but are really the product of careful invention.

We have already referred to Mr. Matthew Arnold's phrase about the style of Pindar. The same critic describes the true spirit of style as 'a peculiar recasting and heightening, under a certain condition of spiritual excitement, of what a man has to say, in such a manner as to add dignity and distinction to it'; and again as 'an ever-surging yet bridled excitement in the poet giving a special intensity to his way of delivering himself.' No words could be devised more fit to depict the peculiar faculty of Pindar. Not Cowper, nor even Wordsworth, succeeded in maintaining elevation of style on comparatively trivial themes.

* φασγάνῳ ἀμφικυλίσαις, Nem. 8, 23.
† Isthm. 7, 55. ‡ Olymp. 2, 85.

To be stilted is not to be dignified. 'Those who live in glass-houses should not throw stones,' is at least as elevated as

> 'Let those in vitreous tenements who dwell,
> Forbear the flinty missile to propel.'

M. Villemain, in a comparison between the genius of Pindar and of the great French orator Bossuet, dwells on their common possession of 'un instinct de la grandeur sous toutes les formes, un goût pour les choses éclatantes.' The sun, the splendour of kings and their palaces, the pomp and circumstance of war, set the imagination of both on fire; and to both the eloquent words of Villemain are singularly applicable—'ce qui semblerait parfois image vulgaire brille toujours nouveau sous leurs paroles de feu.' Their common characteristic is 'naïveté dans la magnificence.' Their sometimes common-place themes are 'hid under flowers of fire,' to use the picturesque words of Sir Francis Doyle in a translation of the second Olympian ode, from which we give an extract (61–74), tempted by the extreme beauty of the passage, which, by its easeful flow mirrors for us, as in a shining river, a golden moment in the poet's inspiration:—

> 'These beneath a sun whose light
> Shines ever without setting day and night
> Their happy years begin:
> By their worn hands the earth is vexed no more,
> Nor the sea smitten with the toiling oar,
> A scanty meal to win:
> Zeus leads them on, crowning their brave endeavour,
> To Time's far home of happy rest.
> Where the soft ocean breezes float for ever
> Around the Islands of the Blest.
> There golden bloom to bloom succeeds,
> Through Springs that never tire.
> They fill with light the ground below,
> Athwart the shining trees they glow;
> Their growth the very water feeds,
> Hid under flowers of fire.'

Pindar is essentially φιλάγλαος. And his natural love of splendour was greatly fostered by the circumstances of his life. 'Bold, electric Pindar,' as he is called by Mrs. Browning, intoxicated with the glories of Hellenic life, felt that 'his soul possessed the sun and stars.' He was the public guest of many of the great cities of Hellas. The Rhodians engraved the seventh Olympian ode on the wall of the temple of Lindian Athene in letters of gold. He was the honoured guest of princes and potentates. Indeed, this 'First Violin of King Hiero,' as Voltaire called him, seems to have looked down on the

the mushroom kings of Sicily with some degree of contempt. He never seeks to trace them back to the heroes of mythland. It is to be observed, that in the odes which commemorate their victories and those of their adherents, the myth takes its rise from the locality or other circumstances connected with the victory;* or it is suggested by the character or personal surroundings of the victor;† or else the myth is absent altogether.‡ At Nemea, the Isthmus, and Pytho, the victors were chiefly of the great families of Aegina or the princely house of the Battiadae. Here it is to the victors themselves, and their descent from the Aeacidae and other kings of mythland, that the poet directs his hearers' attention. But at Olympia the *parvenu* chiefs of Sicily were often victorious, and there it is to be noticed, that the poet calls us away from the person of the victor to tales associated with the place of the contest, and to local Olympian legends.

In truth Pindar, proud in his descent from the Aegeidæ, felt himself the peer of any king. He is bold enough to reproach the representative of the Battiadæ with harshness to a relative, and the despot of Syracuse with his accessibility to flattery and his avarice. Among the apophthegms attributed to Pindar is one to the effect, that he would not (like Simonides and Bacchylides) live at a tyrant's Court, 'because he would rather live at his own behest than another's.' The Sicilian princes have been compared, as patrons of learning, literature and art, to the Medici at Florence. Pindar, when sojourning with Hiero, seems rather to have had the feelings of Dante at the Court of Can Grande della Scala. The Court poets filled him with scorn:—

> 'And the court poets (he, forsooth,
> A whole world's poet come to court!)
> Had for his scorn their hate's retort.
> He'd meet them flushed with easy youth,
> Hot on their errand. Like noon-flies
> They vex'd him in the ears and eyes.' §

There seems to have been an Oriental strain in the character of Hiero, which must have been very distasteful to Pindar. His love of flattery, though not his avarice, reminds us of the kings of Persia. His plot against his brother Polyzelus recals the story of David and Uriah the Hittite.‖ Now Orientalism

* Olymp. 1, 3 and 4; Pyth. 12; Nem. 1.
† Pyth. 1, 2, 3, 6; Nem. 9. ‡ Olymp. 5, 11, 12; Isthm. 2.
§ 'Dante at Verona,' Gabriel Dante Rossetti.
‖ Polyzelus had married Damareta, the widow of Gelo. Hiero, fearing the influence which this connection might give his brother, formed a scheme to send him in command of an expedition to a neighbouring town, where, by previous arrangement, he was to lose his life.

is hateful to Pindar, whose great poetic heart was Hellenic to the core. Pindar was a Theban, and Thebes Medized. But Pindar was not therefore un-Hellenic. It is impossible to be Hellenic or un-Hellenic until there is a Hellas, and there was no Hellas before the Persian invasion. When Hellas sprang from the blood of the Μαραθωνομάχαι, she had no more devoted lover than Pindar; no son more keenly alive to the glories of Salamis, Plataea, and Himera*; or more enthusiastic in his thanksgiving to the god who 'put away from us the stone of Tantalus that hung heavy over our heads—a curse greater than Hellas could endure.'†

These odes of Victory give us a unique picture of the 'sustained splendour'‡ of Hellenic thought and life during and after the Persian invasion. It is a pity that they are so invariably read in the unnatural order in which they were placed by Aristophanes the grammarian, and which they have retained ever since.§ Mezger has set an excellent example in dividing the odes into two great classes: (1) those in honour of princes, such as Hiero, Thero, Arcesilaus, the Aleuadæ, and the followers of all these, such as Chromius, Xenocrates, Telesicrates, Hippocles; (2) odes in honour of states, as Bœotia, Athens, Aegina. Subordinately to this classification, the odes are arranged by him as nearly as possible according to their chronological order, in so far as it can be ascertained. But the odes, in whatever order read, cannot but present a stately picture. The poet of the 'Christian Year' has observed Pindar's tender sympathy with human life in all its stages, the appealing helplessness of infancy, the sensuous grace of ἀγλαόγνιος ἥβα, the sturdy vigour of manhood, and the serene restfulness of old age. Perhaps no words could be found more adequate to Pindar and his style, mind and life, than the noble lines in which the Poet Laureate has glorified his own art. The magnificence of Pindar's spirit, the starry splendour of his diction, and the largeness of his human sympathies, might well have been present to the mind of Lord Tennyson when he wrote:—

> 'The poet in a golden clime was born,
> With golden stars above,
> Dower'd with a hate of hate, a scorn of scorn,
> A love of love.'

* Pyth. 1, 75–80. † Isthm. 7, 10

‡ The phrase in which Lord Beaconsfield, in 'Lothair,' described the life of the English nobility.

§ He arranged them on this principle: (1) chariot races; (2) boxing and wrestling; (3) running, &c. The victories of men are given priority to the victories of boys.

ART. VII.—*The Patriarchal Theory.* Based on the Papers of the late John Ferguson McLennan. Edited and Completed by Donald McLennan, M.A., of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. London, 1885.

THIS volume, edited by Mr. Donald McLennan, professes to be based on the papers of his brother, the late John Ferguson McLennan, who was well known for his studies of the usages of savage races, and for the ingenuity of the generalizations which he founded on them. Mr. J. F. McLennan appears, however, to have had but a small share in it. Out of nineteen chapters which compose it, six were drafted by the two brothers jointly, one was published in substance some time ago, and the residue have been written by Mr. D. McLennan, assisted by 'fragmentary notes' and 'hints' found in his brother's papers. We are constrained to say, that this result of the labours of the Messrs. McLennan is a signal example of what a book should *not* be, which is to stimulate enquiry and deepen interest in a subject of the greatest obscurity. It is most absurdly controversial. Consisting as it does of 355 pages, it is wholly made up of argument and cavil against a position maintained in a small portion, perhaps a score of pages in all, of Sir Henry Maine's various works. The author of 'Ancient Law' has laid down, with much caution and qualification, that he believes the best explanation of the early development of human society to be given by the so-called Patriarchal Theory; and the Messrs. McLennan, taking no notice, or next to none, of a recent work * in which he has defined the limits of his belief, declare, by way of pretext for this inordinately lengthy criticism, that the present popularity of the Patriarchal Theory is entirely owing to his authority. With all respect for Sir Henry Maine, the compliment is extravagant; for no man's opinion could be conclusive on such a question; and we are not surprised, that he has disclaimed any special responsibility for the Patriarchal Theory, and has protested against the notion, that books written to apply the Historical Method of enquiry to laws and institutions were merely intended to establish a particular view of a stage of human society, as to which the evidence is scantiest. The truth is, that Mr. J. F. McLennan, early in the course of his investigations, adopted a theory of prehistoric human society, which was at least

* 'Early Law and Custom' (London, 1883). Apparently the Messrs. McLennan had virtually 'finished their siege' before this volume appeared. The seventh chapter, on 'Theories of Primitive Society,' from which we propose to quote largely, gives by anticipation whatever reply the book now before us requires.

least premature; and, throughout the remainder of his life, he displayed the utmost impatience of any denial, direct or indirect, of his own special hypothesis. It is just to say that, though in the course of the controversies into which he plunged, he used language which cannot be defended about not a few eminent men in England and the United States, the present volume on the 'Patriarchal Theory' is decorous in tone and even courteous. We suspect, however, that the ordinary reader will find the method of treatment which it follows in the highest degree confusing; and we will therefore attempt, in this article, to clear away part of the cloud of nagging disputation, with which the Messrs. McLennan have enveloped a question of some interest, but of the greatest difficulty, in order to give some idea of what the controversy is about, and to point out what is the rational way of conducting it, if it is to lead to any conclusion.

Some description of the Patriarchal Theory, as here understood, will probably be found necessary or convenient by most of our readers:—

'It is the theory of the origin of society in separate families, held together by the authority and protection of the eldest valid male ascendant.'* 'The strongest and wisest male rules. He jealously guards his wife or wives. All under his protection are on an equality. The strange child who is taken under it, the stranger who is brought under it to serve, are not distinguished from the child born under its shelter. But when wife, child, or slave escapes, there is an end to all relations with the group, and the kinship, which means submission to power or participation in protection, is at an end.'†

This theory is both old and new. It is new because it is the exact view of primitive human society, which was suggested to Darwin by his studies in animal nature:—

'If we look far enough back in the stream of time, . . . the most probable view is that primeval men aboriginally lived in small communities, each with as many wives as he could support or obtain, whom he would have jealously guarded against all other men. In primeval times, men would probably have lived as polygamists or temporarily as monogamists. They would not at that period have lost one of the strongest of all instincts, the love of their young offspring.' ‡

The theory has also a highly respectable antiquity, for it expresses the conclusions to which the awakening intellect of the Greeks was led by observation of men who, relatively to

* Maine's 'Early Law and Custom,' p. 196.
† Ibid. p. 198.
‡ Darwin, 'Descent of Man,' vol. ii. p. 362.

themselves,

themselves, were savages. Many of their myths and cosmogonies supplied stories respecting the origin of the human race and its advance to civilization, but none of these were credible; and the highest minds among them seem early to have perceived the better light which might be thrown on the beginnings of society, by study of the usages of barbarians. A theory on the subject, not distinguishable from the so-called Patriarchal Theory as above explained, was propounded both by Plato and by Aristotle, of whom the latter left a special work, now unhappily lost, on 'Barbarian Customs.' Both of them quote the testimony of a far earlier observer, the singer who, under the name of Homer, told of the monstrous Cyclops, the type of barbarism, 'who had neither consultative assemblies nor judicial dooms, but each exercised jurisdiction over his wives and children, and they paid no regard to one another.' The value of these Greek speculations cannot be overrated. The Greeks had many faults of observation; but of one thing they were excellent observers, or they would not have bequeathed to us Poetry, Philosophy, and History; they could observe human nature. And they had an advantage which can never be restored to us. The men around them, who were still in a state of barbarism, were of the same race with themselves, speaking, if the Greeks had only known it, languages of the same stock as Greek.

The Patriarchal Theory has thus a most distinguished paternity, and indeed we are not sure that any writer of eminence, before Mr. J. F. McLennan, questioned its extreme plausibility. Maine's part in it, grotesquely exaggerated in this volume, appears to us to have consisted in pointing out the light in which certain discoveries concerning Roman legal institutions entitled it to be placed. The Roman law is the source of nearly all the private law of Western Europe, but, in spite of the enormous learning bestowed upon it, its beginnings were to a great extent a mystery in the last century. Suddenly the veil which hid them was lifted through a mere literary accident. Niebuhr found the Commentaries of Gaius,* a Roman jurist of the era of the Antonines, on a palimpsest at Verona, and the

* Almost nothing is known of Gaius, except so far as the book thus discovered affords material for conjecture about him. The common idea is that he was a teacher of law, living at Rome itself. It is to be observed, however, that he was not an historian of institutions, but what would now be called a philosophical jurist. His arrangement of the Roman law is not based on its history, and the invaluable historical information he gives is only incidentally stated for the purpose of throwing light on the law. We are aware of no evidence for the assertion in the volume before us (p. 137), that 'he was one of the few Roman lawyers who were deeply interested in the antiquities of law and given to tracing institutions to their origin.'

learned

learned world at once knew what the Roman law had originally been, and by what steps and through what agencies it had been altered till it grew into the fountain of modern institutions. All the previously existing information crystallized round one particular centre, the Roman Family, with which almost all the Roman institutions were seen to be connected, and which answered closely to the hypothetical Family of the Patriarchal Theory. Here, however, we come upon a striking difference between the way in which Maine treats his subject and the method of the Messrs. McLennan. The former, in the Preface to his 'Ancient Law,' declared that he should take the Roman law as a 'typical system.' He did not think that an enquiry into ancient institutions 'could be prosecuted with the slightest hope of a useful result, if there had not existed a body of law like that of the Romans, bearing in its earliest portions the traces of the most remote antiquity, and supplying from its later rules the staple of the civil institutions by which modern society is even now controlled.' The Messrs. McLennan, on the other hand, take a course with regard to Roman law which can only be described by a single phrase. They propose to 'boycott' it. They suggest that it should stand in a corner by itself. One of their admirers calls upon his readers to rejoice that the 'gloomy figure of the Roman father' is banished to an exceptional position.

This extraordinary pretension to regard the Roman law not as a typical, but as an exceptional system, is open to the remark, that the Roman law is, of all ancient systems, far the best known. Its history is incomparably better ascertained than that of any other body of legal rules. If it can once be got out of the way, much of the enquiry into the beginnings of law and society is at once reduced to a set of loose conjectures. But, on the other hand, the contention, that this famous jurisprudence is altogether exceptional, is extremely convenient to those who deny that the Power of the Father could have been the cement of primeval human society. They have then to do only with evidence which Maine calls 'scanty and inferior,' the imperfect and obscure records of the early law of families of mankind other than the Roman. Nevertheless, Sir Henry Maine insists that even here there is just enough evidence to suggest strongly, when put together, that these societies also either started from, or passed through, a stage in which the Family was of the Patriarchal type. The evidence appears to him 'very much * of the same kind and

* 'Early Law and Custom,' p. 194.

strength

strength as that which convinces the comparative philologist, that a number of words in different Aryan languages had a common ancestral form in a now unknown ancestral mother-tongue.' It is on this point that the Messrs. McLennan take issue with him. They discuss the ancient law and existing usage of a number of societies, and declare that they find no evidence of a Patriarchal Family. We propose to test the correctness of a number of assertions made by them, and then to point out the error which seems to us to have led them astray.

Two expressions, taken originally from the Roman law, play a great part in this controversy, and may stand in need of some explanation. One of them is Patria Potestas, which is easily understood to mean a number of powers lodged with the Chief of a Household, which are considerably greater than those with which the head of a family is now invested in the civilized communities of Western Europe. The other, Agnation, is less familiar. It is here used to signify the relation between the various members of a family over which its chief exercises, or once exercised, a Patria Potestas. All subject to him are Agnates relatively to one another. It will be seen, from the account before given of the hypothetical Patriarchal Family, that the stranger taken into it, the adopted son, is a member of it. On the other hand, some naturally-born sons leave it through being 'emancipated,' and all the daughters leave it when they marry and pass under the power of their husbands. These daughters who marry are much the largest class of blood-relations, who become separated from the family, and their children belong to the family not of their mother's birth, but to the family into which their mother has married. Hence in the hypothetical Patriarchal Family the descendants of women are not included. This family consists wholly of Agnates, persons who are, or might have been, under the same Patria Potestas, and therefore almost entirely of males descended through males. The argument of those who see the Patria Potestas, either at the beginning of society or at some exceedingly early stage of it, is that, even though the excessive powers of the Father have been curtailed, either because Courts of Justice have absorbed them or from any other cause, traces of their former existence may always be found in the practice of tracing relationship exclusively through males or of giving a greatly preponderant advantage to the descendants of males over the descendants of females in inheritance. Any advantage given to the descendants of women they regard as being of comparatively late origin, and as brought about by a change in

in the law more or less resembling that which is known to have occurred in Roman jurisprudence.

Suppose that we, who have our home in England in 1886, were to ask ourselves, whether we can find in our notions, habits, or usages, anything savouring of the ancient Patria Potestas or of the ancient Agnation. At first, we should almost undoubtedly say that we can find nothing. If we obey our father, the reason is that, immediately or remotely, we acknowledge the authority of the Fifth Commandment in the Decalogue; and we render obedience practically just as much to our mother as to our father. If we examine our ideas of blood-relationship, we should discover nothing pointing to Agnation. We look upon the sons of our brothers as kinsmen no closer than the sons of our sisters; they are in both cases our nephews. Nevertheless, a man of ordinary education will, after no long reflection, see cause to modify these impressions. If he has any acquaintance with the literature of the last two centuries, he will be reminded of a number of indications which prove, that the practical domestic authority of an English Father in his own household was once vastly greater than it is now. The ceremonious forms with which he was addressed by his children and even by his wife have disappeared. The sons no longer rise from their seats when he enters or stand while he speaks to them. If he has any knowledge of legislation and law, the educated Englishman will remember that no legal rules were, until quite recently, so stringent as those which created the father's rights over his wife's property, and his right to control his children's education and to regulate the custody of their persons. And he will recollect that, even now, the English Father has a power which exists in no other European country, the power of completely disinheriting his children by will, and leaving his wife without provision, so far as regards all property over which he has absolute control. He will, however, on the whole, find that the institution he knows so well is a Patria Potestas in decay. He will also have no difficulty in persuading himself, that his ideas about relationship are not quite what he supposed them to be at first sight. A man who is proud of his family traces his descent invariably through males in the first instance. Titles and honours descend through males, and only to women in default of males. The ordinary forms of settlement and entail give always the preference to males; and only take in women on failure of males of the same class. We live, in fact, in presence not only of a decayed Patria Potestas, but of a decayed Agnation.

The line by which we run up to these two ancient institutions

institutions can be distinguished with reasonable clearness. Our popular ideas concerning paternal power and filial duty have, as we have said, a religious origin. Our popular ideas concerning relationship have also been shaped by religious influences; they come to us from the Christian Church, which derived them from the Roman law. This law, in its final state, placed women and their descendants on the same footing with men and their issue, so far as regards inheritance, and these modern Roman rules were adopted by the Ecclesiastical Courts of the Western Christian world. The recent discoveries mentioned above have now shown us, that the reformed Roman law is ultimately traceable to an ancient and unreformed law, under which a Father had power of life and death over his children, and under which relationship was coextensive with subjection to this power; but the line of connection was sharply interrupted in this country. Britain was barely out of the agony of the Teutonic conquests; England was scarcely England; when the last Roman enactment was passed which obliterated the distinction between kinship through males and kinship through females. It has been pointed out that, mixed with the popular ideas on the subject before us, there are other ideas having some affinity for the oldest Roman views concerning Patria Potestas and Agnation; these, however, have been transmitted to us, not from the Romans, but from our Teutonic forefathers. Did then the primitive Teutonic family differ materially from the primitive Roman family? There has been a disposition among a certain class of learned Germans to make the most of small and unimportant points of difference. Pride of race, and a natural inclination to believe, that their ancestors preserved certain free institutions which the Romans had lost, have led them to contend, among other things, that, while the Roman Father was a despot, the German father exercised nothing more than a guardianship. There is too much learning in Germany for such a view to remain undisputed,* but its recent assailants have been learned Frenchmen, not a little stimulated by the war of 1870 to question German pretensions of all kinds. In the very careful and scholarlike volume just published by M. Fustel de Coulanges ('Recherches sur quelques problèmes d'Histoire') no part is more valuable than that

* The dispute on the question, whether the Germans did make any new contribution to the body of law bequeathed by the Romans, is old and keen. Two typical works on the subject are Schmidt (C. A.), 'Der principielle Unterschied zwischen den römischen und germanischen Rechte:' Rostock, 1853; and Hahn (F. v.), 'Die materielle Uebereinstimmung der römischen und germanischen Rechtsprincipien,' Jena, 1856.

which

which examines the constitution of early Teutonic society. It is one guarantee of the writer's soundness that he is not over-confident of his results, and indeed the evidence for early Teutonic law is not to be compared in fulness with the evidence for early Roman law. But it is impossible not to agree with M. Fustel de Coulanges on certain fundamental points. It is extremely probable that the *mundium* of the Germans, which their descendants insist on calling a guardianship, was simply the Patria Potestas of the Romans, for which a word of the same origin, *manus*, was the oldest name. There is evidence that the German Father was priest in his own household. There is evidence that he held a domestic tribunal. There is evidence that he could try and sentence his wife for adultery and inflict a most contumelious penalty on her. There is evidence, as regards one German tribe, that its members could sell their wives and children. There is, on the other hand, no evidence that, as some German writers assert, the Teutonic son was emancipated from paternal authority by entering on military service. It is on the whole a very safe conclusion, that the ancient German family was held together by a strong Patria Potestas. It is also quite certain, that the German usages were the means of reviving in Europe that ancient view of relationship, which identifies kinship with subjection to Paternal Power. The earliest * of the Germanic Codes, the so-called Salic Law, had large influence on the formation of feudalism; and the Salic Law, while it permits women and their descendants to inherit moveable property, absolutely confines the inheritance of land to males and their descendants. The enactment † of the Frankish Merovingian King, Chilperic, is still extant, which for the first time partially amended this law of succession, and allowed women and their issue to succeed to land, when male relatives in the same degree had failed.

Both then of the elements in English society, the Roman and the German, run up, one by an absolutely distinct course, the other by one reasonably plain, to a Family system founded on Patria Potestas and Agnation. But the English Empire, which

* The rules contained in the Salic Law are probably much older than the compendium in which we find them. Their relation to the usages described in the 'Germany' of Tacitus is examined by M. Fustel de Coulanges in a chapter which is too long and full to abridge or quote. ('Recherches sur quelques Problèmes d'Histoire,' chap. v., 'Du Droit de Succession chez les Germains).'

† 'Placuit ut . . . quamdiu filii advixerint, terra habeant sicut et lex Salica habet. Et si subito filios defuncti fuerint, filia simili modo accipiat terras ipsas, sicut et filii si vivi fuissent aut habuissent.' 'Chilperici Edictum,' s. 3. Pertz, L. L. ii. 10. The admission of the descendants of women to inheritance appears also to have been of comparatively late date in Hindu law. See J. D. Mayne, 'Hindu Law and Usage,' chap. 16.

includes

includes the most westerly settlements of the Aryan race, includes also the most easterly. What evidence then does India supply to either side of this dispute, India the home of a population consisting roughly of 150 millions of men professing various shades of Hinduism, and of 40 millions of Mahommedans? The learned Frenchman just quoted, M. Fustel de Coulanges, had, in an earlier and a very brilliant work, 'La Cité Antique,' treated the Family system of the Hindus and the Family system of the earliest Romans as substantially identical, and as capable of being used to supply mutual illustrations of one another. If this be so, and if two systems so widely apart in place and in history are excessively similar, it may be said that the controversy is closed; nor indeed did anybody doubt this except the Messrs. McLennan. They, however, have the temerity to contend, that India supplies no testimony to the Patriarchal Theory. Now, before making this assertion of any society of men, particularly of a society making part of the 'changeless East,' and one which a century ago was found to be (if not speaking) writing, studying, and using for practical purposes the oldest language of the stock to which our own belongs, the first step is to ascertain the actually existing social state of the community in question. It is scarcely to the credit of the Messrs. McLennan that they have not attempted to do this. There are, however, in England and Scotland abundance of men who have passed the best part of their life in administering Indian provinces, in observing Indian usages, in studying Indian laws and applying them. We venture to assert that, if Indian public servants of experience are appealed to, they will pronounce the India of the Hindus a land of Patria Potestas and Agnation. The father is addressed in terms of hyperbolical respect; his word is law; and, true though it may be that the principal cause of the decay of Patria Potestas is the growing authority of Courts of Justice, the Paternal Powers of the Hindu in their moral form have survived the Indian Penal Code which ignores them. What is really undermining them, is education; for, as all observers agree, the educated son mutinies against the authority of the ignorant father; such is the universal complaint. The facts as to Agnation are even more remarkable. Under the most widely diffused system of Hindu law, laying claim to a sacred origin, Agnates, descendants of male kinsmen, exclude Cognates, the descendants of women, from inheritance to the fourteenth degree. The rules of succession in parts of India, to which the law of the Brahmans has not penetrated, are even more decisive. In the further North-Western India, the Supreme

Supreme Court of Justice has laid down, as a universal maxim, that 'kinship is wholly Agnatic,' and a most minute enquiry by the officers of the Indian Government into the usages of the North-Western races and tribes, instituted village by village, has given precisely the same result. No daughter succeeds, so long as there are any sons; when she does succeed, her husband is adopted by her father. The fact is that, all over India, rules and practices, pointing back to the ancient strictness of the Patria Potestas, may be found. A millionaire Hindu father may beggar his son by giving him in adoption to a pauper. A serious insurrection broke out a few years ago in the Southern tableland called the Dekkan, which was chiefly caused by the indebtedness of the peasantry, brought about by an old rule of Hindu law, that sons are liable for all the debts of a deceased father, though they never assented to their being contracted, and though they succeeded to no property of the original debtor.

Nothing of this is to be found in the volume before us. The writers found a denial of the Hindu Patria Potestas on the ancient records of Brahmanical law. This is to remove the controversy from a region where evidence is clear to one in which it is to the last degree obscure. The authenticity of these records, their antiquity, their relation to one another, their degree of authority, their accurate rendering in received English versions, are all violently disputed among the learned. Yet even here we find plenty of testimony more or less distinct. 'Three persons —a wife, a son and a slave'—says one ancient writer, 'are declared by law to have in general no wealth exclusively their own; the wealth which they earn is regularly acquired for the man to whom they belong.' 'A son,' says another, 'is of age and independent, in case his parents be dead; during their lifetime he is dependent, even though he be grown old.' It is fortunate, however, that an investigation of the greatest difficulty, where all the materials are slippery, has fallen into the hands of a genuine and unquestioned expert. Few persons entitled to have an opinion on the matter would deny the authority of Mr. John Dawson Mayne, once Advocate-General at Madras, whose 'Hindu Law and Usage' is a model of what a law-book should be, combining accurate statement of existing law with careful analysis of its history. Mr. Mayne has been provoked by this volume on the 'Patriarchal Theory' into publishing an excellent article* upon it, and it seems to us that he has completely disposed of the argument of the Messrs. McLennan. It

* In the 'Law Quarterly Review' for October, 1885.

appears

appears to be quite certain that the rules of the Brahmanical law, limiting the original breadth of the Hindu Patria Potestas, are of greatly later date than the institution itself.

For one special reason, we note that a great part of the dispute turns on some ancient rules in the Brahmanical law-books, which speak of certain persons being received as sons who were not sons by nature. The explanation of these rules, given by Sir Henry Maine and Mr. J. D. Mayne, is quite different from that suggested by the Messrs. McLennan. But, whatever be their meaning, the sons to whom they refer are sons in a very peculiar sense. They are persons who will save the spirit of their supposed father from Hell by sacrificing to it after its separation from the body. The domestic worship of the Hindu is entirely the worship of his ancestors, and this connects him with his swarming neighbours, the Chinese, whose effective religion, practised at much cost and with great apparent sincerity, is now, as it has been from the earliest times, ancestor-worship. It seems to us that, as Sir Henry Maine has argued, there is no possible explanation of these most remarkable religious usages, followed by the two largest societies of men in the world, of which one is reckoned at 300 millions of souls, and the other at not much less, other than that they date from a period at which the authority of living male ancestors was not only recognized, but exercised with the utmost vigour. That such a worship could ever co-exist with a belief in the impossibility of ascertaining paternity is the wildest of all paradoxes.

Mixed with the 150 millions of Hindus in India are 40 millions of Mahommedans; and from the Western frontier of the British Indian possessions to the European territories occupied by the Slavonian races, the whole population may practically be regarded as professing Mahommedanism. The civil law which all these intervening communities follow is not quite uniform; but it all pretends to a religious origin, and claims to have been declared or hallowed by the Prophet, his companions, or their near successors. Some part of this law undoubtedly betrays the hand of an individual legislator, but there is much of it at the same time which reflects customs absorbed by legislation. The Patria Potestas of the Mahommedans, the part of the law defining the duties of children to parents, appears to be wholly religious; but the rules which classify kinsmen for the purpose of inheritance suggest some very instructive conclusions and deserve attentive consideration. The Mahommedan law divides a man's heirs or successors into three classes, which the translators of the law-books into English,

English, for the use of Anglo-Indian Courts and lawyers, call by the clumsy names of Sharers, Residuaries, and Distant Kindred. The Sharers are a miscellaneous class, evidently made up of a number of presumably helpless persons belonging to the household of the deceased, and the law secures to each of them a particular share or fraction of his property. But the Sharers cannot exhaust the estate, and there is often a considerable balance. This balance goes in various proportions to the Residuaries, and, so long as there are any Residuaries, the Distant Kindred take nothing. But of what persons are these two last classes composed? The Residuaries are simply the Agnates, or kinsmen through male descents; the Distant Kindred are almost exactly coextensive with the Cognates, or relatives through women. Therefore the historical basis of the Mahommedan law is similar to that of Roman law; it is founded on the preference of Agnates to Cognates in inheritance. Some early Mahommedan legislator—as some think, the Prophet himself—created the new class of Sharers, but he worked on a tribal system under which the relatives through males excluded the descendants of females. We do not assert that this was the system of all the Arabian tribes. A sharp dispute has arisen among Arabic scholars,* on the question whether an original system of kinship through females exclusively cannot be traced in some of these tribes. But the plain character of the institutions on which the Mahommedan law is built justifies us in saying, that the strictest proof is required of the existence, in any Arabian tribe, of customs and ideas inconsistent with them.

Of the nations of Aryan stock, one great group remains to be noticed. These are the Slavonians, who occupy nearly the whole of the space between the Mahommedan societies and those which owe their institutions to Western Christianity, to Roman civilization, or to the ancient laws and usages of the Germans. The younger Mr. McLennan never made a bolder venture than when he asserted of the Slavonians that they

* The writers who have engaged in the controversy are, on one side, Dr. J. W. Redhouse; on the other, a Dutch scholar, G. A. Wilken; and, differing more or less from both of these, Professor Robertson Smith has published a volume on 'Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.' This learned and interesting work, while frankly admitting the Patriarchal system to be that of the Arab genealogists and the system of the tribes amid which Mahommed lived, contends that throughout Arabia it superseded an older system, under which kinship was traced through females. The evidence is exceedingly difficult of interpretation, and the question must be left to Arabic scholars; but, as will be seen presently, we do not think the conclusion of Professor Robertson Smith antecedently incredible. At the same time, the method of establishing the existence and importance of certain other institutions essential to Mr. J. F. McLennan's theory, savours a little of a process which the Professor must have had opportunities of observing, that of first believing and then proving.

exhibit

exhibit no trace of the Patriarchal Family. We agree with him that the ancient written evidence of their social condition is but scanty, though it does include a statement about one Slavonic tribe, and apparently the most important, which curiously resembles the Homeric verse about the Cyclops, that they 'lived apart from one another and each governed his own family.' But two branches of the race—the Russians, who enjoy ascendency in all the vast plain country of Northern Europe and Asia, and the Southern Slavs, who predominate in the Balkan Peninsula—have had their domestic institutions preserved from serious change by their long subjection to Mahommedan power. The only method of reform known to Mahommedan rulers is conversion to the faith of the Prophet; when a community becomes tributary to them they tax it severely, but they do not interfere with its domestic usages. There is no reason to believe that Russian social usages have been more than superficially touched by the modern reforms of the Emperors; and the usages of the Southern Slavs have not been disturbed at all till quite recently, except so far as they have been brought into conformity with the rules of the Eastern Christian Church. These Slavonic societies are therefore exactly of the class, which yield most profit to the careful modern observer. Let us see what writers who deserve this description tell us.

The first traveller who looked deeply into the structure of Slavonic and particularly of Russian society was Baron von Haxthausen, who appears to have been the authority followed by Maine in his earlier works. Baron von Haxthausen's volumes,* which appeared in 1849 and 1852, were at once felt throughout Europe to be the revelation of a new social order, having no counterpart in the West, though it had some in the East. We extract from the second volume a passage, in which the writer describes the constitution of the Family as he supposes it must have once been in all the Slavonic nations, and as it still remained among the Russians.

'The unity of the blood of the Family and of the Commune, which is only a more developed phase of the Family, shows itself nowhere with as much force and energy as among the Russian People. The unity of the Family and the community of goods formed the primitive character of Slavonic society, but they have not been

* 'Studien über die innern Zustände, das Volksleben, und insbesondere die ländlichen Einrichtungen Russland's.' The work was published both in German and in French. There is an English version by Mr. Farie; but, as the translator states, the original has been much abridged. The passage presently quoted will not be found in it.

developed and kept alive by the Western Slavonians as perseveringly as by the Russians. . . . The Family had its centre of unity in its Head, in the Father; it could not exist without its Head, for there was an absolute equality among the other members of the Family, and complete anarchy would have broken out, if all had not obeyed a common chief. If the Father was no longer in existence, the eldest brother took his place, invested with the same paternal power, and if the natural transmission of the paternal power was interrupted by some accident, such as the insanity of the eldest brother or his taking holy orders, the other members of the Family had to elect a Chief or Father. If their choice fell on the youngest brother, he was still called the Elder or Father, who was unreservedly obeyed by all. . . . In the Slavonic families organized on this system, no member had an individual fortune. All belonged to a common fund; with which any adult member of the family might have done what he pleased, if he had not been under the absolute authority of the natural or elected father. Everybody who abandoned this common fund and this unity of the family, perhaps to found a separate family (and this was always regarded by the people as a calamity, a "black separation") lost all title to the fund, and consequently his rights of succession.'—Vol. ii. pp. 132 *et seq.*

The observations of Baron von Haxthausen were made about forty years ago. About thirty years afterwards, Russian society was again personally examined by Mr. Mackenzie Wallace, from whose 'Russia' we quote the following passages:—

'Previous to the emancipation in 1861, there were many households of this kind, containing the representatives of three generations. All the members, young and old, lived together in patriarchal fashion under the direction and authority of the Head of the House, called usually "Khorain," that is the Administrator, or, in some districts, Bolsheik, which means literally the "Big One." Generally speaking, this important position was occupied by the grandfather, or, if he was dead, by the eldest brother; but this rule was not very strictly observed. If, for instance, the grandfather became infirm, or if the eldest brother was incapacitated by disorderly habits or other cause, the place of authority was taken by some other member—it might be, by a woman—who was a good manager and possessed the greatest moral influence. . . . The house, with its appurtenances, the cattle, the agricultural implements, the grain and other products, the money gained from the sale of those products—in a word, the house and nearly everything it contained—was the joint-property of the family. Hence, nothing was bought or sold by any member, not even by the "Big One," unless he possessed an unusual amount of authority, without the express or tacit consent of the other grown up males; all the money that was earned was put into the common purse. When one of the sons left home to work elsewhere, he was expected to bring or send home all his earnings, except what he required for food, lodging, and other necessary expenses . . . The peasant

peasant household of the old type is thus a primitive labour-association . . . The Head of the House is not called by any word corresponding to Pater Familias, but is termed Administrator—a word that is applied equally to a farmer, a shopkeeper, or the head of an industrial undertaking, and does not at all convey the idea of blood-relationship . . . The law of inheritance is likewise based on this conception. When the household is broken up, the degree of blood-relationship is not taken into consideration in the distribution of the property. All the adult male members share equally. Illegitimate and adopted sons, if they have contributed their share of labour, have the same rights as the sons born in lawful wedlock. The married daughter on the contrary—being regarded as belonging to her husband's family—and the son who has previously separated himself from the household, are excluded from the succession.'—Vol. i. p. 134.

It is manifest that these two writers, at thirty years' distance from one another, examined the same set of facts. The sole difference is in their point of view. Baron von Haxthausen sees in the association of grandfather, father and sons, a Patriarchal Family. Mr. Mackenzie Wallace describes it as an industrial partnership, and Mr. McLennan will not allow it any other character than this. But the basis of it all is the connection of blood, and it has often been noticed that institutions which arose from family relation acquire in process of time the look of having been founded on contract. In every other particular the accounts coincide. The 'Elder' of Baron Haxthausen is evidently the "Big One" of Mr. Mackenzie Wallace. The Father governs the household. If he be incapable, a competent member of the Family is chosen by election. The property, under his direction, belongs to the household as a whole. The brother working at a distance is bound to bring in his earnings to the common stock. The kinship between the members is 'agnatic.' The adopted son and the illegitimate son, if they work with the Family, belong to it. The emancipated son is outside it, and loses all his rights. The daughter ceases to be included when she marries, because she belongs to her husband's family. These are the very lineaments of the Patriarchal Family.

After three generations at most, the Russian Family is apt to dissolve into separate households, as does the precisely corresponding Hindu Family. The 'House-Community' of the South Slavonians who inhabit the Balkan Peninsula is considered by Baron von Haxthausen to be merely the family above described, but continuing in union during several or many generations. This, again, Mr. McLennan will have to be nothing but an industrial partnership. The subject is

very fully discussed by Maine in his 'Early Law and Custom;'* but there is one piece of evidence which he does not notice, but to which a few words should be given. About the wildest of Slavonian legends relates to a Queen Libussa. It seems that King Croccus, or Krok, had no sons,† but he had three daughters, who were witches. The two elder of these principally employed their magical skill in telling the owners of lost articles of property where to find them; the youngest, Libussa, gave answers on matters of public concern. But while the eldest sisters made a profit by the practice of their art, Libussa exercised hers gratuitously, and thus she so endeared herself to the people that, when Krok died, she was elected to the succession. An unintelligble story follows, of civil war carried on partly by Amazons. The object of the legend seems to be to explain the fact that Prague, among several strong places in Europe, was known as the Maiden City: if it has a moral, it is the mischief of government by women. Mr. D. McLennan rebukes Sir Henry Maine, with some solemnity, for not giving weight to the evidence of this legend, that the ancient Slavonians had no prejudice against matriarchy. It happens, however, that among a number of ancient Slavonic poems discovered sixty years since, which gave a great impulse to the study of the old literature, there was one in verse, called the 'Judgment of Libussa.' It thus runs:—

'Brothers, you should agree as brothers on the subject of your inheritance, and you should hold it in common, according to the sacred traditions of our ancient law. The father of the family governs the house. The men till the ground, the women make the garments. If the head of the house dies, all the children retain the property in common and choose a new chief, who on great days presides in the Council with the other fathers of families.'

Thus the only credible fact associated with the name of this Slavonic Deborah is, that she declared and prescribed the patriarchal organization of the Slavonians.

All the systems of law and usage which we have noticed are examined by the Messrs. McLennan in the volume before us, and they assert that in none of them can they find any trace of Patria Potestas, not even in the law of the Slavonians and Hindus, whom the author of 'Ancient Law' specially mentioned as contributing evidence of the ancient existence of this institu-

* 'East European House Communities,' 'Early Law and Custom,' chap. 8.

† 'We are not told of the legendary Krok that he left no male relatives behind him.'—McLennan, 'Patriarchal Theory,' p. 81. But the first words of Dubravius in telling the story of Libussa are, 'Nulla Crocco virilis sexus proles fuit.'—'Historia Bohemica,' lib. i. tit. 2.

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tion. We, on the other hand, have gone through the same systems, so far as our space permits,* and we have shown, upon the authority of acknowledged experts, or on the testimony of easily accessible facts, that they all indicate an ancient form of the Family, and a state of Family law under which the Powers of the Father were greatly in excess of those allowed him by modern and Western civilization, and a view of relationship which limited it to kinship through male descents. The reflection first suggested by our enquiry is perhaps not quite complimentary to the Messrs. McLennan, and it may serve to explain the ire of the indignant and very learned Egyptologist, who, provoked by an excursion of the elder McLennan into Egyptian lore in search of totems and beast-worship, declared that he was half a century behind his age in drawing inferences from the opinions of writers 'ludicrously mistaken.' All his 'statements,' Mr. Renouf added, 'about the ancient nations are based on equally worthless authorities. He goes for his facts to Bryant and Lempriere's Dictionary.' Mr. J. F. McLennan, however, was really an industrious as well as an original writer, and he cannot be fairly known by the fruits of his raid upon Egypt. What then can have been the causes which have led him and his brother also into what appear to us a number of serious errors?

The first of these we believe to be the mistaken conception, which both the writers of this volume appear to have, of the nature of that Comparative Method of Enquiry which the adherents of the Patriarchal Theory profess to follow. If this method had really been what they suppose, it seems to us that its great achievement, the science of Comparative Philology, could never have been accomplished. When a number of words, or a number of institutions, are compared together for the purpose of discovering their common antecedent, their common parent word or parent institution, the Messrs. McLennan are under the impression, that the enquirer is bound to find in every

* We have omitted the Family law of the Celtic races. There is very distinct and trustworthy evidence that the Celts of the Continent had a strong form of Patria Potestas (Cæsar, De B. G., lib. 6, c. 19), but the legal testimony from the Irish or Brehon law is so difficult and confused as fairly to admit of two opinions. A chapter in which J. F. McLennan maintained a view of his own against that of Maine, is reprinted in the volume before us, but it ought to have referred to the summing-up of the whole question by a very high authority, the late Dr. Ritchie ('Ancient Laws of Ireland,' Introduction, vol. iv.), and his emphatic dissent from Mr. McLennan's solution of the difficulty (p. lxxxiii.). We gather from a note in the 'Recherches' of M. Fustel de Coulanges (p. 314) that the most eminent of French Celtic scholars, and one especially conversant with the Brehon Laws, M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, has no doubt of the existence of the Patria Potestas among the Irish.

language

language and in every system of law and usage which he compares, the exact word or the exact institution to which he traces the parentage of all. Let us take the example of the Family under Patria Potestas. Among the Romans, it assumes very nearly the form which is attributed to the primitive Patriarchal Family by the Greek philosophers and Mr. Darwin. Among the Celtic races of the Continent, the Patria Potestas appears to have been scarcely less strong than that of the Romans. Among the Germans (and here we grant a great deal more than is proved) it has an air of guardianship. Among the Slavonians, it has struck some observers as looking like an industrial partnership between Father and sons. Among the Athenians, the Father, it is said, could originally sell his children, but Solon took away the power. Among the Hindus, while the Father appears to have had anciently most extensive power over his wife and children, there is no trace of the power of life and death. Among the Irish, the Father's authority is expressed by analogy to the privileges of the Church. There are other races which witness to it by a duty, religiously observed by sons, of worshipping their dead fathers. And these differences are precisely what might have been expected. The systems of law which we call ancient are of all degrees of antiquity. They are of all degrees of purity. They have been acted upon by all kinds of influences. It is therefore quite inconceivable, that the institutions which they preserve should have come down to us in exactly the same shape or at the same stage of development. It is for the Comparative Method to determine whether they have sufficient similarity to suggest a common parentage and to say what the parent institution is. In the case of paternal power as witnessed to by the systems of law and usage before us, we believe the common antecedent to be a Patriarchal Family, from which they started or through which they have passed.

A second source of the errors to be found in this book we take to be the strange obstinacy of the Messrs. McLennan in refusing to learn anything from the Roman law. There is no justification of it whatever, except a statement of a Roman legal writer of the second century of the Christian era, perfectly credible of his day and of his area of observation, that hardly any (*fere nulli*) people, except one Asiatic community, had a Patria Potestas resembling (*talem qualem*) the Patria Potestas of the Romans. But the result of the exclusion is, to reduce the enquiry into the history of institutions very much to what the undertaking of the Comparative Philologist would be, if he were forbidden to look at Sanskrit. Not only is the earliest known form of the Roman Family of the highest scientific value,

value, from its correspondence with the primitive human family as arrived at by the greatest of modern scientific thinkers following quite another route; but we learn, from the subsequent history of that law, how it was that women and their descendants gradually rose to a legal equality with male kinsmen. The Roman law was, in the Middle Ages, the weapon with which jurists combated the excessive pretensions of the Agnatic kindred, and, as we have already stated, it is the real source of the modern view, which practically makes no difference between kinsmen though males and the issue of kinswomen. If we had known nothing of its history, we might have supposed, that kinship through women simply preserved in it a portion of the importance which it has among savages. Yet we know upon the best evidence that, among the Romans, kinship through men was older than kinship through women; and that it was only by the action of the Roman Courts and of the Roman legislature in its various shapes, continued through many centuries, that the legal position of women was reached, which has been accepted by the laws of the whole modern civilized world. We quite understand, that this authentic and well-attested history is unacceptable to the Messrs. McLennan; but that is no good reason for refusing to give it any attention; and the less so, that an exceedingly similar course of change seems to have been followed by the ancient law of the Germans and by the ancient law of the Hindus.

The Messrs. McLennan do not employ the Comparative Method of Enquiry, and, as it seems to us, do not understand it. What then was the method followed in the investigations of the elder brother? No idea of it could be gathered from the volume before us, which is written in a purely combative spirit, but it may be understood from the far better book which Mr. J. F. McLennan published a good many years ago, under the name of 'Primitive Marriage.' There are among the earliest records or accounts of a few legal systems certain rules, or qualifications of rules, which the Patriarchal Theory does not explain, or does not explain well. In themselves they have no importance, and might pass without notice; but it is asserted, that they correspond to customs or practices which still prevail among savage races or races of low civilization. The inference of Mr. McLennan and his followers is that, before the law of now civilized communities reached the stage, which to them seems ancient or even primitive, it went through a still earlier course of growth, answering to the usages of now savage populations. This reasoning is quite defensible, and is well known to science. From a patch of hair, an eccentrically placed bone, or a seemingly

ingly useless receptacle, the biologist occasionally draws the conclusion, that the mammalian animal, in which these phenomena present themselves, had ancestors in which they had a real meaning and importance, and that these ancestors are now represented only among the lower forms of life. A fair example of the kind of indication, from which inferences are drawn as to the nature of the savage society which preceded civilization, may be taken from an observation of Tacitus about the Germans. It is impossible not to agree with M. Fustel de Coulanges that their social system was, on the whole, strongly patriarchal; but Tacitus, in describing them, drops the remark that, among their singularities, was the strong affection of the maternal uncle for the nephew. Other instances of this close relation have been noticed in more recent times. Now, among the existing savages, kinship is very often traced exclusively through women, and, where this principle prevails, a man's nearest male relative in the preceding generation is his mother's brother. If then Mr. J. F. McLennan had simply contended, as he substantially did in his 'Primitive Marriage,' that signs of this kind in the ancient law of civilized races showed them to have passed through an earlier savage development, no objection of principle could have been taken to the mode of argument. The significance of the indication relied on; the weight of the evidence for the alleged savage peculiarity; the credibility of theories constructed by chaining together a series of such peculiarities; might all have been legitimately disputed; but not the method of proceeding. In the present volume, however, Mr. J. F. McLennan's name is joined to his brother's in what seems to us a perversion of the Comparative Method, with the view of establishing that the civilized races have not so much as passed through a Patriarchal stage.

We have said, that Mr. J. F. McLennan's true method is that of the biologist, but his undertaking labours under far greater disadvantages. When he and his followers argue that ancient civilized law bears marks of an earlier growth answering to their own theory of savage development, they are extremely apt to forget, that the first indispensable preliminary is to establish their theory. But there is nothing to help them like the multiplied dissections and observations of the living and the dead, from which the scientific enquirer infers the structure of the lower forms of life, and connects them with the structure of the higher. Savage usages and savage ways of thought are a very slippery base for conclusions. For, to begin with, savages, from the nature of the case, have no history. The people who tell their first discoverer that they are descended from a wood-pigeon,

pigeon, who millions of years ago alighted on the place where they are found, may have been there hundreds or thousands of years, but they have been there a few score. They may have been acted on by all sorts of foreign influences, or they may preserve the imprint of the state in which they first arrived. Then again the numbers of true savages are extremely small. Two separate theories about them took their start from observation of the Australians by Sir George Grey, and from observation of the North American Indians by Mr. Morgan. But all the Australian savages and all the North American Indians together would hardly form a population for Yorkshire. Others are the mere waifs and strays of human life, washed into corners by unknown causes, and giving, if they were all counted, a most insignificant total. The fewness of savages, and the comparatively large number of communities into which this small number is divided, afflict all theories about them with weakness. A man may go to Australia for one usage, to the Caucasus for another, to Tibet for yet another, and to Southern India for one more. Out of these he may construct a theoretical series of institutions, one growing out of the other. The theory may be so plausible as to settle on the brain of some gentlemen, and persuade them that, wherever there is evidence of one of these customs, the remainder are present, or must have been present of old. Yet there may be no real connection between these practices; some may belong to the yesterday of time; others may be a morbid growth of isolation among a few score of families left to themselves for centuries.

The special theory of Mr. J. F. McLennan concerning the origin and growth of the Family—a theory which, as will be seen presently, has to compete with several others built upon the same description of evidence—may be shortly stated as follows. Mankind were originally grouped together, not in Families, but in miscellaneous Hordes. Each Horde was distinguished from others by its Totem—that is by a sign or mark—generally a plant or animal, which was either carried in the memory or impressed on the person of its members. As time went on, the several Hordes got to conceive themselves as actually descended from the object which served as their designation; and, in respect at any rate of animal totems, their totem became their god, for whom they sometimes showed their respect by abstinence from using his flesh as food. Within the Hordes, or totem groups, the intercourse between the sexes was at first promiscuous, and the number of females was greatly inferior to the number of the males. This inferiority was owing to the practice of infanticide, female infants being largely killed as 'useless

'useless mouths.' The fewness of women led to their being largely stolen or carried off from other Hordes, and this usage left traces of itself on later times in the pretence of violence in conveying the bride home at weddings, and in the rules of 'exogamy,' which compel certain races to abstain from marrying not merely their own kinswomen, but women within the same tribal group as themselves. In these stages of society, kinship was necessarily traced through female descents, since paternity was uncertain, and the surest proof of community of blood was birth from the same mother. We understand the theory to assume that Totems, Infanticide as regards female children, Marriage by Capture, Exogamy, and Kinship through women only, were always associated together; and writers, who follow Mr. J. F. McLennan, certainly express themselves as if they considered one term of the series, wherever it can be discovered, to imply the existence of the others. It is thus asserted that human society went through a number of modifications ending in the rise of Families, which Mr. McLennan in his earlier work allowed, but in the present volume denies, to have been Patriarchal Families. The principal agent in effecting the change was the custom of Polyandry, one woman having a plurality of husbands. At first these plural husbands had no connection of blood, but afterwards they were brothers; and this kind of marriage left its mark in the Levirate of the ancient Hindu Law and of the Old and New Testaments. Last of all, the usage arose of one woman having one husband and no more.

The theory is disagreeable to some tastes, but in scientific enquiry nothing ought to be *per se* repulsive. It is undoubtedly ingenious, but the real question is, is it true? We are not now undertaking to destroy it; but we cannot too often insist that, before attacking older theories of the origin of society, towards which at the very least several independent lines of enquiry converge, the Messrs. McLennan ought to establish their theory by evidence, at any rate cogent enough to raise the strongest presumption in its favour. Now, has this been done? We cannot for a moment admit that it has. We do not indeed deny that each of the practices woven together into a chain of successive links has been followed by some number of men of low civilization in the present or the past, but the evidence for the importance of these practices, for their wide prevalence, for their significance, and above all for their having any connection with one another, is extraordinarily various, and has all degrees of cogency, from extremely slight to reasonably strong. It is the more indispensable to recollect this, because the

the chain of asserted phenomena, each growing out of that preceding it, must be tested, like other chains, by its weakest link. Now the fact is, that only one of these phenomena has a reasonably large amount of evidence to support it. This is kinship reckoned through female descents. The portion of mankind following this usage is very small, if it be judged by any standard of numbers applied to civilized populations; but groups of men having it are widely scattered up and down the world, and here and there it gives birth to organized little societies, as in the case of the so-called 'matriarchal' communities of some North-American Indians. The fact, however, that a good many savages, and some slightly civilized men, count relationship exclusively through women is of little value, standing by itself, to the theory before us; its connection with the other practices of which the theory sets forth the supposed sequence, and the very existence of these practices, ought to be established by something like the same amount of rational proof. The truth, however, is that the evidence for the existence of some of them is very slender, and the origin and office assigned to all of them by Mr. McLennan is purely conjectural. Let us take the asserted stage of society mysteriously called Totemism. We gather from the Preface to the 'Patriarchal Theory,' that Mr. J. F. McLennan frankly admitted he could make nothing of Totems, and we think he might well have begun with this position. A totem is the mark or sign of a name, employed by people who have not attained to the art of writing.* The name given by savages to the various groups, of which their communities are formed, is very generally that of a wild animal, and more rarely that of a wild plant, and it is a plausible conjecture (though only a conjecture) that their habit of worshipping an animal, and considering themselves to be descended from it, grew out of their use of totems. But those who make a mystery of savage men, calling the groups to which they belong by the name of beasts and plants, should recollect how very natural and striking the image is, when adopted by men to whom beasts and plants are all-important. There are few livelier comparisons than between a tribe of men sometimes found massed together, sometimes in small divisions, sometimes mixed with other

* The illiterate warriors of the Middle Ages revived Totems in the form of armorial bearings. When the system was fully developed, a man's genealogy might be read from his coat-of-arms. The study of heraldry, on which young ladies wasted much time in French convents before the Revoluion, was defended on the ground, that it taught them to see at a glance whom they might marry and whom they might not.

tribes,

tribes, than a family of animals or plants in a state of nature, which is generally distributed in the same way. Passing next to Exogamy, there is much doubt as to its origin, but the phenomenon is familiar enough. All mankind still practise exogamy. There is round each of us a certain circle of relationship within which we may not marry. It is not of the same area among all the civilized races, but among savages it is remarkably large. Why some savage should refuse to marry any woman of the most distant discoverable kin to himself—or, what is the same thing, marked with the same totem—is a curious problem, for which several solutions have been proposed; but, of all of them, we think that the very worst and most improbable is that of Mr. J. F. McLennan, who imagines that Exogamy had its beginning in a very ancient wholesale practice of stealing women from foreign tribes, and that the motive for this sort of robbery was supplied by a scarcity of women within each tribe produced by the wholesale slaughter of female infants. This is a signal example of Mr. McLennan's way of arguing, that, because traces may be found of certain practices, and because they might conceivably have produced certain results, therefore they did produce them. That, before the dawn of civilization, women constantly became the spoil of victory, is probable, and there is some evidence of it; but that woman-stealing was caused by infanticide is the merest conjecture. Infanticide confined to female children is very rare; it once existed in India, where the British Government has done its best to put it down, but it occurred not among semi-savages, but among the races proudest of their blood, who feared degradation through the *mésalliance* of their daughters, and ruin through the great cost of marrying them. The later stages of Mr. McLennan's imaginary sequence of customs are even more open to criticism. The chief instrument in converting unregulated promiscuity into regulated marriage was, it seems, Polyandry. Doubtless Polyandry existed of old; doubtless it may still be found on the boundary of Tibet, and among the hill-tribes of Southern India; and indeed, if we probed deeply the depravity of great European cities, we might possibly discover it in both of its forms, though it is there simply a vicious and repulsive practice. But that it played the great part assigned to it by Mr. McLennan in the transformation of society—that it was ever more than an occasional usage—is a conjecture supported by the least possible evidence or even plausibility.

We have offered just enough criticism of Mr. J. F. McLennan's theory to show, that his disciples have no shadow of right to use it as a vantage-ground from which stones may be thrown at older

older and simpler explanations of the beginning of human association; but that they would be far better occupied in supplying essential parts of it with the basis of positive testimony, of which these stand sorely in need. The unwary reader would never gather from the language of its devotees in the Press, that the best-supported of the facts, upon which the theory is built, have been used by other enquirers to construct another theory quite irreconcilable with it. There are, in truth, two schools of 'agriologists' who make up a primitive history of society from the practices of savages. One of them, Mr. J. F. McLennan's, starts from Sir George Grey's observations of savage life in Australia. The other begins with the investigations of a most ingenious and original American gentleman, Mr. Lewis E. Morgan, of New York, who studied the North American Indians in the quick, having actually got himself adopted into a tribe of the Iroquois for the purpose of making himself better acquainted with their usages. There was no love lost between Mr. McLennan and Mr. Morgan during their lifetime; and, even now, the reader of a criticism, or dissertation by a disciple of the first will be fortunate, if he meets with so much as a single allusion to his American rival. This treatment by slight or silence is returned by the American school, whose adherents are attached to the Bureau of Ethnology at Washington, where Mr. J. F. McLennan sinks into much the same position to which his disciples banish Mr. Morgan here. In point of fact, the two theories cannot be reconciled. The Americans make much of female kinship, and recognize the existence of totems without attaching great importance to them; but Infanticide and Polyandry disappear, and Exogamy, losing a supposed connection with Marriage by Capture, becomes the fruit of a very early attempt to escape from the evils of marriage between near Kin. Both schools argue, that human society has advanced from a state of unregulated to a state of regulated intercourse between the sexes; but, while the followers of Mr. McLennan insist that the change was effected by the series of causes specified in his theory, the school of Mr. Morgan contend that it was accomplished by what they call 'group-marriage,' an institution derived from the undoubtedly curious fact, that savage men classify their relatives, not as individuals but in groups, all kinsmen of the same generation being called by the same appellation. Each school scouts the theory of the other; each sees evidence of his own theory everywhere. The zealot of McLennan cannot look at a body of ancient usage without reading into it, not only kinship through women, but beast-totems, infanticide, and polyandry; and the American missionaries, who are re-examining the

the customs of the Australian Natives, find in them the strongest confirmation of Mr. Morgan's conclusions.

Lastly, it is to be noted that Sir Henry Maine, whose refusal to abandon the old Patriarchal Theory is resented by both sides, has supplied in his volume on 'Early Law and Custom' an explanation of the best established of the phenomena relied upon by both, which has at least the merit of simplicity. He agrees with Mr. J. F. McLennan, that the practices, to which so much importance is attached, are most plausibly accounted for by assuming, that the tribal communities following them suffered at some time or other in the distant past, from an inferiority in number of women to men.

'We must remember,' he says, 'that the monogamy now practised by the greatest part of mankind (and even by the so-called polygamous races) is closely connected with a primary natural fact, the near equality of the sexes in numbers. The idle conjectures which were and are common as to the preponderance of male and female births have been set aside by observation, which shows that these births are as nearly as possible equal in number. At the same time, in settled modern communities, the number of grown women is, on the whole, in excess of the number of grown men, because of the more rapid exhaustion of the males through war or dangerous adventure. Let us, however, for a moment and for the sake of argument, assume that balance to be very seriously disturbed. Let us suppose a community in which, for long periods together, there is a large excess of females over males. There is no question that monogamy might be substantially maintained in such a community, by the precepts of some widely diffused religion, or by a morality derived from some former age or from some external source; but, on the whole, we should expect that such a community would in some of its parts be polygamous. Again, let us make the counter-hypothesis, and suppose a population in which there is an excess of males over females. Here again the Family, as we understand it, the Family founded on monogamy, might be long preserved by the powerful sanctions of religion, morality or law; but nobody would be surprised that the practices witnessed to as prevailing among savages, had here established themselves now or at some former time, that morality and law had adjusted themselves to social habits, and that explanations of them or justifications of them were even to be found in religion. Institutions savouring of such a social condition might be still in existence, though they had lost all reality, and though the natural balance of the sexes had been restored, since the mere survival of an institution proves nothing as to the length of time which may have elapsed since it was produced by circumstances.' *

* Maine's 'Early Law and Custom,' 'Theories of Primitive Society,' pp. 210, 211.

But

But on what grounds, he asks, are we to assume that this inequality in number of women to men occurred universally among mankind? Why are we, in the teeth of Mr. Darwin's conclusions respecting the habits of primitive men, to believe that it exclusively characterized the very beginnings of society? The disproportion of the sexes might appear at any time and in a single or a limited number of communities, if there was adequate cause for it; and, as regards the cause, why are we to postulate one so monstrous as universal infanticide in respect of female infants, remedied by universal war for the purpose of carrying off grown women? There are other causes which might be far more reasonably adduced. The twilight of history just discloses a period of universal or general wandering. A great part of the race is still in movement.

'Portions have been torn away from larger aggregates and are wandering far and wide, either pressed by enemies or searching for more abundant food. No community, when first seen by the historian, can be certainly said to occupy its original seat. It is in a high degree likely that these wandering bodies included more men than women. There is evidence that some of the islands of the Pacific were populated by boatloads of men and a few women; and it would be no very violent conjecture, that the aborigines of Australia and America originally reached their present homes with the sexes in this proportion.'

If, however, as Darwin thought, mankind and human society started, so to speak, patriarchally; if the disturbance of the relations of the sexes was only partial, occasional, or temporary; it becomes easier to understand, how even a moderate degree of civilization brought back patriarchal society. The natural instincts of men would always be striving to revive it. 'The Patriarchal Theory' supposes that the motive, which led to the assertion of Patriarchal Power, was sexual jealousy. The counter-theories assume the abeyance, during long ages, of sexual jealousy.

'Now, it is of course possible to believe upon sufficient evidence, that the passion which caused the wrath of Achilles and the agony of Othello was unknown to men originally, or was neutralized by the countervailing pressure of circumstances; but if it be believed that this passion, which is one of the mightiest of the forces acting on man in the height of his moral strength and the plenitude of his intellectual vigour, was also one of the most uncontrollable of his instincts when he had most of the animal in him, the whole of the recently observed phenomena show themselves in a light materially different from that in which the observers have seen them.'

It

It is not at all impossible that the line of enquiry begun on this side of the Atlantic by Mr. J. F. McLennan may ultimately lead to very instructive results. That mankind in the early ages followed some of the practices of the now existing savages is in itself probable; the probability, as we have seen, was recognized by the earliest Greek observers, who had greater opportunities of this observation than we have. But the evidence at present collected is to the last degree slight and slippery, and caution is required at every step. That such an investigation should fall under the dominion of premature theories is most deplorable. Now that Mr. McLennan's theory is premature, may be inferred from one of its defects alone. The subject which, above all others, is at this moment attracting the interest of the not very large class of persons, who labour in the same field as Mr. McLennan, is Ancestor-worship, the worship by male children of their male parent, and of other deceased male ancestors. This remarkable religion, of unknown antiquity, is professed and has its ceremonial among all the Hindus of India, and all the Chinese who are not Mahommedans. It existed in Athens and Rome, and profoundly affected the law of the Athenian and Roman communities. It flourishes among the Kaffres of South Africa, and may be traced among the North American Indians. No limits can be confidently assigned to its former extension through the world. On the face of it, it is a religion connected with the Family. It takes for granted certainty of male parentage, and points back to great strength of Paternal Power. Yet the theory of Mr. J. F. McLennan, which is a theory of the origin of the Family, was constructed without reference to it. Similarly, it is a drawback on the argument for the Patriarchal Theory as set forth in Maine's 'Ancient Law,' that it makes but slight reference to Ancestor worship. The argument might have been much strengthened, if Sir Henry Maine, in writing his earlier work, had been aware of the facts since put together in his 'Early Laws and Custom.' But, again, Mr. McLennan's theory is, as we have shown, not merely premature, but characterized, in some of its parts, by signal insufficiency of evidence. It shadows forth a mode in which primitive society may conceivably have been developed, but no good proof is offered that it was so developed. The writer seems to mistake the workings of his own mind for facts. Promiscuity, Kinship through women, Totems, Infanticide, Exogamy and Polyandry, might perhaps have been found somewhere in the world in very early ages; what is wanted is reason for thinking that they necessarily acted on one another. One may observe that a dirty shirt and inability to read or write are constantly found together; they belong to the

the same social level; yet a good deal of proof would be required to show, that they influence one another as cause and effect, or that they are connected by an inseparable concomitancy. Morgan's theory, which is irreconcilable with McLennan's, is open to quite as strong objections of the same kind; and yet these two premature and precipitate hypotheses are seriously vitiating this whole class of enquiries. The persons engaged in them are not numerous; yet we can hardly name one of them who does not seem, to us at least, as anxious to prove the theoretical position which he has accepted, as to add to the stock of ascertained truth. An excessive belief in his brother's infallibility may well be pardoned in the younger Mr. McLennan; yet he would have served Mr. J. F. McLennan's memory better if he had devoted himself to restating the argument of 'Primitive Marriage' with additional testimony, if it can be found, instead of joining him in a pugnacious attack which, if it was to succeed, demanded a knowledge of ancient recorded law with which, we may say without disrespect, he is but ill provided. What in short is wanted, is a thorough re-examination of Mr. J. F. McLennan's theory, coupled with a fair consideration of the rival theory of Mr. L. Morgan and a thoroughly impartial study of the new facts constantly observed, with the view of ascertaining whether they supported one theory or the other, or neither. The misfortune is that preconceived notions almost destroy impartiality in the comparatively few persons engaged in these investigations; and we should almost despair of their being taken up in the proper spirit, if Dr. E. B. Tylor, a singularly fair, cautious and sagacious observer, had not allowed it to be known, by his Address to the British Association, that his attention had been strongly attracted by the so-called Matriarchal Communities of Indians on the borders of the United States and Mexico. Meantime, to the eager disputants who have already made up their minds, we can only recommend a little more modesty and a little less zeal.

ART. VIII.—1. *History of Burma, &c.* By Lieut.-General Sir Arthur P. Phayre, G.C.M.G., K.C.S.I., C.B. 1883.

2. *Narrative of the Mission sent to the Court of Ava in* 1855, *&c.* By Captain H. Yule, R.E., late Secretary to the Envoy (Major Phayre). With numerous illustrations. 1858.

3. *Journal of the Society of Arts, May* 27*th*, 1881. Paper on British Burma, by Sir Arthur Phayre.

4. *The British Burma Gazetteer.* Compiled by Authority. 2 vols., imp. 8vo. Rangoon, 1880.

5. *Historical Review of Political Relations between the British Government in India and the Empire of Ava, from the earliest date.* By G. T. Bayfield, &c., Ava, December 1834. (Supplement to Pemberton's 'Report on the Eastern Frontier of British India,' Calcutta, 1835.)

6. *British Burma and its People.* By Captain C. J. F. G. Forbes. 1878.

7. *The Burman, His Life and Notions.* By Shway Yoe (Mr. J. G. Scott). 2 vols. 1882.

8. *Rapport fait au nom de la Commission chargée d'examiner le Projet de Loi portant approbation de la Convention complémentaire de Commerce, signée à Paris le* 15 *Janvier* 1885, *entre la France et la Birmanie.* Par M. de Lanessan, Député. Paris, 1885.

9. *Un Français en Birmanie.* Par le Comte A. Mahé de La Bourdonnais, &c. 1883.

ONE honoured name enters into the titles of the three first works in the list at the head of this article. Its owner passed away in sleep (15th December), when the article was already half written. On the occasion when the paper forming the third item in our list was read, Sir Henry Norman said: 'To speak of Burma was to speak of Sir Arthur Phayre, for the two seemed inseparably connected.' For more than thirty years Sir Arthur Phayre was employed in the administration of Burmese territories; for ten years after the conquest of Pegu he was the special ruler of that province; and for five more he governed the United Provinces of British Burma—extending over a coast-line of 900 miles—as Chief Commissioner. Thrice he went as Envoy from the Governor-General to the Court of the King of Ava; and in his days of retirement, after governing Mauritius with credit and acceptance for four years, he wrote the history of Burma. He was one of the few survivors of the best old school of Indian 'Soldier Politicals.' That school has produced men better known to their countrymen, but few worthier

worthier than Arthur Phayre, and most certainly no better administrator among them all, none wiser, more beneficent, or more successful.

A History of Burma is not an attractive subject to the general reader under ordinary circumstances. But, as regards Sir Arthur Phayre's book, we can take this opportunity of testifying to its careful composition, lucidity, and excellence.

If we cast a glance at the map of Asia, we see what a barrier the Himalaya presents to the drainage of the great plateau of which it forms the marginal rampart. The Indus and the Sanpu, having their sources on that plateau and within a very short distance of each other, flow respectively westward and eastward behind this barrier till they reach an extreme interval apart of 20° of longitude, before they break southward and escape into the Indian plain. But eastward of the exit of the Sanpu the mountain barrier is forced within 3° by at least four great rivers. A fifth, the Irawaddy, comes certainly from the vicinity of Tibet; but whether it derives any supply from that region is, after many years of debate and attempted exploration, still the subject only of 'circumstantial evidence.' Other rivers of a high class, though rising far south of the high plateau, traverse the same region towards the Equator. Indeed hardly anywhere in the world can so many great rivers be found flowing in parallel courses to the sea, within a span so narrow. And we shall see how these rivers and the intervening ranges have affected the occupation of the country.

This is the country which the ancients included under the large denomination 'of India beyond the Ganges.' The name of Indo-China, by which we know it, is quite modern, and was, we believe, an invention of that versatile and fiery spirit, John Leyden.* Perhaps he meant no more than to give a compact geographical designation to a region intermediate between India and China. But it often happens when the wisdom of many, or the wit of one, bestows a name, that it embraces deeper truth than is consciously discerned. And this name aptly expresses the fact, that on this area the influences of China and of India have interpenetrated. That of China shows, in the close affinity of words and root-forms which subsists between the languages of China and groups of those of Ultra-India; in the infiltration of Chinese influence, through apparently close contact at some remote period; and also in frequently recurring direct political action. That of India has for some

* See 'Asiatic Researches,' English ed. in 4to, vol. x. p. 158.

1800 years deeply affected religion, tradition, manners, architecture, and the other arts.

Assuming a descent in remote ages of the nations occupying the Indo-Chinese region from beyond the great plateau, perhaps most of them through China, we must assign to the Malays (if they are to be included) the earliest date. They seem to have left upon the continent as their nearest kin the Tsiams, or people of Champa, in the extreme south-east, if these were not rather a reflux of colonization from the islands. To an early wave of migration southward perhaps belong also the *Môns* (Talaings, as the Burmese have taught us to style them), that is, the people of Pegu, whom some have supposed, owing to linguistic indications, to have found their way south through India itself; then the *Khmer*, or Cambojans, occupying the lower valley and delta of the Mekong; and the *Anam*, or people of Cochin China. Then come the *Mramma*, or Burman race, apparently descending the Irawaddy, pressing before them the Môns into the delta, the *Khyens* and like tribes into the adjoining mountains. One great branch of the Burman race, by themselves reckoned the elder, passed over the mountains to the shores of the Bay of Bengal, shores which, according to their traditions, they found occupied by *Bilûs* or *Rakkas;* that is, by cannibal monsters, from whom in after days the country got its name of Rakain or Aracan. Later still, perhaps, succeeded the great family of the Lao, Thai, or Shans, who have still congeners in Southern China, and who occupied the plateau of Yunnan, the middle basin of the Mekong, and the upper part of the Menam. In later days this race has flowed back upon the Upper Irawaddy, even to the Brahmaputra, and has spread south to the coasts of the Malay Peninsula and of Siam; the kingdom bearing the latter name having been established by a branch of the race.

As usual, the course of occupation has mainly followed the line of the great rivers, those highways of the early world; and their valleys and deltas have become the seat of the more civilized monarchies. Thus the Burmese still occupy the Irawaddy basin, and the coast-plains of Aracan. Sixty years ago, the whole race were united under one native monarchy. The latest of an intermittent series of events, since then, has united them once more under a single sovereign, but this time in the person of Queen Victoria. The Anamites who occupy the eastern shores are claimed also, though with more doubtful realization, to be under the one dominion, whether as sovereignty or protectorate, of the French Republic. Between these

these two are the great Shan race, whose settlements, spread with intervals from the banks of the Brahmaputra to the coasts of the Malay Peninsula, and down the Mekong, nearly to the delta, are divided under an infinity of petty princes, and claimed as tributaries by a variety of sovereign governments; everywhere displaying a fair amount of civilization, though in decay, everywhere possessed of letters, everywhere, except in Assam (which they first entered in the thirteenth century), followers of Buddha, and everywhere speaking substantially the same language. Siam is now the only independent State of the race. The Talaings, the Khmer, the Tsiam, have been famous in their day; but they are now shrunken and decayed, and are being gradually absorbed by races of greater vitality.

The chief nationalities that we have named have played in the history of Indo-China the part which England, France, Germany, and Spain, have played on the Continent of Europe. Most of them have stood forth under considerable monarchies for more than a thousand years, some of them much more. All their countries have in turn (some, such as Burma, again and again) been the seat of conquering empires, extending their grasp, in some instances, almost from sea to sea; and all in turn have been the subjects of vast disaster. But besides these more prominent races, there are many of inferior importance, whom we generally characterize as 'wild tribes.' Some of them are inferior to the 'civilized races' on whom they border, only in the absence of a written language; whilst others are head-hunters in a low depth of savagery. Some are as elaborate in the culture of their rice-terraces as the Chinese; others migrate in the forest from site to site, burning down at each remove new areas of jungle, on which to carry out their rude hand-husbandry.

Among these 'uncivilized' tribes, none are more worthy of note and interest than those known conjointly as Karens, occupying sparse settlements in Pegu (though also far beyond its limits eastward), of whom so many have in our own time become Christians under American teaching. They were notable, even before this closer claim on our interest arose, for their remarkable traditions, both religious and historical. The latter related how, on their migration from the north, they found the Shans in possession of the territory to which they themselves were bound—perhaps the Upper Menam basin. And the Karens cursed them, saying, 'Dwell ye in the dividing of countries;' the applicability of which is interpreted by what has already been said of the Shans.

We spoke above of the early traces of Hindoo influence. How

How and when this began we have no real knowledge. But that it was flowing out in pulses eastward from an early date, and apparently long before our era, there can be no question.

Buddhism undoubtedly, with its zealous propaganda, was a most powerful agent in the spread of Indian influence among the Indo-Chinese nations; but possibly that influence had been felt at a much earlier date. If we go back to the oldest record we possess of geographical detail in this region—the course, as tabulated in Ptolemy, of a coasting-voyage from Argyrê to the Sinæ, that is, from Aracan to the beginning of China—we shall find the continent and islands studded with names of which nearly a score are of manifest or probable Indian origin. Still, it is possible, that these names were given subsequently to the first movement of Buddhism in this direction; for it is recorded, that after the third Buddhist synod, held at the city of Pataliputra (or Palibothra), now Patna, as early as B.C. 241, Sena and Uttara were despatched on a mission to propagate the doctrine in the *Suvarna Bhumi*, or Golden Land, that is, Thahtun, near Martaban. Probably a later and larger wave of influence, and even of migration, took place in the first centuries of the Christian era; for it is remarkable that most of the nations of the further East, that have been tinged by Indian civilization, recognize the Indian era of Salivahana, which begins with the year 78 of our reckoning.

Later still, about the fifth century, we recognize in the coincident traditions of the nations a new efflux of action in the same direction; but this time it comes, not from Continental India, but from Ceylon, an island which, though thoroughly Indianized in religion and manners, has yet some remarkable affinities with the further East. This last impulse has never entirely worn out; and as the Western world in general has looked to Rome, and the Russian world to Constantinople, rather than to Jerusalem, as the immediate seats of ecclesiastical sanctity, so these Indo-Chinese nations look still, in a degree, to Ceylon as the metropolis of their faith.

We have spoken of the Indian influence that can be traced largely, not only in religion, but in manners, architecture, and nomenclature; and indeed the foreign religion necessarily affects all of these. Throughout the hundred principalities and kingdoms of Indo-China we find, in the etiquettes of royalty, in the forms of royal palaces and of court ceremonial, an extraordinary identity, pointing to ancient Hindoo usage; the titles of the princes and dignitaries almost universally embrace sonorous terms of Sanskrit, or rather of Pali (bearing to Sanskrit much the same relation that Italian does to Latin), that dialect in which

which the sacred books are read in Ceylon, in Burma, Siam, and Camboja.*

As regards nomenclature, we hear from the Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang (c. 640), of the existence in this region of great kingdoms bearing Hindoo designations, such as Dvaravati, Ramanadvîpa, and Mahâ-Champa. The last, a name hardly quite extinct yet in the South of Cochin China, was borrowed from a famous Indian State upon the Ganges. Camboja was named from a region beyond the Indus; another region in the same quarter, Gandhâra, the Gandarites of Ptolemy, namely, the country round Peshâwar, lent its name to Yunnan, now a province of China, but still bearing in Burmese State papers the classic Indian title; Ayodhya, the ancient city of Râma, from which is corrupted our modern Oudh, gave its name to great cities both in Siam (Yuthia or Yudhya), and in Java (Djokjo of the Dutch); Irawaddy, the great river of Burma, is but another Airavati, that river-name of the Punjab which the historians of Alexander grecized as *Hydraotes;* Amarapura ('City of the Immortals'), which was the capital of Burma twenty-five years ago, is equally Indian; and Mandalay itself, of now familiar sound, properly the name of a conical isolated hill overlooking the city, probably represents *Mandara*, the sacred hill of Hindoo fable, which served the gods as a churning-staff at the churning of the sea.

But it is in the great architectural remains scattered over this region that we find the most striking testimony to Indian influence. The native races are, none of them, addicted to architecture in solid materials. Yet, in nearly all these countries we find remains of an elaborate and grandiose architecture devoted to religious purposes. Such in Java are the ancient temples of hewn stone, including the extraordinary pyramid of sculptured terraces called Boro Bodor. In Burma we find edifices of fine brickwork, especially in the remains of the great mediæval city of Pagân on the Irawaddy, whose ruins cover many square miles, and still exhibit majestic structures, rising, some of them, to a height of nearly 200 feet. Others, also of brick, exist in the dense jungles which cover the remains of Yudhya on the Menam. And within the last quarter-century we have become acquainted with the countless and vast remains of Cambojan architecture; immense temples, with corridors and enclosures of

* In Java, where there are all the like traces of Indian influence, only in more ample measure, we find the very title of *Arya*, i.e. 'Noble or Excellent,' which has been adopted as the distinctive note of our Indo-Germanic races, assumed by every one claiming nobility, among a people in blood and character so diverse from our own.

hewn

hewn stone, and furlongs of sculptured bas-relief. Latest of all, we are exploring mediæval remains in Pegu; which have been at our doors, as it were, since 1853. Each series of remains has its own peculiarities, but often there are close resemblances of general design, and in the ornamental detail there is throughout much approximation to identity of character; and that is Indian.

Now that the Irawaddy is in our power, we trust that there may be no long delay before our Indian Government may have leisure to order a thorough survey and examination of the mediæval city of Pagân.

This city was the seat of the Burmese monarchy in the palmy days of its glory and civilization. The acme of its splendour is referred to the time of King Anoarahtâ, who reigned in the first half of the eleventh century, and who is still the favourite hero of Burmese popular tradition. Relics from cities higher up the Irawaddy prove the existence of Buddhism on its banks at a period far earlier than the reign of Anoarahtâ. But, in any case, the knowledge of the doctrine had greatly decayed, the books were lost, and the prevalent rite was some kind of Naga- (or dragon) -worship; perhaps of the same nature as that which Mr. Fergusson has traced in the great temples of Camboja.* In Anoarahtâ's time, a great teacher arrived at the capital and converted the King. A demand being then made upon the King of Thahtun for a copy of the sacred books (the *Tripitaka*), which was met by refusal, Anoarahtâ, with a misapplication of the teaching he had received not confined to disciples of Buddhism, descended on the low country with a large army, destroyed Thahtun, carried away captive the King and his family, with nobles and artificers, holy reliques, golden images, and the desiderated Books; and Pegu became subject to Burma for more than two centuries.

In the latter part of the thirteenth century, the kingdom of Pagân came in collision with the great Mongol power then ruling in China. The King, Narathiha-padé (*i.e.* Narasiñha-pati), had, with characteristic national folly, put to death envoys sent by Kublay Khan. Kublay sent a vast army, and the King, for material to strengthen the defences of his capital, caused 6000 (!) temples to be pulled down. But under one of them was found an ill-omened inscription; the King lost heart, left his new walls undefended, and fled down the river to the delta, where a fleet was in readiness to transport him to Ceylon. The Chinese took and plundered Pagân, and followed the King to a point 30 miles below Prome, still known as Taroukmau,

* 'Indian and Eastern Architecture,' pp. 676 *seqq.*

or

or 'Turks' Point,' and there gave up the pursuit. The King returned, but was poisoned on the way; and this was the end of the old Burmese dynasty, claiming descent from the sacred Sakya race. Then followed a succession of weak, unstable princes, sometimes of Shan, sometimes of Burman race, one of whom, in 1364, founded the city of Ava, which has so long given an alternative name to the monarchy.

Early in the succeeding century the country was visited by a European traveller, who first gave distinct notices of it, with names that still subsist, namely, Nicolo de' Conti, a Venetian who had spent twenty-five years in wandering over the Eastern world, and in 1444 told his tale to the famous Poggio Bracciolini.

The accuracy of the geography and of other details fully justifies what Poggio says of Conti: 'De itinere ad tam remotas gentes, de Indorum situ ac moribus variis . . . scite gravideque disseruit, ut non fingere sed vera referre appareret.'* The information which he brought home was eagerly caught at by the cosmographers of the period, and much of it is embodied in the famous World-Map of Fra Mauro, now in the Doge's Palace. There we see rubricated not only *Ava*, but *Pochang* (the ancient capital, Pagân), *Perhé* (*i.e.* the Burmese city of Pré-myo, the Talaing Brun, which, after the Portuguese, we call Prome), *Paigu* (Pegu), *Martaban*, and *Chesmi* (Cosmin of old voyagers, the modern Bassein).

Throughout the fifteenth century a dynasty of Burmese origin was rising in an obscure corner, which was destined to play a great part in Indo-China. This was at Toungû, in the N.E. of our modern province of Pegu, where the descendant of one of the later Kings of Pagân had in the decadence and confusion established a little kingdom. The heir of this prince, who succeeded in 1530–31, Mengtara by name, a young man of forcible and warlike character, attacked Pegu, captured the capital, and established there his own residence (1538–39). On this occasion we hear for the first time of Portuguese engaging in the wars of Indo-China, in which they continued to play a prominent part of adventurous daring throughout the remainder of the century. After Pegu, nearly the whole valley of the Irawaddy was conquered, and Siam and Aracan invaded; but the young Emperor then gave himself up to drinking, with a Portuguese gunner for boon companion. The Talaings rose, the King was slain, and there seemed to be an end of this dynasty, as rapid as its rise had been.

But not so. There was a certain prince known as Bureng-

* 'De Varietate Fortunæ,' iv.

Naung ('the Future King'), the King's kinsman and designated heir, who, in a few years, more than retrieved all, reconquering Pegu, capturing Ava itself, overrunning the Southern Shan States and Siam, taking Yudhya, and carrying off captive the King and his family. These conquests were extended under the King's son, known in ancient Hindoo fashion as the *Yuva Râja* * ('rè giovane') or Cæsar, to the states of Laos, and the banks of the Great Mekong; and the King had entered on the conquest of Aracan when he died, in 1581. Thus it would seem that this King of kings, as he was termed, was, roughly speaking, lord of all Indo-China except Camboja and Cochin-China.

This is the great King whose gorgeous court and vast armies made such an impression on Western travellers, and through them printed on the imagination of Europe the idea of Pegu as an empire of fabulous splendour. It was in the time of his predecessor Pará Mandará, as the Portuguese writers call him, that the famous Fernan Mendez Pinto first came to Pegu, and the valley of the Irawaddy. His adventures in these countries form perhaps the most readable part of the extravaganza which he has bequeathed to posterity, crowded as they are with marvellous descriptions, constituting a kind of endless phantasmagoria, or series of dissolving views, of millions of soldiers, tens of thousands of elephants, thousands of rhinoceroses armed for war, temples of the most fantastic architecture, thousands of yards long, and almost thousands of feet high! Evidently these are not literal facts; though in these days we have seen attempts to rehabilitate Pinto's veracity, as well as Henry VIII.'s righteousness. It is impossible to verify a considerable part of his geography. But yet his chapters form a series of dreams and pictures playing round a theme of fact; such pictures as suggest the question, whether in those early days Fernan Mendez had learned to take opium; for they might have been the dreams of De Quincey, had that prose poet ever let his imagination dwell on the architecture of Indo-China.† And yet when we contemplate the weird and vast

* A title which we find, two centuries later, converted by an English skipper into *Uper Roger*. (Dalrymple's 'Or. Report,' i. 192.)

† 'In the early stage of the malady, the splendours of my dreams were indeed chiefly architectural; and I beheld such pomp of cities and palaces as never yet was beheld by the waking eye, unless in the clouds. From a great modern poet I cite the part of a passage which describes, as an appearance actually beheld in the clouds, what in many of its circumstances I saw frequently in sleep.' Then follows the passage from Wordsworth:

> 'The appearance instantaneously dissolved,
> Was of a mighty city,' &c. . . .

—'Confessions of an Opium-eater,' Works, ed. 1862, i. 264.

fantasia

fantasia in hewn stone presented by some of the temples buried in the Cambojan forests, we feel half inclined to doubt if Pinto were merely a dreamer after all!*

The greater conqueror, Bureng Naung, was on the throne when Pegu was visited in 1569 by Cesare Fedrici, a Venetian merchant. For people, dominions, gold and silver, Fedrici hesitates not to say, 'he far excels the power of the great Turk in treasure and strength.' We derive, too, from all the accounts, an impression of great and thriving foreign trade. Martaban, Syrián, the port of Pegu, and Cosmin were frequented by many ships from Malacca, Sumatra, the Red Sea, Bengal, S. Thomé (Madras), and Masulipatam.

The expressions of the traveller seem utterly preposterous, when we see what Burma and Pegu were when we occupied the latter in 1852–3. Not only Fedrici, but his countryman Gasparo Balbi, and ours, Ralph Fitch, who followed in the next reign, all use the like superlatives in speaking of the Peguan monarchy; and yet they are all three men who give a sober and true account of other matters.

It may indeed be remarked, that only at the end of last century the spectacles of Capt. Symes appear to have shown him, in Burma, a magnificent and powerful empire in a high state of civilization, and embracing a population which he estimated at 17,000,000; whilst later experience has shown his view of the magnificence and the civilization to have been even more exaggerated than his estimate of population. The *Aurea Regio*, indeed, has in all modern times better deserved the title of *Regio Aurata*—(we never look on the Memorial at Queen's Gate without thinking of Burma!)—and the profusion of gilding, glitter, and arrogance, has helped to impose on the *volentibus decipi*. But, making all allowance for such illusive impressions, it is impossible to reject the conviction, that the lower provinces on the Irawaddy exhibited in the sixteenth century a much more flourishing and wealthy community than existed at our occupation. The growth, during thirty-two years, of the provinces in prosperity and population *since* that occupation, indicates *from* what they may have fallen, and *to* what they may yet rise.

The splendour of the monarchy was very short-lived. In the time of the successor of the King of kings, came a hot sequence of internal and external wars, during which the country was harassed and devastated, both by the cruelties of the savage King himself, and by invasions from Aracan, Siam, Toungû, and Ava; by all which Pegu was reduced to the depths of misery:—

* *E.g.* look at such a structure as that drawn by M. Delaporte in the 'Album Pittoresque' of Garnier's 'Voyage d'Exploration,' pl. ix. 'Ruines de Baion.'

'The

'The great empire of united Pegu and Burma, which, a generation before, had excited the wonder of European travellers, was broken up; and the wide delta of the Irawadi, with a soil as fertile as Egypt, and commanding the outlet of a great natural highway, was abandoned by those who might claim to represent the ancient rulers, and left to be parcelled out by petty local chiefs, and European adventurers.'—Phayre's 'Hist.' 123.

The most notable of the last class may well claim a page. The King of Aracan, in quitting Pegu, left behind a garrison in the Port of Syrián, and, as Master of the Customs there, one Philip de Brito e de Nicote, who had risen to favour from a menial position.* By craft and audacity he made himself master of Syrián, and entered into intrigue with various neighbouring chiefs. Seeking at Goa the sanction of the Portuguese authorities, he married Luisa de Saldanha, the half-caste niece of Ayres de Saldanha, the Viceroy, and was able to return with a squadron and the title of Captain-General in Pegu. He found that the Talaing chiefs in his absence had agreed to take him as their King. Nicote accepted the kingdom in the name of his master (Philip III. of Spain and Portugal), repaired the fortress, built a church, and marked out a city, which, with prudent management, might have become the capital of a great province under the Crown of Portugal. The King of Toungû made alliance with Nicote, and the latter's son Simon married a daughter of the King of Martaban. But his head was turned by success; and he showed neither sense nor moderation. The native annalists, Burmese and Talaing alike, record with intense bitterness how the sacred shrines round Pegu were dug into and plundered of the treasures which the Great King had deposited in them, whilst the tyrant vainly sought to strengthen his authority by forcing the people to a profession of Christianity.†

* Faria y Sousa says the King had elevated him from the 'vil esclavitud, y exercicio de Carbonero.'—'Asia Portuguesa,' tom. iii. p. 148.

† Faria y Sousa has some remarks on De Brito, very notable surely in a Spanish writer of the seventeenth century. They are entirely omitted in the well-known version of Stevens (1695):—

'Nicote must have thought (and there are Christians who in their ignorance do so think) that to keep faith with Heathen Princes is not so binding as to do so with Catholics; when in fact it should be more binding, when a Heathen has trusted a Catholic, in a genuine and friendly spirit. Nicote must have believed that he cleared himself of all treason when he transferred a fortress from a Heathen to a Catholic; but he deceived himself, however he may have had the judgment of theologians in his favour . . . on the pretext of spreading the doctrine of the Gospel. . . . All the sacred theology is excellent; but all theologians are not! To make Christians in order to make slaves; to force any one to become a Christian when he has never experienced a wish to be so; to seize the goods of others on the pretence of getting means to convert the heathen,—these are not things spoken of in Christ's preaching or in His instructions to His ministers! nor is there any Catholic theology that can justify such action.'—'Asia Portuguesa,' *u. s.*

In

In 1610 the Dutch traveller Pieter Willemzoon Floris, who visited Syrián, says of Nicote: 'He yet also domineereth and careth for nobodie.'* But a power was gathering in the north destined to sweep him away. Nyaung-Ram, a younger son of the great Bureng Naung, with his seat at Ava, had been rapidly gathering under his sceptre the old provinces of Upper Burma, and, dying in 1605, solemnly charged his son not to rest till he had re-established the whole empire of the Great King.

The surrounding princes recognized the rising Sun; and among others, Toungû became tributary. This Philip avenged by sending troops against Toungû, and taking the King prisoner. The King of Ava overflowed in wrath; his forces invested Syrián by sea and land, before the end of 1612. In April 1613 a Talaing chief opened a gate to the enemy; Philip de Brito de Nicote was taken and carried to the King. This sacrilegious destroyer of pagodas, says the Burmese chronicler, was impaled on a high stake before his own house, and so lived for three days in agony.† Much the same is alleged by Faria y Sousa; but the Portuguese annalist Bocarro says that De Nicote was strangled before being impaled.

From this time the union of Ava and Pegu under one sovereign continued, with one brief interruption, till the war with England in 1852.

Throughout the latter part of the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth, the power of Ava was in constant decay; but a decay which was accompanied by no relaxation of oppression. In 1740 the Talaings rebelled, set a King of their own (of Shan descent) upon the throne in Pegu, and repeatedly invaded the upper kingdom, capturing Ava at last (1752), burning it to the ground, and carrying off captive the last King who could claim descent from the ancient dynasty of Pagân.

Now, when the fate of Burma seemed at its lowest, came the most extraordinary of those sudden revolutions which characterize Indo-Chinese history.

Before the capture of Ava, the Peguan Prince in command called on all officials to swear allegiance to the King of Pegu. Only one dared to disobey. This was the personage since known as Alompra. He had been a professed hunter; a disreputable calling in Burmese (Buddhist) eyes; and he now occupied a small post under the lord of the district. He had

* See 'Purchas,' i. 322.

† The King ordered him to be ignominiously set up on a hill overlooking the fortress, 'that he might keep a good watch on it, said the Barbarian.'—'Asia Portuguesa,' iii. p. 238.

burned

burned with patriotic feeling, and with resistance to the conquering Southron:—

'It is related that when his father and mother entreated him to submit, he, with the deep reverence ever shown by Burmese children to their parents, bowed down to them on his knees, and said he could never swear allegiance to a Talaing King, adding: "When fighting for our country it matters little whether our band is large or small; and it is rather important to have a few comrades with true hearts and strong arms, to will and work." These noble words are a key to his conduct in the early part of his career, before success and irresponsible power had roused selfish ambition and hardened his heart.' —Phayre, 150.

His first acts of overt resistance were the surprise and slaughter of one Talaing party come to summon him, and the attack and defeat of a larger body sent to inflict punishment. His countrymen now flocked to join him. He took the title by which we know him, properly *Alaunghprâ*, a vernacular rendering of *Bodhisattva*, or 'Buddha designate.' Ava had fallen in March 1752; in May, Alompra was already in full career of successful resistance; and during the following year his native village, west of the Irawaddy, and sixty miles north of Ava, was laid out as the capital of his kingdom, and decorated with a sonorous Pali name, though more generally known as Muthso-bo Myo, 'The city of the Hunter Captain.' Before the end of 1753, Ava was recovered; in January 1755, Prome, which was in Burmese hands, relieved; and in May a new city which, with the foresight of genius, he destined to be the future port of Burma, was founded on the plain below the low spur from which the flaming cone of the Shwé Dagûn Pagoda shoots above the flats of the delta. This city he named, probably with some intended assonance, Ran-gûn, 'War-End,' thus proclaiming his confidence in the immediate obliteration of his foes; but little thinking that it would become a capital in the hands of the *Kulás*,* whose humble envoys he received somewhat contemptuously a few months later at Muthso-bo. Two years later (May 1757) the great city of Pegu was taken, plundered, and destroyed.

At the time of his operations in the delta there were at Syrián both French and English factories, besides an English one on the island of Negrais. The two nations, as usual, favoured

* *Kulá* is the title given by the Burmese to the people of India primarily, and thence to all western foreigners, including ourselves. Its origin, much debated, seems fairly established, by Prof. Forchhammer of Rangoon, as from *Golâ*, representing *Gura* or *Gaura*, the old name of Northern Bengal, originally applied to the Indian immigrants.

opposite

opposite sides, the French siding with the Talaings and the English with the Burmans; but at the same time both, seeking only their own interest, and wavering in their perception as to which side preponderated, fluctuated also in their action. Disaster came on both. M. Bourno, the chief of the French factory, and other officers, who had fallen into Alompra's hands, were put to death (1756); and three years later, in consequence of a report that the English at Negrais had sold arms to the Talaings, the King ordered their settlement there to be destroyed. By a sudden attack, ten Europeans and a hundred natives of India were massacred.

The last act of the conqueror's life was an invasion of Siam. He had not been five days before Yudhya when he was stricken by mortal disease, and retreat was ordered. Halfway to the frontier he died. His body was conveyed to his new capital, and burnt with the funeral rites of a *Chakravartin*, or Universal Monarch.*

The most notable incidents in Burmese history, till the end of the eighteenth century, were a war with China, and the conquest of Aracan.

From 1765 to 1769 the Chinese made repeated invasions of the Ava territory, but these ended in complete failure, and, in fact, in a series of defeats. In December 1769 high officers from both sides met and negociated a peace at Kaung-taung on the Upper Irawaddy, and a document recorded the soldering of friendship, which was to be maintained by the decennial reciprocation of letters, embassies, and presents. This intercourse has taken place, not quite decennially, but pretty often since then; though probably the character of the interchange of presents was not represented precisely in the same light to the Son of Heaven and to the King of Ava. Many years afterwards, when there was a British Resident at Ava, and when an able officer of his staff had for the first time explored the Upper Irawaddy to the Assam frontier (Captain Hannay, in 1835–36), this was made the subject of remonstrance in a letter, received with the usual mission, from the Emperor Tau-Kwang. The letter concluded thus:—

'With respect to Younger Brother's empire, it is not proper to allow the English, after they have made war, and peace has been settled, to remain in the city. *They are accustomed to act like the Peepul tree* (*i.e.* to spread and take such hold that they cannot be eradicated).

* 'a Prince of earthly dominance,
A Chakravartin, such as rise to rule
Once in each thousand years.'
E. Arnold, *The Light of Asia*, bk. i.

eradicated). Let not younger brother therefore allow the English to remain in his country, and if anything happens, elder brother will attack, take and give.'

The conquest of Aracan by the Burmese took place in 1784. It was a fatal acquisition for them; for it brought their empire into direct contact with that of British India, and ten years had not passed before collision and Burmese aggression occurred on the Chittagong frontier.

With the view of preventing aggressions, and of regulating trade matters at Rangoon, and not without reference to the fact, that France was known to be directing her attention to Burma as a good field for hostile diplomacy or action, the Governor-General (Sir John Shore) in 1795 sent Captain Michael Symes of the 76th Regiment, as Envoy to the Burmese Court. It cannot be said that the mission helped to enhance the estimation of British power among the Burmese. Captain Symes (whose memory was preserved among the Ministers at the time of Major Phayre's mission in 1855 as *Miké-Thén*) was treated as the envoy of an inferior Power, and was himself undoubtedly imposed on by Burmese pretensions. The whole colouring of his narrative leaves a very exaggerated impression of the Burmese Empire.* The Governor-General's letter was not even answered, though a document of a certain kind was given to Symes. In accordance with the permission conceded in this document, Captain Hiram Cox was sent as Resident to Rangoon, and was summoned to the Court. It is painful to read of the slights, indignities, and impositions which this officer bore with singular patience. His Government rewarded him by recal (though indeed a recal under any circumstances must have been welcome), and they almost made an apology to the Court of Ava that it should have found occasion to treat a British envoy with such insolence! In 1802 Lord Wellesley sent Symes a second time. He was to seek a treaty of alliance, the cessation of extortion at Rangoon, the establishment of a Resident at the Court and of a Consul at Rangoon, and to claim Negrais, or corresponding commercial advantages. It was a mistake to send *Symes* with such demands. His mission, indeed, had a large sepoy escort, and was equipped in Wellesleyan style. But it failed totally. The Envoy for three months was treated with mortifying neglect and deliberate insult. It is not surprising that the poor man published no narrative of his second mission.

* Dr. Bayfield says: 'It may not be irrelevant to observe that Captain Symes's description of the Court of Ava, and of men and manners, differs as much from what they were a year afterwards, as related by Captain Cox, and from what they now are (1834), as a polished European differs from an Andamanese.'—p. xii.

We

We pass over other missions producing no better result. In 1811 were renewed the disturbed conditions on the Aracan frontier, which, after fermenting for thirteen years, culminated in war. During this time the Burmese Court made repeated attempts to enter into concert with our enemies in India; and it even schemed to join the confederacy which the Peshwa was forming against us. The crushing of the Mahratta power and of the Pindaree hordes extinguished such hopes. But provocation was given in other directions by entering on Assam, and by invading Manipûr, a State under an old promise of British protection.

Here we may take a glance at the geographical extent of the Burmese Empire, at the time when we first came into actual collision with it. Since then its extent has narrowed, by successive steps.

The Kings of Ava were said to regard as territory properly belonging to the Empire whatever had been subject to one of five of the most renowned of their predecessors. These were (1) Anoarahtâ of Pagân, the restorer of Buddhism (c. A.D. 1050); (2) Mengyi Tsaukai, the second King of Ava (c. 1367–1400); (3) Bureng Naung, the great King of Pegu (1551–1581); (4) Nyoungyan (or Nyoung-ram), restorer of Ava (1601); and (5) Alompra. But, as with the Nepalese and some other Indian powers, Burma had swollen to its greatest expansion just before it came in contact with the bayonets of a European Power, with the consequent collapse; and it had then probably as great a development as under any of the ancestral monarchs. It occupied a part of the valley of Assam, and had intruded on the British district of Cachar; it embraced the whole basin of the Irawaddy to the sea, and the coast from the borders of Chittagong to Mergui in the Malay Peninsula, a seaboard of upwards of 900 miles. Inland it held as tributaries the Shan States, eastward to the great river Mekong, and with claims, at least, beyond. Thus, in whole extent, from north to south it stretched for little less than 1100 miles, and from east to west more than half of that. Not that the wealth and population of the country were at all in proportion to this vast area; nor probably were these nearly so great as they had been, during the existence of the empire of Pegu in the sixteenth century.

Upper Assam was not at that time an English province, but it lay so distinctly within the limits of India, that the invasion of the Burmese there must have led before long to war, even without the actual and defiant aggressions on our frontier at Chittagong, and in the invasion of Cachar. War was formally

declared March 5th, 1824. Besides brigades occupied in expelling the Burmese from Assam, Cachar, and Aracan, the main expedition, numbering 11,500 men under Sir Archibald Campbell, occupied Rangoon (May 11th) with little opposition. We need not follow the history in detail. Ignorance of the country, and want of appropriate equipment, led to much delay and suffering; the Burmese system of stockading caused some severe fighting and considerable loss, and progress up-country was slow, till a great defeat was given to the Burmese in the capture of a very strong fort established at Danabyu on the main delta-stream of the Irawaddy, where their best leader, Mahâ Bandula, fell (April 2nd, 1825). The last serious fighting took place at Pagân, 'amidst the ruins of temples and pagodas, which in their time of splendour had beheld the tumultuous march of Kublai Khan.'* At Yandabo, four marches from Ava, the British general was met by a deputation of two chief ministers, attended by Dr. Judson,† who had been prisoner during the war, and a treaty was made. A million sterling was to be paid; Assam, Aracan, and Tenasserim were given up, and all interference with Cachar and Manipûr renounced (Feb. 24th, 1826).

But the arrogant spirit of the Burmese Court was unbroken. When Mr. John Crawfurd (the same whose benevolent aspect was so familiar till forty years later, at the meetings of the Geographical Society and elsewhere, ever bright with intelligence, and ready with genial contradiction) went as the Governor-General's envoy in 1827, he hardly met with more consideration than Symes had done thirty years before. Though he experienced none of the positive personal insolence to which his predecessor had been subjected, many official impertinences, covert or open, were offered to the mission, and no reply was vouchsafed to the Governor-General's letter which he carried. Mr. Crawfurd appears to have been rendered weary, hopeless, and disgusted by the arrogance and impracticability of the Burmese ministers, and at last was fain to accept such a treaty as they deigned to concede. It was of no great value, and was scarcely made ere they attempted to infringe it.

* Phayre, 256–7.

† Dr. Judson afterwards accompanied Mr. Crawfurd to Ava as translator. His name is still familiar among those who have at heart the spread of Christianity; he has been called 'the Apostle of the Burman races.' At a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society thirty years afterwards, Mr. Crawfurd, noticing this expression, said: 'That appellation touches matters rather out of my way; but *this* I will say of Dr. Judson. I knew him well. He was a learned man; he was a wise man; and he was a very virtuous man.'

The writer was present and has a vivid recollection of these words, of which this is the only record.

A little

A little later followed the stay at the Court of Lieut.-Col. Henry Burney, a grandson of Johnson's friend, the Mus. Doc., and nephew of Madame d'Arblay, himself an estimable and accomplished officer, who had acquitted himself with credit on a mission to Siam. During his seven years' residence he collected much valuable information, promoted exploration, and acquired some salutary influence. A revolution in 1837 displaced the King in favour of a brother, known as the Tharawadi Prince, who had some winning qualities, but was at times a ferocious maniac, and was in 1845 himself deposed. The Prince of Pagân, who succeeded, had all the worst parts of his father's character, without the excuse of insanity. It was his fortune to provoke the second English war. This originated after the old fashion, in gross extortions and violence practised on English shipmasters at Rangoon, and in arrogant contempt of remonstrance. Lord Dalhousie once and again made effort to avoid collision, but rightly demanded an expression of regret and an indemnity—failing these, war. His communications, of a more peremptory kind than Burma had been used to, were met by preparation for war, which hitherto the Court had not seriously contemplated. The expedition, under General Godwin, arrived in Pegu; Martaban was first taken (April 5th, 1852); Rangoon, with considerable loss, on the 12th and 13th; Bassein, on May 17th. On the 20th of December, eleven months after the first shot was fired on Commodore Lambert from the Rangoon batteries, Lord Dalhousie's proclamation annexed Pegu, and appointed Captain Arthur Phayre to the civil charge of the province.

Meantime a Palace revolution, on the old lines, at Amarapura, led by the King's brother, the Mengdûn Prince, placed the latter on the throne. A devout Buddhist, he soothed his conscience by not entering the capital till the outpouring of blood in the massacres, usual at Ava on such occasions, had been accomplished.

This King reigned till his death, in 1878. He was on the whole an altogether exceptionally good King for Burmese history. It is said that throughout his reign no blood was shed with his sanction. In reality, to be sure, he left the power of life and death in the hands of his ministers, and thus contrived to keep his conscience clear, leaving on their heads the present obloquy and future demerit of bloodshed. But it is true that there was much less of it than usual, in his reign; and it says much for the King, that his deposed brother lived to survive him, held in honourable confinement. The King had always been averse to the English war, and, though he would never

sign a treaty alienating ancestral dominion, he never set on foot any attempt against us.

Though himself always behaving like a well-bred man, he could not cure his officers of that old Burman insolence towards foreigners, which two disastrous wars had failed to abate; and provocations repeatedly occurred, which were never made the subject of much pressure by the British Government. The King's desire for money led him, in King James's fashion, to constitute monopolies of chief articles of produce. This was a great grievance to trade, and an endless source of irritation. More than one treaty of commerce was made, and in that of 1867 he abandoned all monopolies except three, namely, timber, petroleum, and precious stones. But the limitation was not observed.

Meantime Phayre nursed the new province of Pegu with wise beneficence and success, first as Commissioner of that province, and afterwards as Chief Commissioner of the whole of British Burma, including Aracan and the Tenasserim districts.*

The death of the Mengdûn-Meng occurred on October 1st, 1878. It was announced that the dying King had named as his heir one of his sons, said to be the only one of blood royal by both sides, the Prince Sri Maha Dhamma Raja, Prince of Theebau. It was in February that rumour first spread of the massacres of which we have heard so much.

On the night of February 15th the prisoners of state, including numerous princes and their families who had been put in

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* We have no space for a detailed exposition of the growth of the annexed provinces under Phayre and his successors; but we may give a few of the larger statistics.

The first attempts at Census in Pegu, after annexation, were of uncertain value, but in 1858, five years after annexation, the population was 890,974
In 1862 it had risen to 1,244,385
In that year the whole of our Burmese provinces were united.
In 1863 the whole population of British Burma was .. 2,491,736
In 1872 2,747,148
In 1881 3,736,771

The aggregate *Gross Revenue* of the three Provinces was—

	£
In 1853–54	531,792
In 1862–63	939,667
In 1872–73	1,531,724
In 1883–84	2,850,036
In addition to which, in the last-named year the municipalities raised a revenue of	242,950

Foreign Trade.—Value of Imports and Exports for the whole of British Burma:—

In 1853–54	1,643,131
In 1862–63	1,910,993
In 1882–83	10,418,079

arrest

arrest on the approach of the late King's death, had been removed to the common jail. Some were then killed, the rest on the two nights succeeding. Touching tales were told of how women and children pleaded in vain for life. Their cries were stifled by the hand of the executioners, who grasped their throats till they were still and strangled. Others were killed by bludgeons in the hands of half-drunk and bungling ruffians. The bodies of those of royal blood were carted to the Irawaddy; the rest cast into a hole in the jail-yard.

The Resident at the Court was then Mr. R. B. Shaw (the estimable traveller who first found his way to Kashgar). Under instructions from both the Government of India and H.M.'s Government, he made the strongest remonstrances against this horrible carnage, and was equally strong in his exertions to save the lives of prisoners yet surviving. The reply was in effect, 'Mind your own business! Burma is an independent kingdom, and should there be reason to apprehend trouble, we act according to custom, and don't care for your censure.' To a further remonstrance it was replied (and now we quote verbatim): 'In regard to the clearing-away and keeping-by' (euphony for killing and imprisoning), 'the Minister would remark that such action is taken only when there exists cause for disturbance. It is not desired to clear-away and keep-by those who it is not feared would cause any disturbance to the country, but the wish is that these may live happily.' The victims among the King's relatives were reckoned to be some eighty, besides others of less note; the executions being effected by convicts released from jail for that purpose.

Some years later fresh atrocities occurred, bringing out in strong colours the character of King Theebau's administration. Briefly, in September 1884, about 300 persons were, for no reason whatever, massacred in the jail, under the personal superintendence of the King's Minister. The jail was fired, and the prisoners—peaceable and unarmed persons—thronging to the gate, were there hacked to pieces. No mercy was shown to age or sex; the dead were left unburied for some days; and King Theebau held high revel at Court meanwhile.

Thirty or forty years ago, events like these would perhaps have made little impression. They would have been heard of some months after, as having happened in a very out-of-the-way place, and as perhaps much exaggerated. But announced by telegraph, as things that happened yesterday, in a city where there was, or had been recently, a British Resident, and were still British merchants, they are startling, and the horror is unabated. There is, however, nothing new in such horrors. They form the

the constitutional practice. As the Minister wrote to Mr. Shaw: '*Having in mind only the interests of Church and State, this business has been done, according to custom.*'

Below we quote what Gasparo Balbi, just 300 years ago, saw done by a King of Burman race.* Again, on the death of Alompra's son, Hseng-byu-sheng of Phayre, in 1776, Sonnerat tells us:

'Pour éviter toute discussion avec ses oncles il les fit massacrer au nombre de cinq, de même que ses frères; les seigneurs qui leur étaient attachés eurent le même sort. C'est par ces meurtres abominables qu'il se trouve aujourd'hui paisible possesseur d'un sceptre souillé de sang, et flétri par les mains impures que le retiennent.'—II. 298, ed. 1782.

In 1838 a revolt broke out in Hlain, near Rangoon. The magistrate of the place with forty or fifty of his kindred, men, women, and children, were penned in a bamboo house, and set fire to. Others had twisted straw wound round their bodies; fire was set to one end of the coil, and the poor wretches were thus consumed in torture.

A like massacre took place on a flimsy pretence about the time of Tharawadi's seclusion (1845). Such was the inauguration of the Pagân-Meng's reign; he fulfilled its promise. Some time after his accession he made a holocaust, in the ancient constitutional fashion described by Balbi, of his brother, the Tarouk-mau Prince, with his family and retainers to the number of 80 or 100 persons. These were deeds done when half of those who read this, as well as he who writes it, had already come to man's estate. The author of the narrative of Phayre's Mission in 1855 says, in reference to them:

'Commodore Lambert may or may not have plunged us into evitable war. Pegu may or may not pay its expenses. But such atrocities as these are ended!'—p. 227.

The writer was evidently no prophet. The Province, which in 1855 was hardly expected to pay its expenses, brings in an immense surplus revenue. And the atrocities we see were *not* ended!

* 'Then the King ordered that next morning there should be made a lofty and ample scaffolding, and that, those nobles being placed thereon, it should be set fire to, and all of them burnt alive. . . . Meanwhile he caused to be arrested all the families of the said nobles, including pregnant women and infants in bands, and all these were set together upon the scaffolding; and then the King sent his *olla* (palm-leaf letter) with orders to set fire to them. And so it was done, and all were burnt; insomuch that nought was to be heard but groans and screams and sobs and cries, for they were in number 4000. . . . And I too thought well to go, and I witnessed this spectacle with great pity and compunction, beholding those poor poppets in such tortures.'—'Viaggio,' f. 113.

It

It is not the probable that always happens. Let us take heart. . . .

Speaking of the first massacres, one of the authors named at the head of our article, bearing a name once famous in the Indian seas, writes :—

'Qu'il y prenne garde cependant, le roi Thibau; l'Angleterre n'a pas besoin de bons prétextes pour s'immiscer dans ses affaires. Déjà, à propos des massacres de Mandalay, elle a protesté au nom de l'humanité.

'Angleterre, humanité, deux mots qui hurlent de se voir accouplés! L'Angleterre humaine! Elle qui risque de répandre le choléra dans l'Europe entière afin de n'imposer aucun retard à ses provenances des Indes!'—'Un Français en Birmanie,' pp. 184–5.

Curious; how the average Frenchman, whatever his rank, whatever his party, aside from subjects involving his party views, may (with a few very noble exceptions) be always counted on to say the same thing in almost the same phraseology. The rubbish just quoted is only this *cantus Galli*. Yet surely a Frenchman who writes thus might note with some sense of shame, in the preceding brief history, the concurrence of three memorable words :—September, — Prison, — Massacre!

And surely it was high time that these abominations should end once for all,—even if it were at the hand of a Government which disputes the virtues of quarantine! Yet the massacres were not the cause of war; though doubtless they have tended to the unexampled facility with which its object has been achieved.

Two lines of action on the part of the Burmese King and his Ministers were, one or other, certain to bring collision even with the long-suffering Government of India. *One*, their persistent and insolent denial of redress for multiplied grievances,—exactly the same course which, when they still possessed the delta, twice brought war upon them. The *other*, their equally persistent endeavour to embroil us with foreign nations by dragging these into intimate relation with Burmese affairs. King Theebau managed to bring things to a crisis at last, by combining both of these provocations.

In the year following Theebau's accession, Mr. Shaw died (June 13th, 1879). His successor, Col. Browne, had to submit to absolute isolation, and daily insult; the Government withdrew him. Mr. St. Barbe, who remained in temporary charge, met with constant hostility; among other offences, a gross and unprovoked assault was made on the Residency-Surgeon. On the news of the murder of Cavagnari and his suite at Cabul, Lord Lytton withdrew the Residency altogether.

The

The attitude of the Court became more and more hostile, and, among other indications, twice our steamers met with attack or seizure; whilst the demands for redress were wholly unsuccessful. In 1884 occurred the second massacre; and in that year the King gave further evidence of his determination, to defy and insult the British Government. In consequence of Burmese raids into Manipûr, a State long in dependence on us, it became desirable to define the boundaries better, and the Burmese were invited to co-operate, but in vain. And when the marks had been erected by our officers, the Burmese Minister wrote an offensive letter, threatening that unless they were at once removed by us, their local chiefs should be ordered to clear them away.

At the end of 1884, the administration had become ever weaker and more depraved. The Shan States had openly revolted; in Burma itself, bands of armed robbers roamed unchecked; the whole country was disorganized, and our relations with the King were at a dead-lock. The state of things was becoming intolerable; there is no boundary between Upper and British Burma but a parallel of latitude; and it was recognized by al lcompetent persons, that the prosperity and tranquillity of both were indissolubly bound together; anarchy on one side of the border makes itself felt on the other, and paralyses every effort in the direction of trade, civilization, and friendly intercourse.

Now we turn to the matter of foreign intervention in the affairs of Burma. Instead of making up its mind to cultivate the friendship of the inevitable neighbour, who desired nothing better than peaceful intercourse and mutually profitable trade, the hope of the Court had been for many years past, by casting itself into the arms of some European Power, to free itself from English control, to strengthen its armaments, and perhaps to recover its access to the sea. Sometimes it was Italy with which the Court tried to cultivate relations, and Italy, for a time, seemed disposed at least to a flirtation. But more persistently it has been with France. There have generally been French adventurers afloat, willing enough to push their own fortunes, and to chance the embroilment of their Government, by suggestion of anti-British intrigue. But, for a long time at least, France seemed to view such efforts in a just light, and rather threw cold water on the advances of the Burmese Dalila; of late, we doubt if her virtue has not been a little shaken.

French desire for a footing in Burma is of old origin. Sonnerat indeed tells us, that it was by the aid of French prisoners only, that Alompra succeeded in driving the English out of Pegu. There

There was a certain truth in this, which perhaps he did not quite appreciate, for it is a fact that the party, which surprised and slaughtered the unhappy occupants of Negrais, was led by a Frenchman called 'Laveene' (perhaps Lavigne).* In the later edition of Sonnerat's work there is a dissertation on the advantage of taking possession of Pegu, for which he calculates that 1000 or 1200 Europeans, aided by the Talaings, would suffice. The illustrious Bailly Suffrein is said to have formed plans of the same kind, as the best means to attack the English power in India. Throughout the earlier part of the French war the Calcutta Government was constantly alive to this danger, and this motive had no little to say to the successive missions of Symes, Cox, and Canning, which sped so indifferently. Thus early, too, the Burmese Court had begun to make its tool of the international jealousy; for one of the methods taken to insult Symes, on his second mission, was that the King insisted on putting off the reception, for which our Envoy had already waited two months, till his Majesty should have first received at public audience a French embassy,—which embassy consisted of a stray French skipper, much bewildered at having to play the part, thrust on him by the Burmese Court, of *ambassadeur malgré lui.*

We are aware of no further French manifestation in Burma till 1853–54, when there turned up at Amarapura a certain adventurer calling himself General D'Orgoni (his real name was Louis Charles Girodon), who made a stir there, and twice persuaded the King to send him to France. The Emperor Napoleon gave him the cold shoulder. He had promised to bring back, on his second mission, workmen to establish factories of arms, and the like, as well as a treaty of alliance. Families of workmen he brought, who were ruined. The history of the treaty is related by a candid and sensible compatriot:—

'Revenir auprès du roi sans le traité tant désiré, c'était dur pour l'amour-propre de M. d'Orgoni. Il s'en tira assez habilement. La maison où il demeura lors de son retour à Rangoon vint à prendre feu; il sauva tout ce qui lui appartenait, seule la valise qui était censée renfermer le traité devint la proie des flammes!' †

In 1872 the King sent an embassy to Europe, which visited Italy, France and England, with the professed view of making commercial arrangements with the two former countries, and of discussing with the latter certain questions of politics and *la haute étiquette.* In England the mission was received with

* Dalrymple's 'Oriental Repertory,' i. 356, 372.
† 'Revue de Deux Mondes,' Sept. 1874, p. 56.

kindness

kindness and consideration, but was informed that the Viceroy of India was the Queen's representative in all affairs concerning Burma. In France they had a somewhat chilly reception at first, but, on their return to Paris, more of a welcome, and concluded a provisional treaty of no great substance. In 1873 a return-mission went from Paris, under the Comte de Rochechouart, carrying valuable presents. The party went by way of Calcutta, and by invitation visited the Viceroy (Lord Northbrook) at Agra, giving him assurance that they had no intention of meddling with politics.

The Envoy, instead of observing this assurance, or confining himself to the ratification of the convention made at Paris (Jan. 24th, 1873), was persuaded by the Burmese to sign secret articles (Feb. 16th, 1874). These embraced stipulations (1) that France should give her *good offices* to Burma whenever she was asked to do so; (2) that France should send officers to instruct the Burmese army; and (3) that jurisdiction over Frenchmen should be conceded to Burmese tribunals.*

The French Foreign Minister (the Duc de Cazes, we believe) honourably characterized the whole of these articles as 'extremely objectionable.' The Count's action was disavowed, and ratification denied.

But, by this time, the French occupation of the Anamite provinces in the delta of the Mekong, which had been formally ceded in 1862, was affecting the whole political atmosphere of Indo-China. The administration of Camboja was becoming entirely transferred to France; her agents were striving ever more to have a footing in Siam; Tonquin had been tentatively occupied; and the whole of Anam was regarded as destined French demesne. Less ambitious Frenchmen limited the scope of their colonial development to the Mekong and the rivers of Tonquin; others considered Siam to be the natural (if reluctant) *protégée* of France; whilst a large party looked on the whole of Indo-China as the future arena of France's glory, using expressions in which they unconsciously paraphrased Canning's famous and futile boast (December 12th, 1826); it was to be the New India which they were to call into existence to redress the balance of the Old.† And gradually France, which had looked

* Two young French officers, Captains Fau and Moreau, were left behind at Mandalay, bent on a geographical exploration. The King gave them every assistance; but both the poor fellows died of jungle-fever at an early date.

† 'Notre rôle est nettement marqué, développer d'abord nos relations commerciales, puis étendre insensiblement notre influence économique sur l'Indo-Chine tout entière qui, nous l'espérons bien, sera pour nous, dans un avenir plus ou moins éloigné, une compensation à cet immense empire de l'Inde que l'indifférence

looked askance upon the pressing courtship of the King of Burma, began to regard his *beaux yeux* with more complacent and responsive glances. It became the fashion to talk of Burma and France as neighbours bound to exchange amenities, as *limitrophes*, which meant that there were territories in the Mekong basin claimed as tributary by Anam, which marched with other territories in the same basin claimed as tributary by Ava.

This view is dwelt upon in a letter to the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, which the Burmese Embassy carried to Paris in 1873:—

'Once Burma and France were far apart from one another, and difficulties lay in the way of relations between them.

'Now the occupation by France of the province of Tonquin gives the two countries a common boundary (*rend les deux pays limitrophes*); that is to say, they are in contact, at the Eastern frontier of Burma, where lie the provinces of Kiang Tung and Kiang Hung. ...

'There are in Burma French engineers, officers, and traders, whose operations daily grow in importance.

'Hence H.M. our august King, foreseeing the future development of intimacy and of the exchange of products, as well as the advance of their prosperity and common interests, has entertained the project of a treaty between France and Burma.'—'Rapport de M. de Lanessan,' &c., p. 102.

This quasi-'neighbourhood' was also more than once dwelt on by M. Ferry in dealing with the remonstrances of the British Government against France's encouraging the approaches of the Burmese Court. The charm that fascinated the latter was doubtless the prospect of opening in that way an avenue for the importation of arms, ammunition, and other warlike aids (personal, probably, as well as material), in evasion of the bull-dog guarding the ports of the Irawaddy. This object is referred to very precisely in a Burmese paper, purporting to be the translation of a French communication to the Burmese Minister, dated January 15th, 1885, which contains a significant passage regarding amicable facilities for such imports, which might be afforded after Tonquin should have been reduced to order.

And in M. de Lanessan's 'Rapport,' commenting on an article of the recent Franco-Burmese Treaty, he says:—

'Il n'est pas dit formellement, dans le traité, que (le) commerce des armes pourra être librement exercé sur le sol Birman par les com-

différence et l'impéritie des gouvernements de Louis XV et Louis XVI nous ont fait perdre. Telles doivent être nos visées pour l'avenir. A chacun, dans la mesure de ses forces et de ses moyens, d'en préparer la réalisation.'—'Un Français en Birmanie,' iii.-iv.

merçants français, mais comme aucun article n'interdit ce commerce . . . il faut en conclure que la liberté du commerce des armes est, comme les autres, placée sous la sauvegarde du traité. *Cela est important ; car, dans tous les pays de civilisation inférieure, le commerce des armes est l'un des plus fructueux pour les négociants européens.*'—Page 109.

The treaty ('Convention complémentaire de Commerce') in question was signed at Paris, January 15th, 1885.* The articles stipulate for mutual freedom of commerce and trade establishments, exemption from the intervention of 'royal brokers,' 'most-favoured nation' clauses as to all duties, abandonment by the Burmese Government of all monopolies except those of 'pickled tea,' and of the King's petroleum, precious stones, jade, and teak timber, &c. 'from H.M.'s private domain' (exceptions which our neighbours would soon have found to be fruitful in controversy!). No duties of import or export in Burma were to exceed 5 per cent., except that on opium, till 1895, when the tariff might be raised, but not beyond 10 per cent. Judicial treatment to be on the terms of the most-favoured nation. An extradition clause. Confirmation of the treaty of the 24th of January, 1873.

It was by a clause of this last treaty, that the reciprocal establishment of resident diplomatic agents was sanctioned, though neither nation had yet acted on it. Soon after the conclusion of the new treaty, a Consul was appointed to Mandalay. Our Foreign Office had in vain endeavoured to obtain from M. Ferry an assurance, that the Consul's duties should exclude political action of any kind. It was with no *pede claudo* that results, of the nature which our Government had anticipated, followed the arrival of M. Haas, the chosen Consul, at the Burmese Court.

In July last, trustworthy information was received that the Burmese Envoy, in returning through Rome, had made an arrangement for the establishment of a Franco-Burman Bank at Mandalay, with a capital of 2,500,000*l.*, at the cost to Ava of 12½ per cent. interest, with several of the chief sources of revenue pledged for security. And in August a Burmese envoy reached Rangoon, bound on a mission to Paris to negociate with certain parties there for the construction of a railway, under Burmese guarantee, from Mandalay to the British frontier. It became evident that, if such arrangements were concluded, the result would be the establishment in Burma of

* It is notable that the Burmese Envoys were in Paris for eighteen months, and never went near the British Embassy till the moment before their departure, when they paid a visit of mere ceremony.

a preponderating

a preponderating foreign influence, essentially anti-British; that foreign agents would dominate all trade and all the chief sources of revenue in Ava; that the practical control of the Burmese Government would pass into their hands, and that the consequences to British interests would be fatal. We could no more be expected to admit such engagements in Burma, than the French Government would have admitted the like on the part of foreign agents in Tunis. And it became necessary to intimate that, if such undertakings were carried to a practical issue, the inevitable consequence would be, that the liberty and power of the King of Burma would have to be materially restricted. The French Government, however, denied that any such agreements had been entered into by them.

Meanwhile further information was received from Rangoon, that on an allegation of fraudulent removal of timber, a fine of upwards of 200,000*l.* had been imposed on the Bombay Burma Trading Corporation by Theebau's ministers; and that, in all probability, the leases under which they had worked the forests would be cancelled. This course was alleged to have been suggested by the French Consul at Mandalay, in order to get the forests into French hands. Truly this gentleman seemed to have been taking a leaf out of the book of Philip de Brito, of whom we spoke a few pages back, 'domineering, and caring for nobodie.'

With the approval of the Queen's Government, the Viceroy caused a letter to be addressed (August 29th) to the Burmese Court, requesting suspension of the fine and of the cancelment of the leases, pending a thorough investigation, and asking the King's consent to arbitration. On the 10th of October the King's Government replied, summarily rejecting all the proposals. The Government of India then communicated to the Burmese Court an ultimatum, in which intimation was made:

1. That an Envoy should be received with free access to the King, and in the absence of all humiliating ceremonial.

2. That if proceedings had been or should be taken against the Company, the Government of India would take the matter into its own hand, without further communication to the Burmese Government.

3. That the present incidents showed the necessity for the permanent residence of an English Agent at the Court, with a proper guard and steamer.

It was further intimated, that the Burmese Government would be expected to regulate its external relations by the advice of the Government of India; and to afford facilities for the opening of British trade with China *viâ* Bhamó.

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The ultimatum was rejected, and our readers know the sequel.

Certainly no greater long-suffering was ever shown by any Government in the face of injury, insult, and contumelious refusal of redress. No British Government desires an extension of our dominion; no Government in these days would risk the augmentation of the difficulties that threaten the administration of all dependencies, through that democratic revolution in our Constitution, which has been carried out for the temporary objects of a party, and, to a great extent, in defiance of the expressed convictions of some of its once leading members. But there has been no choice left as to the conclusion; none, at least, to any Government that tries to face facts. That conclusion was sanctioned, in his last public utterance, by Sir Arthur Phayre, the most just and moderate of men, the true and tried friend of the Burmese Monarchy, and has been accepted by Mr. Bernard, Chief Commissioner in Pegu, nephew of Sir John Lawrence, inheritor of his principles, and the most averse of men to conquest or warlike intervention. And now that the intervention has taken place, that the conquest has been made, it has been an immense relief to learn, on New Year's morning, after a delay that had begun to be somewhat disquieting, that no half-measures have found favour; no compromise that would have facilitated, under the contingency of a restored Gladstone Government, (from which shame and calamity may God shield England!) the renewal, on the banks of the Irawaddy, of the equivocations and vacillations that have besmirched our good name on the banks of the Nile, and the reproduction yonder of some ignoble parody of all that is symbolized by the 'Bosphore Egyptien.'

In fact, so far as we can see, no middle course was at all feasible; nothing short of the conversion of Upper Burma into a British province seems to us capable of being even thought out as a practicable scheme.

ART. IX.—*Report of the Historical MSS. Commission: House of Lords Papers.* Vols I. to IX.

IT is vehemently asserted, that the House of Lords requires drastic reform, and that the hereditary assembly must, without delay, be brought into harmony with the representative body. In other words, the independence of the Peers is to be limited and their control removed. With no less clamour is it insisted, that the forms of procedure in the Lower House need alteration in order to facilitate legislation. Even if this latter change were proposed alone, it would require cautious treatment. To tamper with the rules of the Lower House is hazardous. They may retard legislation, but they also afford security against intemperate haste. The dilatoriness of the House of Commons is due less to its forms than to its astonishing verbosity; the wordiness of second-rate orators and the itch of individual notoriety delay proceedings more effectually than any formalities. Except in the limitation of questions, or of the occasions on which speaking should be permitted, it would be difficult to propose any change which is not fraught with possible danger. But the contemporaneous removal of the control of the Upper House, and the salutary checks of constitutional forms, are in the highest degree hazardous. Destroy these two restraining obstacles, and the landmarks of society would be lost in the flood of hasty, crude, ill-digested legislation, which a single Session might produce.

Too numerous for a deliberative assembly, or too anxious for individual display, the Commons drown discussion in debate. In legislative capacity or the efficient examination and settlement of important questions, they are inferior to the Lords. Their independence is sacrificed to the interests of party. Men obliged to act together are forced to practise concession and repress convictions; but no limit is now placed to compliance. Here again the advantage rests with the Lords. Recent electoral changes only tend to increase the inferiority of the Lower House. As politics become more parochial, and constituencies less tolerant of silent representatives, the Commons must inevitably grow more subservient to party, more deficient in legislative capacity, more dilatory from verbosity. A division of labour between the two Houses is obviously expedient. Important public questions need not be kept in abeyance, because the Lower House is overwhelmed with the accumulations of business. So long as the Lords confine themselves to revising or correcting the Bills which struggle through the Commons,

Commons, they assume an unnecessarily subordinate and disadvantageous part. They only come into notice at the close of the Session as postponing, modifying, or rejecting, the proposals of the popular representatives. Why should they not originate and initiate more measures of their own? There is no body which is more competent, for instance, to deal comprehensively with the momentous question of Church Reform. A large but statesmanlike scheme of ecclesiastical legislation, even if it failed to pass the Lower House, would immensely strengthen the Church in the eyes of the country, which at present has nothing before it but the Root and Branch programme of the Liberationists. The deficiencies of the Commons might prove a foil to the capacity of the Lords, and the hereditary House would probably gain in the popular estimation at the expense of the representative body. But, where so obvious a remedy exists for the accumulation of arrears, mere pique affords no sufficient excuse for tampering with the Constitution, or refusing to utilize a branch of the legislative assembly.

No doubt, the 'amour propre' of the Commons is rendered more keenly sensitive by a consciousness of inferiority in business capacity, and by a sense of past failure. Numerous incentives to 'reform' the House of Lords will co-operate with, and partially conceal, these personal motives. Some constitution-mongers are in favour of a single Chamber; others, while supporting a bicameral system, demand such an alteration of the Constitution of the Upper House, or of its relations to the Lower, as shall prevent its modification of their measures. Some persons condemn the hereditary assembly as a heterogeneous, others as a homogeneous, body; some denounce the Peers as too independent, others as too dependent; some attack them because they are powerful, others because they are dummies; some assail them because they are men of fifth-rate ability, a few defend them because, if the Upper House was abolished, the Peers would defeat the present members of the House of Commons in an appeal to popular constituencies. Persons holding opinions no less contradictory have, before now, pigged head and heels in the truckle bed of Downing Street. There is therefore nothing impossible in the close combination, even of advocates of arguments so conflicting and self-destructive, to attack the House of Lords.

Genius is not hereditary; but it by no means follows, that a practical talent for business may not be fostered by breeding. No doubt many of the Lords have lagged behind the age in which they live, yet it is undeniable that, as a body, they are well versed in politics, experienced in affairs, conversant with the

the details of the internal administration of the country. They have undergone a different training, have acquired different habits of thinking, are influenced by different feelings, from those of the popular representatives. They are independent men, with large stakes in the welfare of the country; their position does not require them to be partizans, and qualifies them to be arbitrators. Legislation may proceed more slowly because of their intervention, but every Bill gains by full and deliberate discussion. The more complex our social system, the greater is the risk of errors and oversights, the stronger the need of searching scrutiny and careful sifting. Men actuated by a common feeling, holding the same principles, approaching the subject from the same point of view, are apt to omit important considerations. Adequate discussion is best secured, by bringing to bear upon the details of a plan two bodies of men of different training, feelings, and habits of thought. As a legislative body, whether in checking improvident legislation or in correcting its slovenly expression, the House of Lords has always shown itself to be a faithful and useful servant of the State. The Peers are entitled to exercise their free judgment upon any question submitted to them by the House of Commons. To argue that they are not free to reject or to accept details, because the nation has decided upon the principle, is to render their concurrence a farce. If public opinion is clearly defined, they must undoubtedly give way. Not only is there a constitutional remedy by which they may be forced to yield, but experience warns them of the danger of a Minister returned 'on the people's shoulders.' Of public opinion they have, on a recent occasion, proved themselves sagacious judges. The bulk of the nation was at their back when they refused to pass the Franchise Bill while the principles of Redistribution were unknown. The most powerful Minister of recent times dared not face an appeal to the country, but beat a strategical retreat.

Speculative politicians may frame better constitutions from which the hereditary principle is eliminated. But if the constitution of the two Houses of Parliament is the result of accident, it has worked well. It has been a practical, not, like the pigeon-hole constitution of the Abbé Siéyès, a theoretic balance. You may separate the two Houses, but you do not necessarily secure an equipoise. The Upper House is useless if it is, like the House of Commons, a popular assembly, imbued with popular passions, sensitive to popular clamour.

Accusations, as varied as they are vague and intemperate, have been directed against the House of Lords. It is generally assumed, that the views of the Peers have been consistently

 unsound,

unsound, and their conduct uniformly pernicious. Men are willing to concede the services of the Baronage; they cannot deny that the Lords championed the cause of public freedom against the encroachments of prerogative. But they charge the Lords with being the most inveterate enemies of popular rights. The publication of the House of Lords MSS. by the Historical Commission is, from this point of view, singularly well-timed. The mass of new papers thus brought to light supplies abundant materials from which the charge may be rebutted and refuted. It is not till the close of the reign of James I. that the collection of papers becomes important, and the work of abstracting and cataloguing the documents is as yet only completed down to 1678. But the period over which they extend is one of great constitutional importance. If it affords few precedents, it offers many warnings.

The collection of the House of Lords Papers was only discovered in 1867. Till then the value of its contents as a whole was unknown; even the existence of many of its most interesting papers was unsuspected. The documents contained in this collection are the original papers to which the printed Journal repeatedly refers; they constitute the material from which it is compiled. Many of them are there printed in full, others briefly noticed, others wholly omitted. No copies of documents were accepted by the Lords, and even the Commons deferred to this rule. Hence, as a collection of original papers, its value is unique: it is the Westminster Abbey of documents, where repose many of the title-deeds of English history. Here, for instance, are found the answers of Charles I. to the Petition of Right; the letter in which he consented to the execution of the Earl of Strafford; the warrant for the King's execution; the declaration of Charles II. from Breda; the MS. Prayer-Book revised by Convocation, subscribed by the Bishops and Clergy, and appended to the Act of Uniformity in 1662, together with the Prayer Book of 1636, in which the alterations proposed by Convocation were written out by Dr. Sancroft.

The knowledge where so many valuable originals are deposited is in itself a discovery of no slight importance. But the value of the collection is by no means confined to well-known documents which are interesting as originals. It is rich in new material of very varied character. It gives the private diary, so to speak, of the House of Lords. The printed Journal contains the official acts of the House, but it gives no hint of the course of debate. It is a dry and meagre record of results, without a single touch of life or individuality from which to construct the characters of the Pyms and the Hampdens of the Upper

Upper House. But in this collection are found a series of Minute Books, or rough manuscript journals, kept by the Clerks of the Table, of the proceedings of the Peers. Most of the period from 1620 to 1648 is covered by these Minute Books, and an almost unbroken series extends from 1660 to 1827. They supply reports of the debates from which the arguments of the speakers and the subdivisions of the parties can be traced; they give the names of those present in the House on each day, the numbers and the tellers of both sides in the divisions. Besides the Minute Books, there are other MS. books, containing minutes of the Proceedings of the Select Committees, the Committee of Privileges, and the Committee of Petitions, which contribute a valuable addition to the existing materials of political and constitutional history. The drafts of Bills, contained in this collection, throw new light on the origin and development of legislative enactments, such as the Habeas Corpus Act, or the Statute of Frauds, of which the original draft is extant in the handwriting of Finch, with the amendments of Chief Justice North and Sir Leoline Jenkins. Not only do these drafts show how successful Bills were modified at successive stages, but many proposals which were finally rejected, and find no place in the printed Journals, are interesting as legislative experiments. In the Journal, abortive Bills, if mentioned at all, are entered by their titles, which often afford only an illusory clue to their contents: now the original drafts are forthcoming in their entirety. Lastly, the notes of the evidence laid before the Committees of Enquiry, the unpublished letters, petitions, and other miscellaneous documents, supply many gaps in historical knowledge, and record fresh particulars respecting the chief incidents of the times, the progress of trade, the variations of prices, the social manners and customs of the period.

We propose to illustrate, from this interesting commentary on English history, the attitude of the Lords between 1625 and 1680 towards constitutional freedom.

In the early part of the period the Lords steadily upheld private rights against the Crown and the Law; in the midst of civil strife, or in the loyal frenzy of the Restoration, they consistently advocated moderate counsels; as against the fanaticism of the first elected Parliament of Charles I. they were the firm champions of religious toleration. Their work has been obscured by the more dazzling achievements of the popular leaders of the Lower House; but their steady, even pressure in favour of constitutional liberty was hardly less useful. During this period from 1625 to 1680 England owes them a debt, which in solid worth is scarcely inferior to that which we acknowledge to

the House of Commons, a debt which is discounted by few of those crimes of violence that disfigure the triumphs of the representative body. The Law is not likely again to be prostituted to arbitrary power by venal or subservient judges, nor will the Peers now be required to offer a refuge against illegal tyranny. Yet their adversaries concede, that the Lords have often proved vigilant guardians of private rights, when endangered or overlooked by the Private Bill legislation of the House of Commons. On the other hand, the peculiar dangers of the Civil War of the Restoration may often recur with altered circumstances, which mean a change rather of external appearance than of real substance. It is at such periods of popular madness, or party excess, that the constitutional value of the House of Lords becomes most conspicuous.

The variety of subjects entertained by the Peers in the early years of Charles I. is significant of the important position which they occupied. They exercised a most extended jurisdiction. The House appears not only as the Court of Appeal from the decisions of inferior courts, but as the refuge to which the victims of the Star Chamber and the High Commission had recourse, and as a Court where the delays and expenses of the law might be avoided, and where humble suitors might obtain justice against powerful adversaries. It boldly assumes power to redress private wrongs, punish misdemeanours not connected with privilege, hear and determine causes where remedies were obtainable in the ordinary law courts, make orders upon petitions of a private nature. Many instances occur of the exercise of their jurisdiction. Numerous cases are given in which petitioners, prevented from proceeding at law or recovering judgment debts against persons protected by privilege, receive justice at the hands of the Peers. It is to the Upper House that poor freeholders appeal, who have been aggrieved by the enclosure of forests or the improvement of the fens. Complaints are laid before them by merchants oppressed by companies trading abroad, such as the East India Company, the Levant Merchantmen, or the Muscovy Company, or by humble shopkeepers who cannot contest fraternities like the Merchant Taylors or the Grocers, 'on account of the greatness of their revenues.' It was to the House of Lords that suitors had recourse, whose causes had been dragged on for many years, or who could not commence proceedings in other courts, because they were too poor to pay the necessary fees, defray the expenses of counsel, or lodge security for costs. Petitions are presented by three fatherless children for relief against the Lord Mayor and the officers of the Orphans' Court, who had wasted their estate in legal expenses;

penses; by Katheren Ward and others, who 'on account of their poverty are unable to wage war against so potent an adversary' as the Earl of Lincoln: from William Drury who, 'blind, lame, and destitute of estate,' has 'no way but before their Lordships to vindicate his right;' from Henry Lyme who, 'during the life of the late Lord Keeper, dared not appeal, and indeed knew not where to appeal till the meeting of Parliament;' from Jane Wall that, 'after 15 years' trouble,' she may have relief; she has been 'deprived by unjust suits of her estates,' and is now a prisoner in the Fleet; 'if their Lordships' blessed meeting had not been ordained of God she had never had any hope of redress'; from Henry Knolton for aid against a Serjeant-at-arms and Justice of the Peace for Middlesex, seeing that he is 'unable to wage law against so great an adversary;' from James Turner, who for thirteen years had lain a prisoner in the Gatehouse under an order from the High Commission, and has been unable to obtain bail because 'the Bishops are so great.' Osmund Gibbs petitions the Lords for their protection against Farwell, a Justice of the Peace for the county of Somerset, who had cast a 'greedy eye on petitioner's copyhold,' procured his conviction on a false charge of stealing a buck, and so incensed the Judge against him, that, when petitioner was 'put to read for his life and desired to read the Psalm of Mercy, there was not only a clear bar made to prevent promptings, but the Judge turned him into one of the hardest verses to read, which by God's grace he was enabled to do, and so escaped hanging, but was burnt in the hand. Farwell has since taken forcible possession of his copyhold.' Ralph Claxton complains, that his adversary demands trial of a writ of right by wager of battle, and prays that cause may be shown why the case should not be tried by jury 'for the avoiding of the shedding of blood.' Nothing seemed too high or too low for the notice of the Lords. A father asks their intervention because his son has been refused admission to Winchester College; 'very young gentlemen, newly come of age,' pray their protection against the 'unconscionable extortions' of Nott, who pretended to be a mercer, but lived by money-lending. More constitutional was their cognizance of cases in which the Courts of Law gave insufficient relief. To this class belong the large number of applications relating to depredations committed on our merchant shipping by Turkish pirates, or French, Spanish, and Dutch cruisers. Petitions pour in from merchants against the seizure of their ships by Dunkirkers or 'against the great and growing power of the Turks of Algiers and Sally.' The most common remedy was to demand letters of marque, in order to make reprisals.

reprisals. But there are also many appeals for redress against the decisions of the Admiralty Court at Dunkirk. To some of these are annexed opinions of Sir Henry Martin, the Judge of the English Admiralty Court, which possess considerable interest for international lawyers. Still more formidable enemies of English commerce were the Turkish privateers. In 1626 the wives of 2000 seamen 'lying at Sally, in Barbary, in most woeful and miserable captivity,' pray the Lords for relief. In 1628 we learn that there were 15,000 English captives at Algiers.

The extensive jurisdiction, which the House of Lords exercised, was a constitutional encroachment, but it trenched only on the prerogatives of the Crown. It was a shield interposed between the people and arbitrary power. The empire of the law was not yet established. The numerous unconstitutional Courts of the Tudors and the Stuarts were the instruments of civil and ecclesiastical oppression; the Judges, holding office at the will of the Crown, were venal and submissive; Coventry and Finch were two of the most unprincipled Lord Keepers who ever held the Great Seal. Causes ended as they were friended, or were determined by force or fraud. Juries were unfairly empanelled, fined, bribed, and intimidated. The nation accepted the jurisdiction claimed by the House of Lords, because they effectually protected the liberty of the subject against the unsettled rules, arbitrary proceedings, unjust decisions, and wearisome delays of the Courts of Law. During the Long Parliament the House continued to exercise these salutary powers without control or challenge. So also in the confusion of the Restoration it encroached upon the powers of the Courts of Law; it made orders to stay waste on private estates, or secure the tithes of livings till conflicting claims to their possession were determined. It was not till more settled times, when the need of their protection was no longer felt, that any effort was made to restrain or define the jurisdiction of the Peers within constitutional limits. The definition of the powers of the State is one of the most characteristic features of the constitutional history of the reign of Charles II. The provinces of the different portions of the legal machinery of the country received their just limitations. A flood of new light is thrown by these papers on the disputes between the Courts of Common Law and Chancery, and between the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas. More closely connected with our present subject is the limitation and definition of the jurisdiction exercised by the House of Lords. This was the chief source of the incessant warfare which was waged during the reign between the two Houses of Parliament. In the

the case of Shirley *v.* Fagg, the Peers successfully maintained their claim to be the ultimate Court of Appeal in Equity as well as in Common Law. On the other hand, they abandoned their claim to original jurisdiction, which was challenged by the Commons in the case of Skinner *v.* The East India Company. In this latter case neither prorogations nor adjournments pacified the belligerents. The contest was only concluded by the erasure of all that had passed between the two Houses from their respective Journals. The erased proceedings have now been deciphered, and are printed in full by the Commissioners.

In the early years of the reign of Charles I. the House of Lords protected private rights against arbitrary power. In the struggle between the King and Parliament they endeavoured to moderate the violence of the contest, and to arbitrate between the combatants. Their firm attitude alone prevented the Commons from making impeachment as formidable a weapon of arbitrary power, as the Star Chamber and the High Commission had proved in the hands of the Crown. As originals of well-known documents, the papers relating to Strafford's trial are of extreme interest. Among them are numerous petitions in the handwriting of Strafford or of his solicitor, Raylton, commencing with the Earl's petition to have certain counsel whom he names assigned to him for his defence. The Lords granted his request and gave them access to their client. On the other hand, the Common complained of the order of the Lords, endeavoured to intimidate Strafford's counsel, and even proposed to commit them for contempt. The MS. Journal book gives a full account of the proceedings on the trial from its commencement in January, 1641, with notes of what was said by those who took part in it, and of the evidence of the witnesses. On the ground of public necessity, the actual impeachment on a charge of treason which did not fall within the Statute may be defended. But the Commons claimed for themselves the right to offer fresh evidence which they denied to Strafford. The MS. Journal closes, on the 10th of April, with their murmurs of disapprobation when the Lords decided, that whatever favour was shown the accusers must be extended to the accused. Sir H. Vane's notes of Strafford's speech at the 'giunto' on Scotch Affairs are preserved among the documents in the House of Lords. The papers relating to the trial appropriately close with the famous letter, in which the King consented to the death of his Minister. Frequent erasures attest his mental agitation, as he wavers between an exercise of his prerogative of pardon or an entreaty that Strafford might be imprisoned for life. Burnet says, on the authority of Holles, that

that the Queen persuaded him to add the well-known words, 'if he must Dey, it wer a charitie to repryue until Saterday.' The original letter plainly shows that the words were added as a postscript. In connection with the papers relating to the impeachment and attainder of Laud, there is a significant coincidence of dates. In August and October 1644, Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick, presented petitions which set out with the utmost minuteness the barbarities inflicted upon them at the 'unjust persecution of Doctor Laude.' In October also the impeachment of the Archbishop, which had been practically stifled in the House of Lords, was suddenly revived by the Commons, who, in the following month, proceeded to pass their Bill of Attainder.

During the earlier stages of the Civil War, the Lords studiously maintained the courtesies of life. Passes were continually granted for servants to go to the King, or to members of his Court at Oxford, 'with household stuffs and other necessaries.' In February 1643 a pass was given to Robert Makyn, 'yeoman of his Majesty's chaundry, to carry wax lights and torches to Oxford for his Majesty's use.' In November 1643 the Master of the Robes obtained a pass for a groom of the office to go to Oxford and 'take 4 dozen of gloves which are much wanted by his Majesty, and 4 yards of taby and 2 ells and ¼ of taffity, and 2 pairs of garters and roses with silk buttons and other necessaries to be a tennis suit.' Even when in arms, the Lords admitted the right divine of the sovereign. A pass is given to Sir Charles Berkeley to send his child in a horse litter, from Bruton in the county of Somerset to Oxford, to be touched for the King's Evil. The interchange of courtesies seems to have ceased after July 1644. But the Lords were not content with softening the rigours of Civil War. Their intervention, but for the violence of the Commons, would have procured the cessation of hostilities. At Brentford, in November 1642, and at Oxford, in the spring of 1643, negociations were opened by their influence. Again, in August of the latter year the Lords agreed to propositions for peace. But the Commons decided by the narrow majority of eight not to consider their proposals. The propositions, together with the 'Reasons why the Commons decided not to concurre with the Lords,' are contained among the documents in the muniment room of the Upper House. They do not appear in the printed Journals, and only extracts are given in Clarendon or the Parliamentary Register. The reasons alleged by the Commons for the rejection of the propositions are wholly inadequate. But it is not now a question of the prudence of their decision. Probably the Commons felt that

that subjects who have drawn their swords against their Sovereign must cut their way through. For our present purpose it is sufficient that, in the full heat of a civil war, the Lords were the partizans of neither combatant, but agreed among themselves to terms which offered a reasonable prospect of peace. They stood forward as arbitrators and peacemakers between the belligerents. Their patriotic independence at such a crisis affords a remarkable illustration of their constitutional value.

The Civil War period may appear an exaggerated example of the extremes of party violence. But Restorations, whether of parties or of princes, are almost, in the same degree, crucial tests of moderation. A minister brought back to office on the shoulders of the people is in the same position as a sovereign restored to his throne by popular acclamation. Both stand on the crest, as it were, of the rising wave of enthusiasm. Both are liable to be swept forward by the pressure brought to bear upon them on every side, except in front, at a pace which is not theirs, to a goal which is not of their own selection. At such a period as the Restoration of 1660 inestimable service is done to the State by a body which, like the House of Lords, is independent of royal favour and impervious to popular clamour.

At the Restoration three questions demanded instant solution, the Act of Indemnity and oblivion, the adjustment of property claims, the settlement of the Church. It is not too much to say, that to the House of Lords belongs the chief credit for whatever was moderate and equitable in the settlement of those difficult problems.

The Act of Indemnity and the Act for the Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings received the Royal Assent on August 29th, 1660. The Act of Indemnity was, considering the age, a politic and generous measure. It was throughout conceded by public opinion, that the regicides should be excepted from pardon and treated as public enemies. On the 6th of June, 1660, the King called by name upon those who had been 'deeply guilty of that most detestable and bloody treason, in sitting upon and giving judgment against the life of Our Royal Father,' to surrender to the Speaker on pain of being 'exempted from any pardon or indemnity both for their respective lives and estates.' Nineteen who gave themselves up under this proclamation were spared: thirteen persons in all suffered for the judicial murder of the King. The petitions for mercy presented by some of the regicides, contained in this collection of papers, form a most interesting commentary on the proceedings of the High Court of Justice by which Charles I. was condemned.

demned. The lenity of the Act bitterly disappointed the Cavaliers. From all quarters petitions pour in, to except other persons from pardon. The widow of John Burley, executed at Winchester for the attempt to raise the Isle of Wight, prays that her husband's judges may be excepted from pardon. Charlotte de la Trémouille, Countess of Derby, prays that the members of the court-martial who condemned her husband may be punished. The children of the late Earl of Holland, executed for his 'zeal in the cause of his Royal Master,' ask that 'the actors in so horrid a murder' may be brought to justice. Similar requests are made by the children of Sir Henry Slingesby, who had been denied the benefit of trial by jury, sentenced by an illegal court, and executed on Tower Hill; by the Lady Elizabeth Capell, 'the disconsolate widow' of the late Lord Capell; by Colonel Gerard and Sir Gilbert Gerard, 'the sad father and brother of John Gerard deceased, whose only crime was loyalty and obedience to His Majesty;' by Arundell Penruddocke, widow of John Penruddocke, beheaded for his rising against Oliver Cromwell in 1654; by Anne, Duchess of Hamilton, and Lady Susannah Hamilton, daughters of the late Duke of Hamilton; from Dame Mary Hewytt, whose husband was 'cruelly sentenced to die as a traitor by a tyrannical High Court of Justice, and soon after put to death on Tower Hill.' Considering the circumstances under which the House of Lords assembled in 1660, such pressure was hard to resist. Still stronger were the temptations and the appeals which assailed the Peers on the question of restitution of property. The papers now under consideration abundantly prove, how great was the destitution of the Royalists after defeat and twelve years of Puritan rule. The Marchioness of Worcester states in her petition, that her husband and his father had spent in garrisoning towns and buying arms above 300,000*l.*, had lent His Majesty another 300,000*l.*, and had lost by the plunder and sequestration of their estate an additional 500,000*l.* In consequence her husband was in hiding from his creditors, and she herself was destitute of maintenance. Nor is this an extreme case of the impoverishment of the Cavaliers. Petitions came in from landowners who had lost their estates in the cause of the Crown, that decrees or orders obtained against them in their absence might be quashed, that conveyances, extorted from them by their fears or their necessities, might be annulled, and they themselves restored to their birthrights; from faithful servants like Abraham Dowcett who had aided Charles I. in his attempted escape from Carisbrooke, and for his loyalty had been imprisoned, fined, and exiled; from adherents

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of the royal cause, like Marcellus Rivers and others, who, for participation in the Salisbury rising, had been 'transported to Barbadoes' and there 'sold for slaves;' from prisoners for debt, starving in the Marshalsea, who had spent their substance in aid of the King; from the 'poor cripples that had lost their limbs in His Majesty's service, who had been denied relief because of their loyalty, and in the Usurper's time whipped out of the towns.' It was the general expectation of the Cavaliers, that their time of triumph had come when loyalty would be rewarded, the King's enemies punished, and their estates sequestered for the benefit of his adherents. Yet, in the face of all this pressure, it was decided to confirm all legal proceedings which had taken place since the death of Charles I. The estates of the Crown, the Church, and of those exiles who had not consented to the sale of their lands, were restored; and a few Cavaliers, like the Marquis of Newcastle, Lord Gerrard, Thomas Ratcliffe, and Sir George Hamilton, obtained private Acts in their favour. The measure was a compromise, of which the Royalists bitterly complained. L'Estrange uttered their sentiments when he wrote, 'it made the enemies of the Constitution masters in effect of the booty of three nations, bating the Church and Crown lands, which they might now call their own; while those who stood up for the laws were abandoned to the comfort of an irreparable but honourable ruin.'

In regard to these two Acts, Hallam points a contrast between the 'vindictive temper' of the Upper House and the 'better temper' of the Commons. It would be as fair to compare in mercy the sentence of the judge with the appeal of the accused, or in moderation the terms offered by the victors and the vanquished. The majority of the Commons in the Convention Parliament had taken a prominent part against the King; it was not so with the Upper House. What was selfishness in the Commons was moderation in the Peers. A comparison might be more justly instituted between the conduct of the representatives in the first elected Parliament and that of the House of Lords. The new Parliament did not meet till a year after the Restoration. Though passion had had time to cool, it is plain that so politic and comprehensive a settlement could not, even then, have passed the Lower House. The chief crime of the Restoration, the trial and execution of Vane, was the work of the Commons. In January 1662 they sent up a Bill for the execution of thirteen of the Regicides, who had given themselves up under the proclamation of 1660; but the Bill, after being read twice in the Lords, was dropped in Committee. Again, it was the elected representatives who proposed a Bill

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'to discharge all those whose estates had been sold, sequestered, or decimated for adherence to His Majesty or His Royal Father from all interest, except three pounds per centum.' But the Lords adhered strictly to the terms of the original compromise, and rejected the proposal. Political animosity and personal advantages prompted the Lords to support the measures which popular clamour demanded, to punish their opponents, sequester their estates, and rescind all recent legal proceedings. It was their resistance to private motives or party cries which secured to the country a moderate settlement of momentous issues.

No question presented such formidable difficulties, or required such skilful adjustment, as the settlement of religion. To the Episcopalians and Presbyterians the King owed his throne, to the Catholics his life; both the Quakers and the Anabaptists were petitioning the Lords for religious liberty. From the very first the Lords took up an attitude of toleration, which they consistently maintained throughout the reign. Within a few days of the opening of the Convention Parliament, the Commons desired the Lords to concur in a proclamation against Jesuits, recusants, and popish priests; but the Lords allowed the proposed proclamation to drop. No sooner had the first elected Parliament assembled, than the Lower House resolved that all members of the Lower House should take the sacrament or be expelled the House; and this resolution was enforced, though it had not received the consent of the Lords or of the King. During the passage through Parliament of the Act of Uniformity, the tolerant spirit of the Lords was conspicuous. Among the amendments they proposed is a draft proviso recommended by Charles. The original is preserved in the collection of papers which is now being catalogued for the Historical Commission. It empowers the King, in the case of peaceable ministers, seised of ecclesiastical preferments before the 29th of May, 1660, to dispense with the use of the surplice and of the Cross in Baptism. But it provides that such ministers shall, at their own cost, supply licensed ministers to baptize children with the sign of the Cross, if the parents desired the observance of the practice. Two other provisos were proposed by the Lords, one enabling the Crown to grant to all clergy dispossessed under the Act a fifth of the income of their benefices, the other exempting schoolmasters from the operation of the Act. All three provisos were rejected by the Commons, who further pressed the Lords to agree in recommending Convocation to frame a canon for 'reverend gestures' at divine service. In July 1663 the Lords proposed an explanatory Bill, declaring that the consent and assent to the Book of Common Prayer required by the Act of

of Uniformity, 'should be understood only as to practice and obedience.' In this sense, Baxter and Calamy admitted that many Nonconformists could have remained in the Church. But the Bill was rejected by the Commons.

Throughout the early part of the reign, the Lords endeavoured to moderate the zeal of the Lower House, and to secure religious liberty. At the same time, these papers refute the charge, that they aimed at the re-establishment of Popery. In 1661 they attempted a partial toleration of the Papists, by permitting the exercise of their religious rites in private houses, and by repealing the Acts under which capital punishment could be inflicted for conscience sake. But the intrigues of the Jesuits, who were excluded from the benefit of the Act, defeated their attempt. Encouraged by this sign of sympathy with their cause, the Catholics petitioned the Peers to relax the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. After hearing petitions at the Bar, the House resolved that 'nothing had been offered by them to move it to alter the oaths.' As has been seen, the Lords, but for the opposition of the Commons, would have eliminated from the Act of Uniformity the provisions which forced the larger section of the Nonconformists to separate from the Church. It was the Commons who, in 1663, declared the King absolved from any obligation which he might consider imposed upon him by the terms of his Declaration of Breda, and remonstrated against his release of Calamy from prison. It was the Commons again who, in the same year, passed two Bills, the one to suppress Popery, the other to prevent 'unlawful meetings of sectaries, Nonconformists and Dissenters.' So eager were they to carry their Bills, that they sent messages to the Lords to expedite their discussions. Both measures were dropped in the Upper House. It was the Commons who, in 1664, made the laws more severe against Conventicles, by enforcing and increasing the penalties under the Statute of Elizabeth. The Five Mile Act emanated from the ministers of the Crown in the Upper House; but it was only carried there against the protests of many of the Peers; while, as Burnet states, it 'was more faintly opposed in the Lower House.' It was the Commons who proposed to offer the oath, required by the Five Mile Act, as a test to all persons in the country. In 1668 a conference was set on foot by the King and the Peers, between the Lord Keeper Bridgman on the one side, and Baxter and Manton on the other, to frame a scheme of religious Comprehension. Whatever chance of success existed for the treaty was wholly destroyed by the intemperance of the Commons who, as Pepys relates, were 'furious against the project,'

project,' negatived by a large majority the proposed negociations, and proceeded to renew the Conventicle Act of 1664. From the Lower House, in 1670, came a proposal to increase the stringency of the last-named Act. But the Lords proposed amendments to mitigate its severity by reducing the penalties, abolishing imprisonments, restricting the offence to indoor meetings, and granting appeals against excessive fines.

Yet the Lords were firmly opposed to the re-establishment of Popery. The new light thrown by these papers on the debates respecting the Declaration of Indulgence and the Test Act abundantly refutes the charge. From the MS. Journals of the House of Lords it appears, that the King communicated the addresses of the Commons against his Declaration of Indulgence, with a message that 'he was surprised with the first address, and still more with the second.' He altogether failed to obtain the support of the Peers. They voted a resolution thanking him for his gracious intentions, but even this vote lost its effect from the numerous protests with which it was accompanied. Burnet's statement, that this resolution did not pass without protest, has hitherto been discredited, because in the printed Journal the dissent of the Peers is not mentioned. His accuracy is now confirmed by the MS. Journals. The two addresses of the Commons were then referred to the Committee of Privileges, who reported that no breach of privilege appeared. This Report, like the protests, is omitted by the printed Journal. A committee was next appointed, of which Shaftesbury was chairman, to frame a Bill of Advice. Its proceedings and debates are fully reported in the MS. book of the Select Committees. At first Shaftesbury hoped to carry his point, that the King possessed suspensory power in ecclesiastical matters during the recess of Parliament. It was also proposed that the power, 'if it be not in him already,' should be conferred upon him by Statute. Ultimately the Committee accepted Lord Anglesey's draft Bill of Advice, in which the claim to general suspensory power is expressly abandoned, but certain penal statutes were suspended for five years. The original draft, in the handwriting of Anglesey, is pasted into the Committee-book. Charles had so completely failed in securing the support of the Lords for his measures in favour of the Catholics, that the Declaration was withdrawn. If further proof were needed of the loyalty of the Upper House to the Established Church, it would be found in very voluminous papers lately brought to light in connection with the Committee for securing the Protestant religion, or with Danby's 'non-resisting' Test. No doubt the Lords yielded to the national panic excited by Oates's Popish Plot. But as they were

were the last to succumb, so were they the first to recover themselves. Their strenuous efforts were throughout directed to moderate the wild frenzy of the Commons. In estimating the value of their tolerant attitude towards Dissenters and Catholics, it must not be forgotten that in the Upper House the Bishops were numerically a most powerful body, and that by the side of Crofts of Hereford, the author of 'the Naked Truth,' sate Archbishop Sheldon, and Parker, the Bayes of Andrew Marvell's 'Rehearsal Transprosed.'

These papers strikingly illustrate the advantages of the bicameral system. As a revising tribunal the Upper House has continually counteracted the evils of precipitancy, impatience, and ill-digested legislation, to which a numerous assembly, representing or delegated by larger constituent bodies, is necessarily and continually prone. The same powers of correction might be exercised by a differently constituted body. But these are the least important of the functions of the Upper House. Whatever tends to render the Upper House more subservient to the interests or dependent on the favour of popular clamour, tends also to incapacitate it for the discharge of duties, which have proved in the past, and may become in the future, of inestimable and priceless value. 'The Church was,' said the soldiers of Cromwell, 'the sword is, the law will be.' But, while the empire of the law still loomed in the distant future, the Lords offered a refuge from the partiality of the ordinary courts of justice. That empire is now too firmly established to be threatened by illegal tyranny. But the Civil War and the events of the reign of Charles II. are only exaggerated examples of the dangers of party violence. After the outbreak of the Civil War, the Upper House endeavoured to mediate between the King and Commons. It is of infinite importance to preserve in the Constitution a powerful, independent body, irresponsible except to public opinion, which at such a crisis could come forward as an arbitrator. Throughout the whole period under review, the Lords asserted the principles of constitutional liberty against the excesses of the House of Commons. In the case of Strafford, they maintained the right of the accused to the same advantages as the accusers; they refused to commit Clarendon on a vague charge of treason, but demanded that the offences alleged against him should be stated with all the particularity of an indictment; they successfully resisted the contention of the Commons, that, by the use of the word 'traitorously,' they could alter Danby's misdemeanour into treason; they secured to Strafford that legal assistance which the Commons would have refused; when the Commons

Commons placarded the walls of Westminster Hall with notices that all who ventured to appear on behalf of Danby would incur their displeasure, the Lords ordered the assistance of the counsel whom Danby had secured. On this latter occasion the magnitude of the danger, which the Lords endeavoured to resist, is sufficiently proved by the fact, that counsel dared not brave the threats of the Commons. The excesses of the Long Parliament were rivalled, at least in spirit, by the Commons, who, in the reign of Charles II., made the names of Topham and of Privilege bywords in the country. The popular representatives lodged their constituents in prison for the exercise of their plainest rights; they committed alike counsel, who discharged a professional duty, and political opponents, who exercised their liberty of speech or petitioned the Crown to summon Parliament. If the refusal of the Lords to allow the impeachment of Fitzharris was technically wrong, the conduct of the Commons was, in the opinion of Lord Campbell, a mistake of such magnitude, both in policy and law, as to alienate them from the nation. In their frenzied violence against Charles I., as well as in their mad panic at the Popish Plot, the Commons acted with a factious violence, which in the one case disgusted their moderate supporters, and in the other threw the victory into the hands of their opponents. It was the elected assembly which endeavoured to overthrow the reasonable terms of the Restoration Settlement; it was the same body which closed the door on religious compromise, and drove from the Church multitudes of earnest, serious-minded Nonconformists; it was the Lower House which was responsible for the persecuting legislation that followed. Yet in these three last respects there is every reason to suppose, that the Commons represented the feeling of the nation. Tumultuous times, like those of the Civil War or the Restoration, offer warnings if they afford no precedents. Education has not wholly extinguished the danger of popular panics or popular delusions; nor is it entirely impossible, that political unscrupulousness should so work on the prejudices of classes as to produce in the future results differing from those of the past, rather in kind than in degree. Arbitrary power, protean in its forms and disguises, assumes no more specious mask than that of liberty. Popular and private rights cannot yet dispense with any of their constitutional securities; least of all can they safely surrender that bicameral system, with its independent differently-constituted bodies, which is still their strongest safeguard.

ART. X.—1. *Returns of the General Elections.* 1885.
2. *Mr. Gladstone's Speeches, Letters, Addresses, and other Public Declarations, November and December,* 1885.

MANY causes have combined to render the General Election of 1885 one of the most memorable recorded in our political history. The incidents which attended it from day to day, and the incidents which followed it, were alike remarkable. At first it almost seemed, that the Conservatives were destined to carry everything before them. The chief supporters of Mr. Gladstone's Ministry were either rejected in all directions, or, if their appeal to the people succeeded, they had to content themselves with diminished majorities. In every community where intelligence was combined with tolerably accurate information on public topics, it was found that the growth of Conservative opinion exceeded all reasonable anticipation. Where people are in the habit of reading and thinking, where they follow the course of contemporary events with discernment, and where they remember even a faint outline of the facts connected with Mr. Gladstone's later career,—there the representatives of Conservative principles found that they had a good foundation to build upon. It was very soon seen that the English boroughs, which Liberalism had claimed as its own in perpetuity, had, for the most part, transferred their allegiance from the party of agitation and disturbance to the party of law and order.

Then there followed the practical commentary on the great fact, which was so strongly insisted upon in these pages just before the elections; namely, that the worst enemy, which the Conservatives have to fear, is ignorance. If the bulk of the people did but follow public affairs closely, if they watched the course of public men with the shrewdness and discrimination which are shown in the great counties of Middlesex and Lancashire, the day of blatant demagogism, and of putting up the institutions of the country to be knocked down at a Dutch auction, would soon be over. To bring about this result, all that we need to get before the country is the truth—the simple and straightforward truth. The Radicals have so perverted the facts of history, and so misrepresented the character of political leaders, especially since the period of the first Reform Bill, that the Conservative party is known only through the vehicle of distorted caricatures. It must be remembered, that the Liberal press has been far more active than the Conservative, and that we have only recently been aroused to the necessity of competing vigorously with Liberal electioneering organizations. We cannot make up for all our lost time in a single year, but

the necessity of making up for it is beginning to be felt by every friend of the Conservative cause, and that is the first great step towards an improvement. The people are quite willing to hear the truth—they are even anxious to hear it, if any one can be found to present it to them in an intelligible and fairly interesting manner. That which won the election for Conservatives in many a borough was the very thing sneered at by the *blasé* publicists of London as 'ancient history'—the story of Mr. Gladstone's foreign policy, plainly narrated; the recapitulation of the monstrous blunders in the Soudan; the retrospect of the mistakes and follies of the five years of Mr. Gladstone's misrule. The journalists are supposed to know all about these things, but to the great body of the working men they are not familiar in any shape, and therefore they need instruction. Let no one suppose that they are not willing to receive it. We have, for years past, been urging upon the Conservative party the duty of taking pains to disperse the mists of ignorance, which alone serve to keep tens of thousands wandering amid the bogs and morasses of Radicalism. Those who acted upon our advice during the recent election had no reason to regret it. It is true that the Radicals were very angry. Sir Charles Dilke endeavoured, in his complacent way, to ridicule our statement, that Radicalism is based upon pure ignorance. Yet he was himself doomed to afford a practical proof of its truth, for it was entirely owing to a more accurate perception of his actual worth and merits, that his majority in Chelsea was reduced from 2740 to 175. A little more of this popular enlightenment, and Sir Charles Dilke will be set at liberty to make that elaborately advertised tour in Ireland which was so mysteriously interrupted last autumn.

What ignorance could do, however, was shown on the greatest and most complete scale when the elections reached the counties. Radical lecturers and newspapers had been indefatigable in their efforts to spread the belief among the newly enfranchised agricultural labourers that, if they would only vote for 'Chamberlain and Gladstone,' something very pleasant indeed would happen to them. This bribe was popularly expressed by the magic words, 'three acres and a cow'—not that Mr. Chamberlain ever was so rash as to commit himself to any pledge of the kind. He is too adroit for that. He left his underlings to go on whispering about the acres, while he stood in the background making large, but vague, professions of his intense sympathy and love for the poor and unemployed—a sympathy which received its first practical manifestation on the occasion when the unemployed of Birmingham went to see him at his 'palatial residence,' and when

when he berated them soundly for presuming to invade the sacred domain, and told them, in effect, to go to the workhouse. This instructive episode occurred a little too late in the day to be brought home to the slowly-moving minds of the rural voters. Therefore they acted to the last under the belief, that it would pay them well to vote for Radicalism. They were told, that land was certainly going to be divided up among the poor, that, if they voted for the Tories, bread would be a shilling a loaf, and that the old corn-laws would be re-enacted, so that everybody who depended upon his daily wages for his food would be reduced to starvation. They knew nothing about the Gladstone Ministry; nothing about Egypt, or Russia, or India; nothing about the destruction of life which went on all through the Gladstone Administration; nothing about the series of blunders which has rendered Ireland a source of greater danger to us than ever. They believed, in some hazy way, that they would be made 'well-off' when the Liberals came to power, and therefore they voted for the Liberals, and hence the early results of the elections were reversed, to the disappointment of all moderate men throughout the land.

The rural vote, then, was won by an imposture, not to use a more disagreeable word. The immediate result is much to be regretted, but most impostures recoil, in the long run, upon the heads of those who originate them, and it needs no gift of second-sight to enable us to predict that the counties will return to us. It is quite impossible, that the Radical bribe can be paid, and when the labourers find that they have been duped, they will resent it bitterly—all the more bitterly, because most of them will feel that they ought to have exercised a little common-sense in the first instance. They are able to appreciate the difficulties which surround the cultivation of the land, even under the most favourable circumstances. They have, in various degrees, and to a limited extent, a practical knowledge of agriculture, and they must be well aware, that wheat cannot be grown at a profit when the first cost to the grower is from 40*s.* to 42*s.* a quarter, and when it will not fetch more than 32*s.* in the market. They also know, that there is no other crop that can be grown on a small piece of land, which would be in the least degree likely to enable a man to support himself and his family. Therefore the day of retribution of the Liberal party is sure. What they gained dishonestly, they deserve to lose, and they will inevitably lose it—probably at the very next election, but certainly at no distant date. The rural voters will henceforth know what Radical promises mean, and they are not likely again to play the part of the countryman who is being made the victim of the

'confidence trick.' Although we could undoubtedly have wished to see a more triumphant issue to the late elections, we recognize no cause for despondency. Intelligence is on our side; the young men everywhere are coming over to us as they have not done for nearly half a century; the domestic and religious sentiment of the people is attracted strongly towards us. The women of the country, in an overwhelming majority, are Conservatives—and let no one underrate that force. The Radicals underrated it at the last election, and smarted so severely in consequence, that they are now getting up all sorts of 'Leagues' in opposition to the highly popular and successful 'Primrose League.' Lastly, we may feel perfect confidence that, as we have a good cause, based upon true patriotism, and a spirit of justice to all, we shall conquer in the end. And we are far more certain now than we have ever been before, that the end is already within sight.

Let us not, however, make too little of the successes actually gained at the recent election. The state of parties at the close of the last two contests may very easily be tested and compared:—

	1880.	1885.
Liberals	354 ..	333
Conservatives	236 ..	251
Home Rulers	62 ..	86

We have therefore absolutely gained fifteen seats, and the Liberals have lost twenty-one. When we take into consideration the fact that Scotland and Wales, through sheer fanaticism, gave the Liberals a majority of seventy-eight, and that we lost many of the counties through gross deception, there will not appear to be much cause left for discouragement. No principles that we, as a party, advocate were condemned; our leaders have not in any way lost public support—on the contrary, they never were so strong as they are now. Their foreign policy is all but universally approved. With domestic policy they have had, as yet, scarcely time to do anything, but so far as it has been sketched out, it meets with hearty concurrence. No question was submitted to the people on which they have given a decision adverse to us. We repeat, then, that though we have been retarded in our progress by a half-crazy fanaticism or by stolid ignorance,* we ought to feel proud of the manner

* The five most illiterate counties in England (judging by the test of the proportion of the male population unable to read or write) are Monmouth, Stafford, Suffolk, Norfolk, and Cambridge. Here the Liberals returned nineteen members to five Conservatives. The five least illiterate counties are Surrey, Kent, Middlesex, Hampshire, and Sussex. Here the Conservatives returned *thirty-one* members to *one* Liberal. What more need be said?

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in which the great centres of wealth, industry, and intelligence, have supported us, and to be encouraged by that support to make redoubled efforts in the future. Moreover, let it be remembered that even in the counties, the Liberals received only 104,460 more votes than we did — 1,937,000 against 916,314. This comparatively small majority enabled them to secure 134 seats out of 234. We need not despair of changing the direction of 104,460 votes. It was in the face of all these conditions, that one of the most shallow politicians of the day, Sir William Harcourt, hurried out with the prophecy that the Tory party could 'never, under any conceivable circumstances, have a majority in the House of Commons.'* It may be as well to place this foolish piece of bluster upon record, if only as another illustration of the fact, that men may attain to considerable positions in England without possessing wisdom, good judgment, foresight, or any quality, which is ordinarily associated with the idea of statesmanship.

It will at once be seen, to which party fell the greatest gains in this contest. The Home Rulers increased their strength from sixty-two to eighty-six. They hold the balance of power in their own hands, after making all due allowances for the doubtful votes of certain Liberals, who have never professed unwavering fidelity to Mr. Gladstone. Now, when it was perceived that the Liberals had been driven clean out of Ireland—that in the whole of the country not one supporter of the late Ministry had been returned—everybody who has watched in past times the working of Mr. Gladstone's mind must have felt confident, that before long he would give some indication, directly or indirectly, of his readiness to make another 'forward movement.' It has been strangely overlooked, in all the discussions which have recently gone on, that a preparation for some such contingency as this was made by Mr. Gladstone in 1882. On two occasions at the beginning of the Session—on the 9th and 16th of February—he left the door judiciously open for this conversion to Home Rule, whenever circumstances seemed to render that step desirable. He expressed, in the cloudy phraseology which he usually adopts at this stage of his conversions, a willingness to give local government to Ireland, provided that provisions could be devised for 'the supremacy of Parliament.' But he laid it down as an essential principle—good enough, at any rate, for the year 1882—that this supremacy should not be relinquished. 'I am well convinced,' he said—and his words ought to be remembered during the present

* Letter to the 'Times,' December 11, 1885.

Session

Session—'that neither this House of Commons, nor any other that may succeed it, will at any time assent to any measure, by which the one paramount central authority necessary for holding together in perfect unison and compactness this great Empire would be swept away.'* But in spite of all his limitations, his speech was understood to be much in favour of Home Rule, and consequently Mr. Sexton declared, that 'he had heard with respect and admiration the speech delivered by the right hon. gentleman at the head of the Government,' while the 'Times' (February 10th) plainly said, that Mr. Gladstone's language would 'do infinite and irreparable mischief,' and that the 'Home Rule agitation, which has fallen into contempt and decay, will be stimulated to renew its efforts, and to re-awaken the separatist spirit among the majority of the people of Ireland.' In fact, the way had been paved for a surrender to the Home Rulers, on the system of tactics well described in a few words by Lord Salisbury, in his final remarks upon the 'Arrears of Rent' Bill (August 10th, 1882). 'We know,' said the present Prime Minister, 'how the measures which are pressed upon us one year as final are in succeeding years pointed to as containing the germs of a principle which necessitates some further step in the same direction. What has been in the past will probably recur in the future.' Even before Mr. Gladstone had given an inkling of his intentions, we had foreshadowed them in a passage which we may be permitted to reproduce:—

'In 1865, Mr. Gladstone declared that the "question of the Irish establishment was remote," and "apparently out of all bearing upon the practical politics of the day." He never expected "to be called on to share" in any measure affecting it. Three years afterwards he came forward, as it was said at the time, "from ambush," and destroyed the Irish Church. In 1870, he declared that he was opposed to what was called "perpetuity of tenure," and to endowing the tenant with a "joint property in the soil." . . . In 1880, he contended that these concessions were the very least that could be made to the Irish occupiers. At the same rate of progress in the future, how long will it be before Mr. Gladstone undergoes another change of conviction, and comes before the nation with a calm admission that we are again within "measurable distance" of civil war, and can be saved only by Home Rule? It can never be said that we were not warned in time. . . . Of one thing, and of one only, may the people of this country rest assured amid the chaos that prevails around them—if they continue to sanction legislation for Ireland upon the destructive principles pursued by Mr. Gladstone ever since 1868, *they will eventually be compelled either to let Ireland*

* Speech in House of Commons, 9th February ('Times' report, 10th February).

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go, or to wage a bloody war to keep her—to that complexion must they come at last.'—'Quarterly Review,' January, 1882.

If, therefore, people were not prepared, after the recent elections, for some sort of communication from Mr. Gladstone, more or less disguised and circuitous, on the subject of Home Rule, it could only be owing to their entire forgetfulness of the course of events during the last Administration. Everybody now knows, that a scheme was actually put forward by or for Mr. Gladstone, in his name, through the direct instrumentality of persons who are very near to him; and that it has never been honestly disclaimed. It amounted to this: Ireland to have a Parliament of its own, meeting in Dublin, but *retaining its representation* in the Imperial Parliament. The police in Ireland to be handed over to the Irish Parliament, subject to Mr. Parnell's 'guarantee' that it shall not be used 'as a cover and protection for lawlessness.' The Crown to be permitted to exercise a veto on the proceedings of the Irish Parliament, but only 'on the advice of the Irish Ministry.' Finally, it was stated, not upon authority —only 'inferentially'—that 'Mr. Gladstone is sanguine that this policy of settling the Irish question once for all will commend itself to the majority of his party and to the English people, when it is clearly understood that no other course can bring real peace.' There were undoubtedly many grave reasons, which would have suggested to Mr. Gladstone the necessity of disavowing this project, if he had felt that he could conscientiously take this responsibility. The whole nation was seriously disquieted; his party, as a whole, was dismayed. Lord Hartington thought it advisable to issue a few words to reassure the Liberals as to his own position. The public journals which usually support Mr. Gladstone were in distress. As a rule, the late Prime Minister is not overburdened with reticence, and has no old-fashioned scruples about writing to the newspapers. No story can be too silly for him to contradict. His solemn and profuse denials of cock-and-bull tales are familiar enough to us all. But in this case, his replies to the incessant appeals, which were made to him, were enigmatical. For some days he would not say anything. It was known that the statement, which had caused so much excitement, had substantially been put forth by his son, the member for Leeds, and that this was not the first time he had served a similar purpose. At length the outcry became so general, that continued silence became impossible. Again the oracle spoke in riddles. The scheme, it appeared, had been promulgated without Mr. Gladstone's 'knowledge or authority,' and he referred enquirers to his recorded public utterances—such as those of February 1882. But were not these

these very utterances intended to prepare us for the announcement of December? It is true that in the very speech from which we have already quoted, Mr. Gladstone said, in reference to Home Rule, 'it is highly unlikely that I shall ever be called upon to take practical part in relation to these opinions;' but with the analogy of his corresponding declaration concerning the Irish Church, and the overthrow of that Church by him—a process afterwards repeated at the expense of the Irish landlords—this disclaimer only renders the *communiqué* of last month more ominous than ever. For it is quite certain, that Mr. Gladstone is never nearer to actually doing a thing than at the moment when he professes, that it is 'highly unlikely' he will ever be called upon to 'take a practical part' in it. We may, then, take it for granted that his son, his newspapers, and his agents generally, did not speak wholly without inspiration a few weeks ago.

As for the scheme itself, involving, as it necessarily does, final separation of the two countries, it has been all but universally condemned by public opinion. Scarcely anybody questions the fact, that two Parliaments controlled by Nationalists—the Parliament at Westminster and the Parliament in Dublin—would 'bring England to its knees' in the way so often predicted by the 'Invincibles.' Even the Home Rulers never asked outright for so much as this. It is a bid beyond their wildest hopes. The Irish police would become a body to carry out the decrees of the anarchists. The loyal population of Ireland would be reduced to the plight which pleased Mr. Bright so much, when he saw it impending over the landlords—they would have to 'fly for their lives.' The landlords would be compelled to take what they could get for their property. A force of Irish-Americans could be landed any day, and would be free to make Ireland a convenient base for all their operations against England. The 'finest harbour in the world' could be turned into a place of shelter for hostile cruisers. Legislation in England would be stopped whenever the Irish wished to stop it, just as it is now, while we should have given up everything. The Nationalist party, either here or in the United States, have delivered in their bill for settlement. 'We want,' it was said at a Dublin Convention of the Land League in 1882, 'to destroy landlordism in this country, and *with it, British rule.*' 'Before a very long time has elapsed,' said Mr. Parnell at Waterford in 1880, 'perhaps much sooner than any of us expect now, the people of Ireland will be enabled to enter for the first time on the paths of prosperity and *national independence.*' But he did not expect to get the control of the Imperial Parliament at the same

same time. We could fill pages with declarations to a similar effect. The belief that Ireland can be entirely released from the 'yoke' of England was never so strong among Irishmen as it is to-day, and it has been strengthened almost exclusively by Mr. Gladstone's policy—now making concessions as a means of grasping power, now passing Coercion Bills in a panic at the very sight of the lawlessness which he has provoked. The public may be alarmed for the moment at the new leap they are likely to be invited to take, but the late Prime Minister knows well how to enforce his old argument—'I recommend this as a means of peace. It will give prosperity and satisfaction to Ireland, and will unite the two countries in a solid and enduring bond.' Let us consider a little, what value we ought to attach to these assurances when we get them.

What claim has Mr. Gladstone to guide the nation any longer in its Irish policy? What evidence can he bring forward of fitness for that high and most onerous duty? Let us look into the facts as they will have to be looked into, when the chief actors in the scene have departed. Is it not indisputable, that every one of Mr. Gladstone's 'healing measures' has left Ireland more dissatisfied and more exacting than ever, nearer than ever to revolution? Is it not also a fact, that each was accompanied by the most solemn promises that it would lay at rest the spectre of Irish sedition? The Irish Church Act was described by its author, as 'a message of peace,' certain to be followed by the best results, and he professed to admit to the full the justice of the punishment, which 'ought to fall upon those men, the Phaetons of politics, who, with hands unequal to the task, attempt to guide the chariot of the sun.' In 1870, he felt equally confident that his Land Act would lead to 'free will and free affection, peace, and order,' while 'a settled and cheerful industry' would diffuse its 'blessings from year to year, and from day to day, over a smiling land.' In 1881, over another Land Bill, his song was the same: 'Another great emancipating and redeeming measure, necessary alike for the prosperity of Ireland, the fame of Parliament, and the strength and solidity of the United Kingdom.' And still again: 'Justice, sir, is to be our guide. Guided by that light—that divine light—we are safe.' That a man should be given over to his own delusions is no very unusual phenomenon in this world, but it is unusual to find a whole nation willing to follow such a man even to the very brink of ruin. The annals of political history will be searched in vain for a parallel to this.

Failure then, most disastrous and most complete, being stamped upon the whole mass of the Gladstonian legislation, we

we are now told that we must put ourselves in the same hands again, and permit the author of so much disaster to lead us whithersoever he will. His confidence in himself, and in his being guided by a special 'Divine light,' is unabated. He saw nothing to reproach himself with in the Egyptian 'operations,' from the bombardment of Alexandria to the massacre of Gordon. He sees nothing defective in his Irish policy. He has gone on from one step to another, following, as he believes, the mysterious 'light,' from Disestablishment, and legislation based on confiscation of private property, until there is scarcely anything left for him to propose except the absolute separation of the two countries. If a 'crisis' arrived, it is quite conceivable that he would agree to that. In 1868, Mr. Disraeli was in power, and there did not seem to be any convenient means at hand for getting him out of it. That was a 'crisis.' It signalized the moment for a 'conversion,' and accordingly Mr. Gladstone was converted—after his usual formal retirement—to the necessity of disestablishing the Irish Church, which only three years before he felt convinced was far beyond his 'ken'—'in the dim and distant future.' In 1870 he was again in political difficulties; this time he was converted to the necessity of a Bill, depriving the Irish landlords of the rights which the common law assured to them. In 1873 he brought forward his Irish University Bill, and announced it as a remedy for '*the last* of the religious and social grievances of Ireland.'* But on this his Government was defeated; that was another crisis. His defeat led him for a moment to change his tactics—he issued a manifesto offering, if replaced in power, to abolish the Income Tax. He was rejected by the nation, the heavy bribe notwithstanding, and this led to another last—positively the last—retirement from public life. 'I see no advantage,' he wrote, 'in my continuing to act as the leader of the Liberal party.' Then a compact was once more made between the Liberal party and the Parnellites, in time for the General Election of 1880. Lord Hartington's letter to Lord Ramsay (now Lord Dalhousie) at Liverpool, in support of Home Rule, was one proof of it, but proofs abounded all over the country. The Irish vote was to be given in return for fresh concessions. The very men, who lately pretended to be so indignant over a theory of their own invention, that the Tories entered last autumn into a compact with the Parnellites, actually concluded a bargain of that kind in 1880. 'The Irish vote,' said a Radical journal—

* Speech in the House of Commons, March 11th, 1873.

then

then the organ of a 'philosopher' who has since developed into a 'prominent politician'—was 'a vital factor in the Liberal majority which was polled in 1880.' The same testimony is upon record in the 'Times:'—'The Irish vote was cast against Lord Beaconsfield's supporters in 1880, and it turned the scale in favour of the Liberals in many of the large towns.' No Liberal then dared to impugn the morality of an Irish alliance. No doubt a certain proportion of the Irish vote was given to the Conservatives at the more recent election, but it was given in revenge for the Coercion Acts of 1881–2. No consideration was offered by the Conservatives; no underhanded solicitations were used. The Parnellites, not unnaturally, desired to strike at the party which led them to the brink of rebellion, and then suddenly turned upon them with the harshest law passed since the Union.

But is there not a bargain going on now, and in the old quarter? Are we not invited to put Mr. Gladstone back in office, in order that he may 'settle the Irish question'? It is true that many Liberals declare they will no longer follow the 'divine light'; that their eyes have been opened to the dangers towards which sheer infatuation is conducting their leader. Did they not say the same before the last Land Act was passed, and again during the Egyptian wars? They protested, but they had to yield. How can they—how can any one—justify Mr. Gladstone's course after 1880, not to go any further back? Did he not declare that Ireland was peaceful and prosperous, and decline to renew the very moderate measure for ensuring tranquillity which Lord Beaconsfield had left behind him? Did not a tremendous increase of crime occur within a few months? Then he proposed more concessions, and these in their turn were followed by a terrible winter in Ireland; and in the midst of it Mr. Parnell—dealing quite frankly, as usual, with us—went to Waterford and made a speech, in the course of which he said: 'Let us take our stand upon our just rights—the ownership of the land for the people of Ireland. Let us leave to the enemy the offer of compromise. Let the first offer of compromise come from them, for they are the beleaguered and isolated garrison.' This boast was fully warranted. The Land League soon grew to be more powerful in Ireland than the regular Government, as Lord Hartington was compelled to admit. 'For the law of the land,' he said,* 'has been substituted the law of the Land League ... for those who work in the service of the law, the midnight assassin, and the ruffian

* House of Commons, January 11th, 1881.

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who invades the humble cottage. From this tyranny there are thousands suffering at this moment.' Such was the system which sprung up almost immediately under Mr. Gladstone, just as the National League was allowed to take root and flourish in the very same soil, under the same Minister. The Land League, the National League, and 'Boycotting,' are all landmarks of the Gladstone Administration, and are part of the bitter fruit of his 'healing measures.'

Then from unwise concession the Liberal party swung over, as they invariably do, to ruthless coercion. Martial law would, upon the whole, have been better for Ireland than the Coercion Bills of 1881 and 1882. All the leading Irishmen were arrested, only to be released by virtue of the Kilmainham treaty, under which the Parnellites undertook for the future to 'co-operate cordially with the Liberal party.' But even after that, whenever an accredited representative of the Nationalists opened his mouth, he fairly warned Mr. Gladstone, that it was not enough to sacrifice the Irish Church and Irish landlords; that he would continually find himself in the position of the traveller pursued by wolves, who throws out one thing after another, only to gain a temporary respite. Early in the Session of 1882, the late Mr. P. J. Smyth,—a thoughly sincere and honest man, much ill-treated by his own party—in a speech which made a great impression at the time, told the quaking Government that the 'Union might be made binding as a law, but it was impossible to make it obligatory on the conscience. It would not be long before the sound of the trumpet-note announcing the judgment day would be heard.' Then it was that Mr. Gladstone, as we have shown, exhibited symptoms of a disposition to yield. The Irish people remembered what he had said about the Clerkenwell explosion and the 'chapel bell,' and once more they acted upon the hint. Outrages steadily increased, and soon culminated in the assassination of Lord Frederick Cavendish and Mr. Burke, who 'apprehended no danger,' as the accounts said at the time, 'especially under what seemed the auspicious inauguration of a policy of conciliation.' More coercion followed, and then more concessions, and so the dark and shameful story went on, almost down to the last hour of the existence of Mr. Gladstone's ever-memorable Administration.

This is Mr. Gladstone's claim, to be allowed *carte blanche* once more in dealing with Ireland. He has no other. Everything that he has touched has brought us a fatal legacy of evil. We confine ourselves only to the facts of history, and we say that they are overwhelming in the proof they afford, that of all men now living, Mr. Gladstone has the least moral or political right

right to ask the people of England to let him have his own way any further with Ireland. The mischief he has already done can never be undone, but that is no reason why he should be left free to do more. He has made up his mind to force upon the country another Irish Session. That would be misfortune enough, even if it were all. At a time, when foreign affairs demand the most careful and dispassionate consideration of Parliament, and when the condition of our trade calls still more loudly for that attention which it never receives when the Liberals are in power—at such a time as this, Mr. Gladstone makes the following announcement*—'I think it probable that the bigness and urgency of the Irish question may bring it to issue quickly. . . I fear until this subject is disposed of, no real progress will be made with any others.' Everything else is to be set aside, until the problem of centuries has been 'disposed of.' That it would have forced itself to the front in any case we do not doubt, but it is Mr. Gladstone who has presented it in this imperious and dangerous shape. The solitary advantage, incidental to his eagerness to take the lead once more in an effort to restore his party to office, is that time has been afforded for the nation to make itself familiar with the true nature and effects of the new step towards dismemberment of the Empire. The discussion, which has been going on for several weeks past in the London papers, cannot but have done some good, although it reaches principally the class which is already well informed, and which needs little fresh argument to confirm its opinions. We should have been glad to know that the letters of the Duke of Argyll, of Sir James Stephen, and of other writers, had been read far and wide by the mass of the working classes, some of whom are still in danger of being lulled to sleep by Mr. Gladstone's anodynes. The great fear is, that these classes may be persuaded that Mr. Gladstone only means to restore peace and prosperity to Ireland, that no one wants separation, and that the author of the Disestablishment Bill and the Land Acts is the one man to whom the future of Ireland can safely be entrusted. There is *no* fear that the working classes would consent to separation, if that proposal were definitely made to them. Therefore, no pains should be spared to show them, that separation is inevitably involved in the project which, whether authorized or not, bears the Hawarden stamp upon it. Sir James Stephen has made it very plain to everybody that the Irish Parliament, if established, could not give guarantees of any kind which would

* In a letter to Mr. Heneage, December 14th, 1885.

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be of the slightest value or effect. It might pass laws in direct conflict with the general interest and welfare of the whole nation, but, as the Hawarden scheme was first propounded, only a nominal power of veto was proposed to be given. It is true that there has since been some idle talk of establishing a Supreme Court in Ireland, such as that which exists in the United States. A Supreme Court for the whole country might be an excellent institution; if it had existed during the last few years, it would certainly have made short work of all Mr. Gladstone's 'special legislation.' The Irish Church Bill, and the successive Land Bills, would have been brought before the Court, and decided to be in contravention of agreements solemnly entered into either by the nation, or by individuals on the faith of the law, and therefore unconstitutional. The American Supreme Court, as we have frequently shown in these pages, is one of those invaluable checks upon the rashness of so-called statesmen, and upon legislation devised to catch votes, which the founders of the Republic were wise enough to impose, but which we have hitherto deemed superfluous in this country. Such an additional Estate of the Realm would render statesmen of the rhetorical type either impossible, or comparatively harmless, in the future. If, therefore, it were practicable to establish it for the whole of the United Kingdom, we might at least be willing to think about it. But to propose to set it up in Ireland—under Irish Judges, we presume—is an idea too preposterous to deserve a moment's serious consideration.

The Irish Parliament, having the right to pass any laws it chose, would lose no time in dealing with the Free Trade question on drastic principles. Irish industries would be fostered by the bounty system, and by a rigorous system of Protection. Even Mr. Justin McCarthy—perhaps the most moderate and the most reasonable of the Home Rulers—admits, that 'Ireland would be perfectly entitled to impose any tariff she thought fit,' while Mr. Parnell has spoken out plainly for Protective tariffs. 'We should insist upon a Parliament,' he said at Wicklow, on the 5th of October last, 'that shall have power to protect Irish manufactures, if it be the will of that Parliament and the Irish people that they should be protected.' And he added, 'no Parliamentary assembly will work satisfactorily which has not free power over Irish affairs, which has not free power to raise revenues for the purposes of government in Ireland in such a way as shall seem fit and best to that assembly. I am of the opinion—an opinion which I have expressed before now—that it would be wise to protect certain Irish industries, at all events for a time.' This demand seems

to

to have a little shocked the Radical party, but it would probably require only a moderate course of Mr. Gladstone's training to bring them to see, that the point was 'not worth fighting about.' The leader has indeed protested, that Free Trade must be regarded as sacred, and that he will never lay violent hands upon it. 'Words, words, words.' Protection would be among the gifts which would have to go to Ireland, in return for its support of the Liberal party. Then would come the 'wiping out' process as regards debt. It is well known, that a vast sum of English capital has been lent upon the security of Irish mortgages—lent, unfortunately, as we are disposed to think, chiefly by insurance offices. It is believed that the amount exceeds 100,000,000*l.* This has recently been described by the 'Freeman's Journal' as the 'property of London usurers and money-lenders,' 'Jewish skinflints,' who might (after the Irish Parliament was established) be invited to go over and help themselves to their property, when 'it would be made pretty hot for them.' In this matter, again, we can never complain with justice that Mr. Parnell has deceived us. He has expressly said, that it is not in his power to place any limit upon Irish nationality, or to fetter the Irish Parliament by giving guarantees of any kind. He does not seek to establish a mock Parliament, but a real one, having as much power of independent action as the Parliament at Westminster. Therefore he dismisses as puerile—as well he may—all affectations of 'guarantees.' As for private property, he has never, so far as we are aware, changed his tone. 'The platform is,' he said at Derry (August 30th, 1881) 'that the land shall be transferred from the landlords, *who stole it originally*, to the people from whom they stole it, at as small a price as possible. If we could get it for nothing at all, we say the price the farmers have been paying for it for generations, for hundreds of years, would be ample compensation.' What man in his senses can doubt, that this is the spirit in which the new Irish Parliament would approach the question of compensation? Why, the Nationalists would ask, should we compensate the holders of stolen property? They have been more than compensated already by the rents to which they were not entitled. It is *they* who owe compensation to the Irish people. 'France,' as Mr. Brennan once reminded his countrymen, 'when she was getting rid of her landlords, did not give them compensation, but twenty feet of rope.' Let us also listen to the words of Mr. Michael Davitt (November 26th, 1882)—one of the foremost leaders of the party which Mr. Gladstone proposes to make rulers over Ireland:—

'From

'From the homes of 200,000 starving people; from the graves of millions of our race; from the depths of the wide Atlantic; from the shades of murdered landlords, as well as from those of their famished victims—aye, from the regions of the damned, where souls are expiating the crimes that were born of Irish landlordism, come shrieks of supplicating agony demanding the destruction of Irish landlordism. Let it perish, then, while the execrations of the damned form its fitting requiem, and may the hate and vengeance that have been born of its accursed acts, and that have defamed the character of this old Christian land, sink with it into the depths of an infamous and everlasting oblivion!'

All that we can say is, that if the English insurance offices see any way at present of getting their money out of Ireland, the sooner they do it the better.

'There need not be separation,' so we are told. But the great leader of the Liberal party never foresees the effect of any measure which he introduces into Parliament. He is solely intent upon accomplishing a present purpose—to consequences he either blinds himself, or is blinded by a defect of nature. Take any measure that we may please as a test of this, and the conclusion will never change. Now Mr. Parnell does not tell us, that there never need be separation. In his speech at Wicklow he referred to that question. All that he was willing to make himself responsible for was an expression of opinion to this effect—that the desire for separation in Ireland would not *be increased* 'by conceding fully and freely to Ireland the right to manage her own affairs.' It is to be all 'take' and no 'give.' The refusal of Home Rule is a peril, which Mr. Parnell tells us, will 'find sooner or later an opportunity of avenging itself in the destruction of that British Empire, which has been the misfortune, the oppression, and the misgovernment, of our country.' And on another occasion * he said, 'I believe that if it be sought to make it impossible for our country to obtain the right of administering her own affairs, we shall make all other things impossible for those who so seek.' He reminded his audience, that equal electoral privileges were once pronounced impossible, and yet that they were afterwards offered 'by the same person, with a humble entreaty that we may take it in order that we may educate ourselves for better things, and further powers.' Would that the whole nation had as clear an insight into the character of that 'same person' as Mr. Parnell possesses! We should be in a position of infinitely less peril than that which we actually occupy.

* At a dinner given by the Lord Mayor of Dublin, Sept. 1st, 1885.

Is

Is there any excuse then, we ask again, for further self-deception on the part of the English people? Is there any encouragement to be found, in the words or professions of Mr. Parnell and his associates, to induce the country to take the fatal plunge into anarchy which will certainly be forced upon it if it stands silent? How can it be expected, that the Nationalists will accept any proposal likely to be deemed satisfactory by the English people, when such a bait as that prepared last month is dangled before their eyes? Will not every party, intent upon certain aims, take as much as it can get? Will it be content with half when it is offered the whole? It is all very well to denounce Mr. Parnell, but if he is blameworthy, what are we to say to Mr. Gladstone, who has before now gone to the Irish leader with 'a humble entreaty' that he would accept measures, every one of which meant the victory of the Secessionists? Mr. Parnell and his followers have simply done what they all along professed they intended to do. People are angry with them, but their anger is turned entirely into the wrong channel. We have shown, over and over again, that the Parnellites have been perfectly straightforward from the first. If the nation has been led far astray, it was led by Mr. Gladstone, not by Mr. Parnell. Before either of the Land Bills was passed —before the late Prime Minister had fairly launched out upon his second series of 'healing measures'—Mr. Parnell told us the inevitable end. 'I would not have taken off my coat,' he said,* 'and gone to this work, if I had not known that we were laying the foundations of this movement for the regeneration of our legislative independence.' We choose to shut our eyes and ears to all these warnings; instead of paying heed to them, as men ought to do who have determined adversaries to deal with, we prefer to be beguiled by the wild delusions of dreamers. Electing to do that, is there not something a little absurd in our waxing wroth with Mr. Parnell?

There was a time when the Parnell doctrines were regarded with indignation by the English people, largely on account of the disorders to which they had given rise. What did Mr. Gladstone think of them then? He denounced them as 'degrading and immoral,' and he deplored the fact, that Irish landlords and others did not defend their own rights. Even he, we should suppose, would scarcely be able to peruse without astonishment the following quotation from one of his own speeches:—

'Why, gentlemen, what would happen in this country if sentiments of this kind were to go forth and become in any degree dangerous to

* October 24th, 1880.

the public peace—supposing agrarian offences were committed and sometimes augmented by horrible and disgraceful cruelty, and even with loss of life, and that the crime could not be put down by the exertions of the ordinary authorities? Why, what would happen would be this. The vast multitudes of loyal citizens would exert themselves in support and in aid of the office of the law. But no such thing is heard of as that in Ireland. I hope there will be a change in that respect. I am sure it is necessary.'*

The classes who own property in Ireland, and who are loyal to the Crown, were thus not obscurely told that it was almost a sacred duty to defend their rights. What treatment would they have received, if they had acted upon this hint, and raised corps of loyal men 'in support and in aid of the office of the law'? They were taunted with their 'cowardice.' The fact is, that Mr. Gladstone had deprived them of the power of helping themselves—he had reduced many of them to penury, and driven others out of Ireland altogether. 'You,' wrote one of them to him, 'who have so deeply injured those very classes by depriving them of their property without compensation, and destroying their moral position and influence, should have been the last to make an attack so ungenerous and untrue, calculated (if not intended) to injure them in public estimation.'† The Irish Property Defence Association was in existence at this very period, but it was crippled by want of money and by the thinly-disguised hostility of the Government. The classes in question are now threatened with the loss of everything. Suppose they were, at this eleventh hour, to act upon the advice given to them by Mr. Gladstone in 1881? It would probably prove to be the beginning of a civil war, and that would be nothing more than the logical result of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy. It no doubt seems a strange thing, to find a Prime Minister taunting a section of his fellow-subjects with cowardice, for not taking more active and formidable steps to defend themselves against his measures. The very men, in whose hands Mr. Gladstone proposes to place all Ireland, are those whom he described as basing their operations on 'doctrines of public plunder.' Mr. Parnell retorted at the time, and very justly, that it was Mr. Gladstone who taught them these doctrines of plunder. 'When he speaks about plunder,' said the Irish leader,‡ 'we are entitled to ask who were the first of the plunderers? Who was it that first sanctioned this doctrine of public plunder? will

* Speech at Leeds, October 7th, 1881.

† Letter to Mr. Gladstone from Mr. Robert Staples, of Dunmore, Queen's County, October 25th, 1881.

‡ Speech at Wexford, October 9th, 1881.

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be asked by some persons. It is only a question of degree, and William Ewart Gladstone . . . will, before long, if he lives long enough, introduce a Bill into the House of Commons to extend this very principle of public plunder which he has sanctioned by his Act of 1881. . . . There are some persons very much better entitled to call him a little robber than he is entitled to call me a big one.' Such are the opinions entertained of the 'most eminent statesmen of his age' by the future President of the Irish Republic.

It is but justice to a large contingent of the Liberal party to acknowledge, that the new scheme has been received with much coldness, or even with open hostility. Lord Hartington will oppose it, always assuming—a very rash assumption—that he will continue firm. There are others, who may be more confidently counted upon to take the manly and honourable course. On the other hand, the Radicals, whatever they may say now, will not mutiny against Mr. Gladstone, and the Irish vote will be cast for him. Then we have to consider the large class who believe blindly in Mr. Gladstone, and who never think of questioning or examining anything he recommends or does. They pin their faith to a name. 'Mr. Gladstone advises it—he must be right': such is their simple political creed, astounding enough to any one who knows what Mr. Gladstone's career has really been. Again, there are many who 'cannot believe' that the late Prime Minister is capable of duplicity. Look, they say, at his remarks on this Irish question during the late elections; and we must admit that they are worth looking at. We strongly advise our readers to bear them in mind, not only as an essential part of the history of the question, but also as tending to throw a sort of electric light on the Gladstonian system. We cannot afford the space for all his important declarations, but everybody ought to be glad to be reminded of two or three, as mere examples. At West Calder, on the 16th of November, he said he would not 'make himself the volunteer physician of the people of Ireland,' because he 'was not in the Government of the country.' Further, 'if any great constitutional question arises with respect to the government of Ireland, and if a proposal has to be made, that proposal can only be made effectively by the Government of the country'—a very proper principle, but not so effective for Mr. Gladstone's purpose as the plan of trying to outbid the Government before it had a chance of making known its intentions, and thus of discounting beforehand any moderate proposition. At Edinburgh, on the 10th of November, he warned the country that it would not be 'safe' to trust the Liberal party to deal with the Irish question

with the Irish party holding the balance of power. Mr. Gladstone evidently has a secret insight into some of the infirmities of his nature, although his followers so persistently shut their eyes to them. Let the Irish vote control the situation, and, said Mr. Gladstone, 'the Empire will be in danger, because questions of the gravest moment, and of the most imperial weight and vast consequence may come forward, and will in all likelihood come forward, and there will be no party qualified to deal with them in that independence which alone can ensure a satisfactory and an honourable issue.' Mr. Gladstone may now say, that he fairly warned the country of the perils which it would incur, by not giving him a majority over the Tory and the Irish parties combined, and that as it refused to comply with his demands, it must take the consequences. He would merely be acting as he did in reference to the proffered bribe of the repeal of the income tax. When it was rejected, he punished the middle classes by increasing the tax the moment he returned to power, and he has ever since kept that tax up to the highest point reached by any Ministry in time of peace. So now with the Irish question. The people refused to trust him with the power, for which he clamoured so loudly and so importunately. He told them, without much disguise, that it would be unsafe to leave him and his followers at the mercy of 'a party coming from Ireland,' who would say to them, 'unless you do this and unless you do that, we will turn you out to-morrow.' That being the actual state of affairs to-day, Mr. Gladstone is free to make himself the instrument for the fulfilment of his own predictions.

Fortunately, we need not assume just yet, that Mr. Gladstone will be allowed to have his own way. Some of his staunchest followers have rebelled against him. In the press, there are many dissentients. One of the most docile of the Gladstone organs has said, almost in as many words, that it will not go where the Master now beckons it. It also utters a warning which may not be intended to mean so much as appears on the surface. 'Difficult as the problem is,' remarks this journal,*—'and we knew no problem half so difficult—to treat the Irish question at once temperately and firmly, it is not by any means so difficult as that which the Northern States succeeded in solving in the great decade between 1860 and 1870. . . We believe that Great Britain, directly the situation comes out clearly before her, will nerve herself to as strenuous a policy as that which secured the integrity of the American nation in the great crisis of 1861.' Is it possible that the full significance of

* The 'Spectator,' December 26th, 1885.

this

this precedent was realized by the writer when he reminded us of it? The outbreak referred to was not quelled without the most terrible civil war on record. No one knows how many lives were sacrificed—the estimates have run anywhere from half a million to a million men—and thousands more, women and children, died of want, neglect, or grief. After the war was over, the remainder of the 'decade' was spent in forcing an unwilling people to accept a Government which was odious to them. Sometimes they were put under negro rule—the slaves becoming the masters; sometimes they were subjected to the much more merciful provisions of martial law. Is this the 'strenuous policy' which we shall be called upon to adopt as the consequence of setting up Mr. Gladstone as ruler over us? If so, will the moderate Liberals be able to wash their hands of all responsibility for its terrible results?

The nation must not conceal from itself the probability of some such catastrophe as this, arising from the encouragement now being given to sedition. If the turbulent class in Ireland does not take advantage of the favourable circumstances which have been created for it, its apathy will be something new in Irish history. The American Irish see, apparently within easy reach, the fulfilment of their hopes. Stimulated by the 'messages of peace' from Hawarden, the subscriptions to the Parnellite fund from New York and other American cities flowed in steadily, the dynamite conspiracy showed signs of renewed vitality, and the 'Invincibles' prepared for active operations. These consequences were quite inevitable when the signal for a renewal of the 'war' was given by the Gladstone clan. Ireland would have been at peace now if American agitators had not found such potent allies in the English Liberal party. Mr. Gladstone's first Lord Lieutenant, Earl Cowper, has shown, that the cry for 'Home Rule' is but a pretext, that the Irish people do not want it, and that the demand for it would cease at once if the belief were not general, that it practically means 'free land' and no rent. But Mr. Parnell, as we have seen, long ago told us as much. Earl Cowper is alarmed now at the prospect before us, but he, too, did his part towards rendering impossible a fair solution of Irish difficulties. It may be that his own mind is not quite at ease upon the subject, for in a recent letter he is careful to justify himself for supporting the Land Act of 1881. He does so on the curious ground, that this Act set the 'consciences' of his party 'free,' and enabled them 'without compunction to strain the existing law to the utmost.' That is to say, they decided upon an ill-judged concession in order that they might be 'free' to apply new and severe coercion.

coercion. Earl Cowper says, 'our concession in 1881 was founded upon sound principles, and was in the right direction.' It was, in fact, a violation of all sound principles, including the principles of common honesty and justice, and the direction in which it went is sufficiently shown by the point we have already reached. Earl Cowper and his colleagues were amply forewarned at the time. The Marquis of Lansdowne, who had been a colleague, told the Government that the Bill 'had been won by agitation, and it would be a point of departure from which a new agitation would proceed.' The Duke of Argyll—who had also left the Ministry rather than adopt its destructive policy—described the measure as one intended to 'enable every tenant in Ireland to sell that which may not be his own by law, by custom, or by equity.' The late Duke of Marlborough declared, that the Bill would be another sign to the agitators that full success would attend their efforts, and would lead to 'the departure of what has been called the English garrison.' Mr. Goschen said, 'I cannot forget, and statesmen must not forget, that the Land Bill has been in a measure due to successful agitation. It is a dangerous thing in the history of a country when agitation is successful.' The Land League itself declared war against the measure. Even while it was passing through the Legislature, Mr. Parnell denounced it * as 'a Bill brought forward by the Government in order to prop up, for a few years longer, the expiring system of landlordism.' Why, then, should Earl Cowper or his colleagues have been deceived? What plausible justification is there for any of them maintaining now that the Bill was 'in the right direction'? Mr. Gladstone was congratulated at the time by a Liberal journal, on having accomplished a 'first-rate revolutionary year's work,' but the effect even upon himself was not entirely agreeable, for from that time forth he had to be protected by policemen from the too eager gratitude of his Irish friends, and all Ireland was thrown into a state of the wildest anarchy.

We cannot, therefore, rate Earl Cowper's statesmanship very high, although he may be right in the views he puts forward at the present moment. He, like others of his party, can only see the truth when it is too late. There are other earls and noble lords besides Lord Cowper, who will live to repent bitterly that they were led astray by Mr. Gladstone in his chase of the *ignis fatuus* which he takes for a 'divine light.' In some cases, it can scarcely be doubted, that retribution of a fitting kind lies in wait; for when the cry of 'land for nothing' has done its

* At Dublin, August 2nd, 1881.

work

work in Ireland, it will every day be more and more difficult to resist it in England. In some parts of Scotland and Wales it is already making considerable progress. We must all admit, that it will be nothing out of the common usage to find the revolution devouring its own children. Justice works itself out pretty surely sooner or later, and this may perhaps afford a dim kind of consolation to the numbers of men and women in Ireland who have been reduced to distress by the efforts of great Whig and Liberal landlords, who never supposed that the 'poisoned chalice' would be commended to their own lips. It must in common justice be acknowledged, that there *were* Radicals—very few—even in the days when revolutionary legislation was most in favour, between 1880 and 1883, who foresaw what must happen. Thus, Mr. Goldwin Smith tried to persuade his fellow Radicals that they were paying black-mail in vain. 'From concession to concession,' he said, 'you will be driven, philosophizing as you go, by the Irish vote and the Irish knife, until you reach the bottom, when perhaps the country will find a leader.'* Then, as now, Mr. Gladstone was allowed to force himself into the post of leader, and, under the common impression that great age necessarily brings great wisdom with it, the country yielded to him. There are, perhaps, somewhat better hopes of resistance now than there were then. The greatest and most dangerous delusion of modern times—the popular belief in Mr. Gladstone—seems to be dying out. But the 'resources of civilization,' as applied to the art of obtaining power, are not yet exhausted.

It has been decreed, then, that we shall have another Irish Session; but in that respect, at least, events may be too strong for Mr. Gladstone, or for any one else, to control. It is not possible for us always to ignore the events which are taking place beyond the limits of these islands. The vote of the English boroughs, as we have shown, went against the late Government chiefly as a mark of condemnation of its foreign policy. The good effects of Lord Salisbury's accession to power were instantly apparent. The misunderstanding with Russia, which threatened to lead to war—or the late Government would never have asked for a large sum of money for war preparations—was speedily adjusted. Our relations with Turkey were placed upon a proper footing, and our position in Egypt was rendered far less hazardous by the successful negociations with the Sultan. At the same time, Lord Salisbury re-established friendly relations with Germany, and greatly increased the

* Letter to a London evening paper, May 23rd, 1882.

strength

strength of our position all over Europe. One of the least generous of his opponents substantially admitted—and such admissions are useful for future reference—that it could find no fault with his course in reference to foreign politics. 'He must consent,' it said, 'to govern, in home as well as foreign affairs, upon broad Liberal principles. Upon Foreign Affairs, that will not be difficult, for Lord Salisbury is going right in the Balkan peninsula; he is not going wrong in Egypt—[no Radical could be expected to say more!]—and no one cares very heartily whether, if China is indifferent, Burma is or is not annexed.'* Every foreign observer has admitted the great gain to England resulting from the change of Ministry. In France, the feeling was strongly in Lord Salisbury's favour. 'The only difference from the French point of view,' remarked the *Revue Contemporaine*,† 'between an English Cabinet presided over by Mr. Gladstone and one presided over by Lord Salisbury, is that the former will be clumsy, short-sighted and vacillating, where the latter will be sagacious, adroit, and firm.' 'The Germans,' writes the Berlin correspondent of the 'Times' (December 11th), 'wanted peace and repose, and the Liberal Prime Minister of England was constantly springing upon them harrowing questions of international moment, which threatened to shake all Europe to its foundations.' They hope, he goes on to say, that by some compromise or coalition, 'Lord Salisbury may still be enabled to remain at a post, of which his brief tenure has already tended to add weight and confidence to the voice of England at the Council Board.' Such is the tone of all European opinion on the subject. It is the opinion of the well-informed men of every class in our own country. It is scarcely to be questioned, that the defeat of Lord Salisbury's Government would be a cause of renewed danger to us, at home as well as abroad. It cannot be defeated at present by any fair means. Nothing that it has done is unpopular. It can only be overthrown by another intrigue between the Liberal leader or leaders and the Irish Secessionists. Captain O'Shea, in whom Mr. Gladstone displayed so cordial an interest during the elections, is no doubt still willing to act as go-between. But England has great responsibilities to face outside Ireland. She has to keep watch upon the new and perilous complications arising in Eastern Europe; she has to consolidate her own foreign empire; she has to extend her trade in her colonies and dependencies. Is Mr. Gladstone the man for this work?

It must require a great deal of simple credulity, combined

* 'Spectator,' December 5th, 1885. † December 8th, 1885.

with

with profound ignorance of the past thirty or forty years, to enable any one to answer this question in the affirmative. Remembering the share which Mr. Gladstone had in bringing about the Crimean War, his responsibility for the great sacrifice of life in Egypt, and the hazardous position in which he had placed his country in relation to Russia, just before he quitted office last June—remembering these circumstances only, without touching upon the Transvaal or Colonial affairs—Mr. Gladstone's warmest admirers must have many grave misgivings as to his wisdom as a Foreign Minister. His one idea in reference to European politics appears to be, that England and Russia ought to combine against the other Powers. He looks upon this as a 'natural alliance,' and the systematic course of duplicity which Russia has pursued in her treatment of England, down to the very last day of Mr. Gladstone's Administration, produces no effect whatever upon his mind. He holds to his opinions with remarkable tenacity, except when they have become unpopular, and then the burden is cast off lightly enough. Very few people remember the true story of Russian intrigue in Europe and in Asia, or can recal even the leading features of the innumerable deceptions which Russia has practised upon this country in her onward march. The return, which she makes for Mr. Gladstone's eccentric fidelity to her, has always been of the kind which, under ordinary circumstances, would have aroused in his breast that sentiment of animosity frequently evoked by much slighter causes. But nothing can cure him of this pet hallucination. Whether the statement of his present views recently published in a Russian journal, and widely circulated all over the Continent, is to be accepted in its entirety or not, it is strictly in accordance with his known and avowed opinions. He is represented to have complained of the Russian Government for not having appreciated his efforts to set up an alliance between the two countries, and for having permitted Germany to outstrip Russia in Europe. Now if this is only an invention, it is cleverly imitated from the attitude he has invariably taken up. It is notorious, that there was great coldness between Germany and England throughout the whole of the last Administration. Prince Bismarck does not conceal his unfavourable opinion of Mr. Gladstone, or his great respect for the late Lord Beaconsfield, and his equal respect for Lord Salisbury. It is but natural that some bitterness should be stirred up by all this. Great 'statesmen' are only human after all. Doubtless Mr. Gladstone fully returns the feeling which the German Chancellor bears towards him; we know, at any rate, that during Mr. Gladstone's rule,

Prince

Prince Bismarck took occasion to give utterance to some very cynical reflections on the untrustworthy character of great orators, and on the folly which nations committed when they entrusted their affairs to the charge of these gifted, but extremely unsafe, personages. There was not an intelligent man in Europe who did not see the meaning of the parable. His remarks, again, on the unbusiness-like manner in which England had treated the communications of his Government concerning Angra Pequeña, were, though well deserved, disagreeable to receive. In a word, Mr. Gladstone will never be on good terms with Germany. He believes in his 'system,' and part of his system is a Russian alliance. The 'venerable stateman,' as Europe has lately been informed, 'reproached Russia for having abandoned the Balkan Peninsula, where her vital interests lie.' The voice is undoubtedly the voice of Jacob. Suppose for a moment that Mr. Gladstone, with Mr. Parnell's aid, and in pursuance of certain terms understood or agreed, should succeed in recovering office. Suppose, further, that Russia were to take him at his word, and make ready to settle the Eastern question under his guidance and encouragement—can any one doubt that all Europe would soon be in flames? The late Prime Minister has allowed Russia to make tremendous advances in Asia, concerning which the Russian 'Nord' recently boasted, 'they constitute, it cannot be contested, a serious attack on the prestige which is the basis of the English rule over 200 millions of Hindoos and Mussulmans.' To permit this was an error which will yet cost us dear, but there are only too many reasons for believing, that greater concessions still would be made, if Mr. Gladstone returned to office. We may easily summon back to memory his efforts to encourage Russia, when Lord Beaconsfield was endeavouring to keep her back from Constantinople, and his violent diatribes against Turkey. We may remember how he once said, that it would be well for us to 'imitate Russia's good deeds,' and that 'he had no fear of the territorial extension of Russia in Asia, no fear of them whatever,' and that he regarded such fears 'as no better than old women's fears.' His articles and his speeches, between 1876 and 1880, abounded with declarations of this kind. The Russian organs complain that Lord Salisbury has been antagonistic towards Russia, and they add, 'it may be hoped that when M. Moltchanoff's illustrious interlocutor [the 'venerable statesman'] returns to power, he will show himself better disposed towards interests which Russia cannot disavow or abandon.' Translated into plain English, this means that Russia looks to Mr. Gladstone for support in Europe, and for license to pursue her path of conquest

quest in Asia. If the programme is carried out, England will find herself with a colossal war upon her hands, and Mr. Gladstone's career will have reached a not inappropriate consummation.

That Lord Salisbury should be regarded by Russia with suspicion and dislike, is one of his best claims to the confidence of the English people. Russia always has been—probably always will be—opposed to the interests of England. Her trade advances in Asia at the expense of our own. Where she goes, she shuts the door against us. It cannot be for that reason that Mr. Gladstone loves her so much. She is now the only enemy we have, who stands almost side by side with us in any part of our territories. She has the means in her hands, or will very shortly have them, of forcing upon us a war for the defence of India. It is of no use to make treaties with her, for she disregards them all, or coolly tears them up. Agreements are merely so much empty talk or waste paper in her estimation. The class of English statesmen she likes to have to deal with is represented by the late Lord Aberdeen and Mr. Gladstone. But does the interest of England lie in the same direction? Let the Crimean war testify. In 1885, we were drifting towards another war. Mr. Gladstone had surrendered a commanding position won in India—a position of inestimable commercial, as well as strategic, importance to us—and at the same time he encouraged Russia to redouble her strides towards our frontier. She made greater progress during those five years than she could have made in half a century if there had been any prudence in Downing Street. But she was not satisfied; she felt that the moment was propitious for extorting more. English spirit was aroused, and the Prime Minister became alarmed. Then occurred an interruption, which may prove to be by far too brief for the welfare of this country. Lord Salisbury was placed in power, and Russia everywhere came to a sudden halt. Six months have elapsed, and she has become restless. Her troops in Asia are doubtless impatient for another advance; the disturbances in the Balkan States appear to open up for her a desirable opportunity in Europe. At such a moment, it is no doubt exasperating, to find Lord Salisbury still firm and unyielding. 'The Russian Government cannot trust him,' says the 'Nord.' We earnestly hope that the reproach is well deserved. The Russian organ asks that Mr. Gladstone may be replaced in office. But Englishmen have seldom knowingly allowed their foreign policy to be dictated by their rivals or their enemies. It may be done without their concurrence, and by

by taking advantage of that dense 'ignorance' of foreign affairs which the late Prime Minister attributes to the middle and working-classes; but, as we indicated at the outset, we are happy to see cause for believing, that this ignorance is not extending. On the contrary, it is giving way before the light. Working-men, especially in the large communities of the North, are rapidly rendering themselves able to judge, without much guidance, whether it is well to be ruled by a 'good friend of Russia,' who helped to bring us into actual war with that Power once, and who placed us on the very verge of it a second time; or whether we should not rather prefer a statesman whose thoughts are not all of party, and who is not the slave of his own impulses and prejudices.

There is another great question, which it is quite evident that a Conservative Government alone can deal with in a proper manner, and it relates to the vast interests we have at stake in Asia. We need not here enter into a detailed narrative of all the incidents which led to our intervention in Burma, but it is beyond dispute that the course taken by the present Government is both wise and just, and that it opens up new fields for our trade, the value of which cannot be overestimated. Every man who is actively engaged in business, and who is not a mere theoretician or 'statist,' is well aware that the mainstays of British commerce are no longer in an impregnable position. Our trade—to say the least of it—does not increase with our population. Profits are continually declining, and although the 'economists' are always telling us that we must judge of a nation's trade by *values* and not by *quantities*, yet practical men know and feel, that it is very little use for quantities to go up if values constantly go down. There is no longer visible the expansion of our leading industries, which is necessary for the support of the persons engaged in them, and which we should see if our trade was in a sound and healthy state. The scientific persons, who construct their own theories of commerce, and bolster them up with delusive figures, may be unable to comprehend what is going on in the real world around them; but the millions of operatives who are engaged in our textile industries, and the capitalists, large and small, who are trying to find employment for them, are but too conscious of their growing difficulties, and they are not to be deceived by the dogmatisms of Board of Trade officials. Turn to any trustworthy source of information—not information 'doctored' for the purpose of proving a special theory—and the truth will at once make itself manifest. Let us take only one quotation from a paper, which

which thoroughly knows the true state of affairs, and which represents the opinion of the working-classes—the 'Cotton Factory Times, of December 25th, 1885:—

'There is no doubt that very many master cotton spinners in various parts of the country are being hardly pressed just now, and the balancing up of their yearly transactions will not be pleasant to reflect upon. Whatever may be the true cause for the great depression which has overhung the commercial horizon for so long a time, it ought to be corrected, if it is possible to do so. Whether the commission of enquiry will do any good for us we can't tell, but certainly it cannot do us any harm, and will at least have shown a desire to find out that which is a surprise to every one. We need only ask ourselves the question, "Where has the whole of the spinning and weaving machinery gone to which has been made for foreign countries during the past twenty years?" It has been sent to America, the Continent of Europe, and to India. We know what the two former places do for us, they put enormous tariffs upon our yarns and cloths simply to prohibit our productions from finding customers in their home markets. They are fostering the industry by such means that we shall be compelled to rely solely upon neutral markets, and these in time will get tighter, until it will become a difficult thing indeed to get rid of our productions. All our great machine establishments have been engaged for the past ten years in making cotton machinery for foreign countries, far more so than they have been engaged for our home trade, and every mule, loom, or frame, which is sent abroad, means less work for our own looms to make. Hence our foreign trade, although increasing in bulk in the years named, has had to be forced by sacrificing profits, and bringing about a generally reduced charge for yarn and goods, which is the cause of diminishing margins and reduced wages, and want of employment. The workmen in all the large cities and towns are fast becoming unsettled in their minds, as well they may; want of employment brings with it a train of evils, and it is a most serious state when willing hands are forced to remain idle, and industrious persons are in want of bare necessaries for subsistence. When shall we see a change for the better?'

The result of last year's work among the co-operative spinners of Oldham affords the best and truest commentary we could possibly find on the state of the cotton trade. There the mills 'are fitted up with the best of machinery, and quite capable of competing with mills in the same class of yarns in any part of the country.' The 'Oldham Chronicle,' in reviewing the business record of 1885, says that 'Of the ninety-five stocktakings during the last five months, only nine have yielded slight profits, amounting to 2315*l.*, while there have been eighty-six losses, amounting to the enormous sum of 89,733*l.* ... Speaking generally, the share capital of the Oldham

ham limited cotton-spinning companies has been entirely unremunerative during the last twelve months.' There are eighty of these companies, with a share capital of several million pounds sterling, and the aggregate profit earned last year was only 9105*l.* And yet the Board of Trade and Cobden Club *doctrinaires* continue to tell the country, that everything is going on well with us; the 'volume' of trade increases; 'only values' decline.

'When shall we see a change for the better?' asks the organ of the cotton operatives. The answer may be given without hesitation—never under Liberal rule, for this reason, if no other: the Liberal party will not even admit that any change for the better is necessary. They have set up a theory on the subject, and they mean to stand by it, happen what may. The commercial policy of the country was cast for ever in 1846, and in no respect shall it ever be departed from. That is their last word; they will not concede, that any adaptation of our policy to the altered wants and necessities of the times is possible or necessary. Now the Conservative party are at least willing to search into the complaints, which are so general throughout the manufacturing districts, and to ascertain whether anything can be done to provide a remedy. This they do without any regard to theories of 'Fair Trade,' or 'Free Trade,' but simply with a view to bringing about *good* trade. The Liberals will simply have nothing to do with the subject. They turn it out of doors. Mr. Chamberlain is intent upon concocting schemes to catch votes; his followers go to and fro in the country, preaching a great deal about the poor, but taking care to do nothing for them. Another section of the party is prepared to pay anything that may be asked for Mr. Parnell's votes. The people, then, need not look to the Liberals for the slightest help in reference to their trade, and that fact, after a good deal of surprise and hesitation, they are beginning to see as clearly as we or any one else could desire.

The Conservative Government has not only proved its willingness to do something by ordering a Commission of Enquiry, which may at any rate serve to bring out the facts, but it has been led, by a combination of circumstances, to open up a new channel for our trade in Burma, and we hope, through Burma into a comparatively untouched region of China. Lord Salisbury, with his accustomed foresight, has been careful to preserve in every step a good understanding with China, and it is in a great measure owing to his sagacity that the intrigues of Russia and France in that country have been paralyzed. Our position to-day is therefore one of the greatest promise,

promise, but that it would long remain so, if the Liberals returned to power, is utterly out of the question. One of their very first measures would probably be to restore King Theebau to the country of which he has so long been the scourge. It would be easy for them to raise a sentimental outcry against the 'cruel hardships' to which we have subjected 'poor King Theebau,' just as they did about 'poor Cetewayo,' who was returned to a place where he was not wanted, who had instant war waged against him, and who consequently perished miserably, another victim to Radical 'philanthropy.' It is only too probable, that the magnificent opening for our trade, which has now been provided in Burma, would be closed again and irretrievably lost within six months of the restoration of the Liberal party to office. Let the men of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire, look that probability fairly in the face. We hope the working men generally will understand, that the only answer, given by the Liberals to their complaints of scarcity of employment, is in the words, 'Free Trade and 1846.' There is never any attempt made by the 'poor man's party' to recover lost ground, or to push out vigorously into new fields. Now the Conservatives, although they have been but six months in power, have striven earnestly to accomplish both these results. It cannot be expected that much can be done in six months; the Liberals were in power more than five years, and what had they to show for it at the end? Nothing but a dismal record of costly and bloody wars, fresh entanglements and misunderstandings in Europe, and at home an increasing pressure of hard times. Lord Salisbury's Government has cleared away much of this evil legacy, but it cannot build up declining industries with a magic wand. The question is, Will the people allow the Liberals to come in and recklessly reverse everything that has been done, solely and simply because it was done by the Conservatives? That was their line before. 'Destroy Lord Beaconsfield's work.' Such was their conception of a national policy, and they had no other. The same tactics will be pursued again. The little men of the party will set up the hue-and-cry about China and Theebau; the bigger men will follow; and our cotton operatives will be told to trust everything to the doctrines of 1846, and pay no heed to Burma and China.

The resources of Burma are immense, and they are lying for the most part undeveloped. In that country alone there is an outlet for surplus capital, and there are customers for our goods, to an extent literally undreamt of as yet by the English people. Moreover, as Mr. Archibald Colquhoun and Mr. H. S. Hallett have shown, in papers read before the London and Manchester

chester Chambers of Commerce and elsewhere, it is through Burma that we can most advantageously establish railway connections with China. The Chinese, it is now known, are ready to adopt the railway system, and if Lord Salisbury's policy is adhered to, and carried on with the prudence and the *promptness* which he has displayed, we shall before very long be sending iron rails to China as well as to Burma, and a demand for our cotton goods will arise among four hundred millions of people whom we have as yet scarcely reached. But we cannot expect that this field will be reserved for us, and that no competitors will venture in. The Germans, as well as the French, are pressing on while we stand deliberating, or are immersed in our faction fights. The particulars which have already been published,* relating to the formation of a German Syndicate, with 35,000,000*l.* capital, to be raised chiefly in England, should be quite sufficient to awaken us from our slumbers. 'The syndicate requires as a condition, that the spending of such amount of this money as may be required in Europe for the purchase of material, whether for war purposes or for railway construction and maintenance, shall be put under its control.' The syndicate is German, and we learn that 'Prince Bismarck approves of the project, and is so desirous of its success that he has put the services of the German diplomatic and consular officers in the East at the disposal of the Syndicate.' The loan would be obtained in England for expenditure in Germany. Is it not time that we bestirred ourselves, and thought of something else besides Mr. Gladstone and his everlasting schemes for putting himself and his party in office? The way has been opened up by the Conservative Government during its present short lease of power—of that credit it can never be deprived. We are quite confident, that the English nation would, if it knew the facts, and could make its judgment upon them instantly felt, pronounce emphatically in favour of the same party pursuing its great work.

Notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which we labour, we again assert, that the present position of the Conservative party is by no means discouraging, while our prospects are distinctly promising. We have not had to deal with the constituencies as they existed in 1880, but with a total re-construction of the electoral bodies, including between two and three millions of new voters, most of whom are illiterate. One of the members of Mr. Gladstone's last Administration has recently said, that the Tories always used to boast that the counties were the centres

* See the 'Times' of January 2nd, 1886.

of

of intelligence, and consequently the counties voted with them. If the boast were ever made, it requires only a very common degree of intelligence to enable any man to perceive, that all the conditions have been totally changed by the 'gerrymandering' of the counties, and by the importation into the franchise of vast multitudes of the uneducated. But the uneducated will improve gradually, and their children will be able to read and write, and all, young and old, will know too much to fall a prey as readily as they did in 1885 to the unscrupulous wiles of the emissaries of Schnadhorst and Chamberlain. In the meantime, we have the country with us on all essential points. Lord Salisbury's general course has been most admirable, and if he is allowed to pursue it, we shall be safe from a renewal of the blundering and folly which has left a dark stain of blood over the history of the last Liberal Administration. No greater calamity could fall upon the nation than a revival at this critical time of the mania for quarrelling with Foreign Powers, and plunging heedlessly into ruinous wars under pretence of pursuing a policy of peace.

This is one reason which leads us to rejoice that Lord Salisbury has resolved to stand fast, neither giving occasion for his overthrow nor seeking it, but carrying on the business of the nation calmly and patiently, in reliance upon that sense of justice, which is not dead in the English people, although at times it may be perverted to base uses. If the Government is to fall by a combination of office-seekers, intriguers, and seditionists, so be it—the country will in due time exact retribution. Meanwhile, Lord Salisbury, we feel convinced, will strive to do his duty to his Sovereign and her dominions; and all that is worthiest and highest in public opinion will be on his side. How long he may be able to go on is another question. Let the penalty of deciding it be incurred by those who are in league with the enemies of the nation. Lord Salisbury did not take office to please himself, and everybody will do him the justice to own, that he is not remaining in office of his own free will or choice, but simply because the high claims of the nation, which placed him in that post, forbid him to desert it. If he is to fall by any such plot as that sketched at Hawarden, the ultimate effect will be, that the nation will honour him more highly than ever it has done before, and render justice to him by conferring upon him the substance as well as the form of power. No man, even in politics, ever suffered by persevering steadily, obstinately, and fearlessly, in the strict line of duty. Moreover, we are by no means weak. No other party in the State can boast of a compact body of 251. The Liberals call themselves 333, but of what elements is this number composed? Of dis-

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cordant sections, ever ready to fly at each other's throats—men hating and fearing each other so intensely, that scarcely even a regard for public opinion can induce them to keep the peace. They are united, it is true, in one bond—the love of office; but disunited again the moment they are in office, and it becomes the question, what are they to do with it? Their brawls during the very time the elections were going on were utterly discreditable. Mr. Chamberlain sneering at Lord Hartington, Lord Hartington rebuking Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Gladstone crying out in desperate alarm for some one to come and help him, the Liberal papers supplicating the brethren to suspend their warfare, at least till they had secured a majority. Such was the spectacle which presented itself to the nation, morning after morning. Mr. Chamberlain levelled bitter reproaches at Mr. Gladstone for his long and barren manifesto—'a manifesto which did not include one point to which the extreme Liberals attach the greatest importance.'* They had been compelled, he complained, 'to put aside in the election the great question of Disestablishment, which in a future election, I think, is very likely to have a very prominent position.' This, by the way, was Mr. Chamberlain's practical commentary on the assertion of some of his political friends, that the Liberals never desired to raise the question of Disestablishment, and that, in point of fact, it never *was* raised by them. Then Lord Hartington returned the ball. 'It was unfortunate,' he said,† if 'that at a moment, which was almost the crisis of the conflict, any doubt should now be expressed by any member of the party as to the wisdom of the policy, which had been accepted by the party as a whole, and which had been enunciated by the chief acknowledged leader of the whole Liberal party.' Well might the world cry, 'See how these Gladstonians love one another!' It could not fail to observe the elaborate acknowledgment by Lord Hartington of the hostilities prevailing within his own camp, or the unprecedented way in which truth was sent flying out of the window by this happy family—how a 'prominent Liberal' accused Lord Salisbury of carrying on a negociation with Mr. Parnell in the smoking-room of the House of Commons; how the young Mr. Gladstone afterwards declared that Lord Randolph Churchill had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Mr. Parnell; how these fabrications were exploded one after another by all the parties chiefly concerned, and how the 'budding statesman' at Hawarden withdrew nothing and apologized for nothing, but

* Speech at Leicester, December 3rd, 1885.
† Speech at Matlock, December 5th.

went

went on grinding his father's axes as if nothing had happened. Then came the violent address of the late Prime Minister to the Midlothian electors, an address which shocked even some of his best supporters; and this was soon followed by the pushing out of 'feelers' for an Irish Parliament. One section of the party, led by Mr. Chamberlain, is eager to make the destruction of the Church an immediate issue; another desires to extend the provisions of the Irish Land Acts to England; another wishes to have separate Parliaments for Scotland and Wales, as well as for Ireland; another calls for the immediate abolition of the House of Lords. All is unutterable chaos, the mere outward semblance of order depending entirely on the life of one man who has turned his seventy-sixth year.

Would it be wise for the country to entrust its affairs to such a party as this? Consider the record of its deeds from April 1880 till June 1885, and its increasing disorganization during the last few months, and then let any moderate man, Liberal or Conservative, decide whether it has any claim or title to be reinstated in power? There is no one of common sense who, judging the question on its merits, would answer, 'yes.' The Government must manage to afford time for the country to test the Liberals in opposition, and it must oblige Mr. Gladstone to bring out his Irish policy in a full, complete, and authentic form. If the Parnellites are satisfied with that policy, the nation at large will not be—so much, at least, is certain. Let the Government develop a fair, just, and reasonable plan of their own for dealing with Irish grievances and Irish difficulties, and at the same time endeavour to extend our trade in the East and elsewhere—and they may depend upon it they will have little to fear. They cannot instantaneously transform a minority into a majority, but they will be gaining ground every day in the country, and they will be gathering up strength from all sides for an appeal to the electors on issues which we need not fear to meet, and which no one will be able to misunderstand.

THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

ART. I.—*Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora.* Edited by Henry Richards Luard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrary of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. Published by the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the direction of the Master of the Rolls. 7 vols. 8vo. London, Vol. I. 1872—Vol. VII. 1883.

SOME of our readers are not likely yet to have forgotten the remarkable essay which the late Professor Brewer contributed to our pages in 1871, and which has since been reprinted in the volume of 'English Studies,' published shortly after the author's death in 1879. English History owes a larger debt to few men of our time than it owes to Mr. Brewer. As a teacher whose pupils were always eager to listen to all that fell from his lips, and whose enthusiasm never failed to awake a kindred spark in the minds of those who looked to him for light in dark places and guidance along tortuous paths of research, Mr. Brewer has had few equals, and perhaps has left no successor who can compare with him. As a writer he was always brilliant, lucid, and vigorous, and his unrivalled 'Introductions' to the Calendars of Letters and Papers, concerned with the reign of Henry VIII., will long continue to be read by all students of our History, as necessary and indispensable interpreters of the vast storehouses of original documents, which he did so much to rescue from the oblivion or obscurity to which they had previously been consigned. But it was as an organizer of research that Mr. Brewer earned his greatest fame and achieved his greatest success, and it was to him more than to any one man, to his immense persistence in urging upon the powers that be a more generous freedom of access to our Records, and to his prodigious powers of work in arranging and tabulating the enormous masses of documents of all kinds which constitute the

Apparatus of English History, that this country stands indebted, and will remain indebted as long as our literature lasts.

In the Essay on 'New Sources of English History' the learned author has given us a startling account of the deplorable condition into which some of the most precious of our national manuscripts had been allowed to fall—of the utterly chaotic state of our depositories—of the hopelessness, the despair which must needs have come upon one student after another who might be fortunate enough to be turned loose into the various prison-houses of our muniments—and of the efforts made, and happily at last made with splendid success, to cleanse the Augean stable, and to let the world know something of the wealth it contained. With characteristic modesty Mr. Brewer said nothing of his own part in all that laborious and sagacious organization which resulted in our obtaining the magnificent *Calendars*, which have opened out to us all 'that new world which is the old' that had become almost forgotten or unknown. He was not the man to assert himself, he knew that posterity would give him his due, but with a simple desire to stimulate research, and to show how much remained to be done, and how much to be discovered and made known, he drew the attention of his readers chiefly and primarily to the value of the Calendars, and to the important results which those Calendars had already produced, and were destined to produce hereafter. He had quite enough to say upon this point, and if his life had been spared, it is probable that he would have eventually given us a more comprehensive account of the series of volumes which, though now issuing from the press *pari passu* with the Calendars, were originally undertaken a little later. Such an Essay by such a master would have been indeed an important aid to the student, but at the time of Mr. Brewer's lamented death the day had hardly come for such a *résumé;* and even now, though so much has been achieved, so much and so well, the hour has hardly arrived nor the man for taking a comprehensive survey, and giving to the public an intelligent and intelligible account of that other Library of Chronicles, and biographies, and letters, and cartularies, and those other memorials of the Middle Ages in England, which it is to be feared are hardly as well known as they ought to be, nor as widely studied as they deserve.

Meanwhile it is high time that attention should be drawn to that noble series of volumes now issuing from the press under the editorship of scholars whose reputation is assured, and whose work continues to enhance their reputation—high time that we should begin to do something like justice to the labourers, who

who have deserved so well at the hands of such Englishmen as have any sentiment of loyalty to the great thoughts, the great doings, and the noble lives of their forefathers. The philosopher, who 'holds the mirror up to nature,' has not of late, as a rule, missed his reward. The historian, who in his dogged, patient, toilsome fashion holds the mirror up to the life of bygone ages, has received among us scant recognition, and generally is rewarded with but barren honour. What has been done and still is doing will be best understood by briefly reviewing the progress of that movement, which has brought about the great revival of English Historical study, and under the influence of which the opinions and convictions of educated men have passed through a very decided change, one destined to produce still greater and more unlooked for changes of sentiment and belief before the present century shall have closed.

It is just fifty years since 'the Father of Record Reform,' as he has been justly called, received his patent creating him Master of the Rolls. Although as far back as the year 1800 a Commission was issued for the methodizing and digesting the National Records, and for printing such calendars and indexes as should be thought advisable; and though during the next twenty-seven years many works of supreme interest and importance were printed at the public expense, the enormous extent of our National Records was known to few, and the difficulty of consulting them (dispersed as they were through a score of different depositories) was enough to deter all but the most resolute enquirers. It was Lord Langdale who first set himself to reduce the chaos of our archives into something like order. When the old Record Commission expired in 1837, it was by Lord Langdale's influence that the Public Record Act was passed on the 14th of August, 1838, whereby the Records named therein were placed under the custody of the Master of the Rolls for the time being, and hereupon a new era began. Nevertheless it was not till July 1850 that a vote was obtained from the Treasury for the erection of a national depository, wherein our vast archives should be assembled under a single roof, and not till 1855 that the magnificent *Tabularium* in Fetter Lane was opened for the reception of our muniments.

Lord Langdale died in April 1851;* he was succeeded in the Mastership of the Rolls by Lord Romilly, then Sir John. A happier choice could not have been made. To Lord Langdale belongs the credit of carrying out the grand scheme for consoli-

* Lord Langdale resigned three weeks before his death.

dating the various collections of documents, which, as we have said, had up to this time been widely dispersed, and the very existence of the larger mass of which was known only to a few experts. To Lord Romilly we owe it that the great original sources of English History so assembled have been rendered accessible to any student who desires to consult them; and it is to him, too, that we are indebted for the issue of that unrivalled series of 'Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.,' which has laid the foundation for a science of history firmer and deeper and wider than before was believed to be even attainable.

Great men are at once the leaders and the product of their age. When Lord Langdale set himself to his task he was only attempting that which had been talked of since the reign of Edward II. For five centuries the unification of our National Records had been recommended and advised by lawyers, statesmen, and scholars from generation to generation, but no practical scheme had ever been suggested, and the difficulties in the way of reform were supposed to be insuperable. It was a Herculean task, and one that grew ever more arduous the longer it was postponed. During the first quarter of the present century profound dissatisfaction had begun to be felt at the condition of our historical literature. The ordinary text-books were full of fables, more than suspected to be fables, and which yet it was extremely difficult to disprove satisfactorily. Theories which had long passed current were being rudely assailed, and yet—in the face of the obstacles that hindered research—stubbornly held their ground, or were repeated with peremptory dogmatism. A deep distrust of the old methods and the old assumptions had given rise to a widespread desire to drag forth from their hiding-places any documents, however dry or recondite, which might throw some clear light upon our national life and manners, and not only upon mere events of national importance during Medieval times. A desire to know the truth was *in the air*. The science of history had passed out of its infancy, and the stirrings of a new craving —the passion of Research—were making themselves felt in that mysterious restlessness which indicates that the old smooth-faced docility, the old childish submission to tutelage, the old unquestioning acceptance of authority, has gone for ever, and a new life has begun. The year before Lord Langdale received his appointment as Master of the Rolls, the Surtees Society had been founded for the printing of unedited MSS. illustrative of the history of the northern counties; and

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in the same year that the old Record Commission expired, the English Historical Society was started, a society which numbered amongst its promoters such men as the late Mr. Kemble, Mr. H. O. Coxe, Sir T. Duffus Hardy, and Mr. Stevenson—the leaders and teachers of that school of younger men who have so ably followed in the steps of their seniors, and who, mounting on the shoulders of the giants, have gained a wider view than it was given to those others to attain. The five years that followed saw the foundation of the Camden, the Percy, and the Chetham Societies, not to mention many another that has done useful work in its way. The labours of these pioneers soon made it quite apparent that the sources of our national history —social, ecclesiastical, and political—were quite too voluminous for private enterprise to deal with, and would demand the co-operation of a body of trained scholars and the resources of the public exchequer to make them available as apparatus for the teachers of the future.

On the 26th of January, 1857, Sir John Romilly submitted to the Treasury his memorable proposal for the publication of certain materials for the History of England ;* and on the 9th of February a Treasury Minute was put forth approving of the plan that had been drawn up as one 'well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object in an effectual and satisfactory manner within a reasonable time.' Forthwith arrangements were made for the issue of that series of works which is now known as the 'Rolls Series,' a collection which has already extended to upwards of 200 volumes.

The lines laid down by Sir John Romilly were almost exactly those which had been followed by the English Historical Society. Every editor was to 'give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities;' he was to add 'a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology ; *but no other note or comment* was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.' The restriction was absolutely necessary if only for this, that when the 'Rolls Series' was first commenced even the most accomplished of its editors were mere learners. The time had not yet arrived for comments. The text was wanted first in its completeness and integrity.

Looking back to this period—little more than a quarter of a century ago—it is difficult for us to realize the deplorable con-

* The proposal to print and publish the *Calendars* had been approved by authority of the new Record Commissioners as early as January 1840. *See* preface to Mr. Lemons' 'Calendar' (Domestic, 1547–1580), p. viii.

dition

dition into which our historical literature had been allowed to fall. Kemble's great work, the 'Codex Diplomaticus ævi Saxonici,' the first volume of which appeared in 1839, and his 'History of the Saxons in England,' published in 1849, came upon the great body of intelligent men as the revelation of new things. It is sufficient to turn to the chapter on the Constitutional History of England before the Conquest, in Hallam's 'History of the Middle Ages,' to be assured how meagre and superficial even Hallam's knowledge was of everything before the Norman invasion. It was no fault of his; he made good use of all such materials as were then accessible to the student —that is, all such as had been printed; for that incomparably larger *apparatus* which since Hallam's days has been published to the world, it was for all practical purposes as if it had never existed at all. Even men of culture and learning were persuaded that all that was ever likely to be known about the religious houses had been collected in the new edition of Dugdale's 'Monasticon.' It is hardly too much to say that of the history of English monasticism Hallam knew nothing. Dr. Lingard himself had very little more to say of the great Abbeys than his predecessors, and had a very inadequate conception of the part they played in the development of our institutions; and when Dr. Maitland wrote his brilliant 'Essays on the Dark Ages,' he hardly names St. Edmundsbury or St. Alban's, and though one of his most fascinating chapters is concerned with the early days of Croyland, his only authority for the beautiful story, which he has handled so skilfully, is a romantic narrative attributed to Ingulphus, which has been demonstrated to be a somewhat clumsy though a clever forgery. Of the Mendicant Orders—of the work they did, of the influence they exercised, and of the attitude adopted towards them in the 13th century by the parochial clergy on the one hand, and by the monks on the other—even less was known, if less were possible, than of their wealthier rivals.

Two years had scarcely elapsed since the issue of the Treasury Minute of February, 1857, before it began to be said that the history of England would have to be written anew. In the single year 1858 *eleven* works of the highest importance were printed, and it was evident that neither original materials nor scholarly editors would be wanting to make the 'Rolls Series' all that it was desired it should become. The 'Chronicles of the Monasteries of Abingdon and of St. Augustine at Canterbury,' the contemporary 'Life of Edward the Confessor,' and the priceless 'Monumenta Franciscana,' telling the wonderful story of the settlement of the Minorites among us, were printed from

from unique MSS. Next year the 'Chronicle of John of Oxnedes' was brought out by Sir Henry Ellis, and the 'Historia Anglicana' of Bartholomew Cotton, by Dr. Luard, neither work having ever before been printed. Volume followed volume in rapid succession, a steady improvement becoming observable in the style of editing, as the several editors became more familiar with the results of their predecessors' labours.

It was while working at Bartholomew Cotton that Dr. Luard was brought into intimate relations with the 13th century. Hitherto the *composite* character of such chronicles as had been published had indeed been perceived, but no attempt had been made to trace the original authority for statements repeated in the same words by one writer after another. Dr. Luard opened out a new line of enquiry, and in his edition of Cotton's Chronicle he endeavoured to distinguish in every instance the material which might fairly be called original from that which his author had borrowed from older writers and incorporated into his text. The borrowed matter was printed in smaller type, and the sources from which it had been derived were indicated by references given at the foot of the page. Cotton's own additions were printed in a bolder type, so as at once to catch the eye. While conducting the laborious researches necessitated by this new method of editing his text, it became clear to Dr. Luard that Cotton had borrowed largely from Matthew Paris—who had lived just a generation before him—and that he had also borrowed from a mysterious writer much read in the 14th and 15th centuries, who went by the name of Matthew of Westminster. As to this Matthew of Westminster, Dr. Luard postponed dealing with him till some future time. He might prove a mere mythic personage, and it was suspected he would; but Matthew Paris was certainly no shadow, but a very real man, whose greatness seemed to grow greater the more he was studied and the better he was known. Yet as Dr. Luard became more familiar with the text of Paris, he was soon convinced that in its printed form it was bristling with the grossest inaccuracies of all kinds. Originally it had been published under the authority of Archbishop Parker in 1571; and though other editions had appeared, in this country and on the Continent, several times since then, Paris's great work had remained exactly in the same state as Parker (or whoever his agent was) had left it three centuries ago. That is to say, that by far the most important work on English history during the 13th century—not to mention European affairs—and by far the most minute and trustworthy picture of English life and manners during the reign of Henry III.—a record,

a record, too, drawn up by a contemporary writer of rare genius and literary skill—was defaced by blunders, audacious tampering with the text and gross inaccuracies, to such an extent that no conscientious student could allow himself to quote the printed work without first referring to one of the very MSS. which the Archbishop professed to have used.

Nevertheless, the task of bringing out a critical edition of the 'Chronica Majora' did not appear less formidable as fresh sources of information cropped up; and if Dr. Luard shrank from the immense labour that such an edition involved, it was because he had formed a correct notion of its magnitude. In 1861 he brought out in the same series the 'Letters of Robert Grosseteste,' the heroic and magnanimous Bishop of Lincoln; and while working at this volume, the England of the 13th century became more and more alive and present to the mind of the student.

But distinctly and grandly as one noble character after another revealed itself, there was a strange mist that required to be dispelled before even the importance of great events could be rightly estimated. The inner life of the monasteries, great and small, must be enquired into, so far as it was possible to get any information on so obscure a subject; and, above all, the paramount influence which so magnificent an institution as the Abbey of St. Alban's exercised upon the intellectual life of the country must be studied with patient impartiality. Before a scholar with so lofty an ideal of an editor's duty could venture upon his *magnum opus*, there was indeed an enormous mass of preliminary work to get through. The horizon seemed to widen everywhere as the years of historical discovery went on. It was left to Mr. Riley to attack that wonderful collection of documents to which he gave the title of 'Chronica Monasterii Sancti Albani'—a series occupying twelve thick volumes, and which furnish us not only with a priceless *apparatus*, by the help of which a hundred problems perplexing the historian are furnished with a clue towards their solution—but which afford such an insight into the life of the greatest monastery in England during its best times as nobody expected could ever be forthcoming. While Mr. Riley was occupied with the *Chronicles* of St. Alban's and the lives of its Abbots, Dr. Luard was engaged in collecting all the *Annals* of the lesser monasteries which he could lay his hands on. Some of these had already been printed more or less carelessly; others had never seen the light since they were written. Such as were printed were extremely difficult to procure—scarce and costly. Dr. Luard took six years in bringing out his five volumes — volumes referring

referring to the golden age of English Monasticism, which threw all sorts of side-light upon Mr. Riley's 'Chronicles,' while they were in turn continually being explained and illustrated by them.

While the 'Monastic Annals' were passing through the press, a very startling announcement was made by no less a person than Sir Frederick Madden, Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum. Sir Frederick declared that he had come upon a copy of what was commonly called the 'Historia Minor' of Matthew Paris, not only written by the author himself, but actually annotated, corrected, and illustrated with drawings by his own hand. Such an announcement made by an expert of European reputation, one who had been handling MSS. all his life, necessarily created a sensation in the literary world. If it were accepted and proved true, it was one of the most curious romances in the history of literature. But was it true? To most critics the antecedent improbability of the theory put forth by Sir Frederick was so great as to relegate it to the domain of extravagant paradox; but the name and fame of its supporter were too high to allow of its being dismissed without refutation. For two or three years no one ventured to enter the lists against so formidable a champion who had staked his reputation upon the issue. At last another great specialist, not a whit less competent than the other, came forward to controvert the opinions and theory which had been so confidently maintained by Sir Frederick. In 1871 Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy brought out the third volume of his *Catalogue*, and it was in the famous Introduction to this volume that the Madden Hypothesis was first assailed with damaging effect. Sir Thomas, it must be remembered, was Deputy Keeper of the Records. Sir Frederick was Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum. Each was the representative man in his own department, and a very pretty quarrel arose. Into the merits of that quarrel it is impossible to enter here; it is a matter for specialists, not for outsiders, to pronounce upon. This, however, may be said with confidence, that if we except that school of very able and accomplished experts which the British Museum has trained, experts whose *range* of diplomatic knowledge must needs be wider than that of any 'Record man,' the refutation of Sir Frederick Madden by Sir Thomas Duffus was generally regarded as unanswerable and triumphant. With the exception indicated—a very important exception indeed—the Madden Hypothesis was believed to be utterly demolished, in fact 'blown into the air.' Nevertheless there are those, from whom something may be expected some day in the

the way of rejoinder, who are by no means sure that the last word on this question has been said that deserve to be said, and even so scrupulous and sagacious a critic as Dr. Luard seems to be less certain than he was that Madden was quite wrong in *all* he affirmed, and Hardy quite right in *all* he denied.

The attention which had been drawn to Matthew Paris by this remarkable controversy could not but have its effect in awakening a desire for that critical edition of the larger Chronicle which Dr. Luard had been so long preparing. The way was cleared for such an edition now; it was not likely that any more MSS. of the author would be discovered. Such as were deposited in the various libraries had been carefully scrutinized, or their homes were known, and the long years of preparatory study had been turned to good account—no pains had been spared nor any labour grudged. In 1872 the first volume of the 'Chronica Majora' appeared in the 'Rolls Series.' In 1884 the seventh and last volume was issued, containing the learned editor's last preface, glossary, and emendations, and an Index to the whole work, extending over nearly 600 pages. It is a long time since an English scholar has had the good fortune to carry to its completion so important a work as this, projected on so large a scale, executed with such conscientious care—characterized by so much critical skill and scrupulous accuracy—and all this achieved single-handed in the midst of other duties, professional and academical, which would be quite sufficient to exhaust the energies of an ordinary man.

Now that the work has been done, and done so thoroughly that it may safely be asserted the *standard edition* of the 'Chronica Majora' has been published once for all, we are in a better position than we ever were heretofore for taking a survey of the life and labours of its author, and for answering the enquiries which of late have been made with increasing frequency, and made too among those who might have been expected to be able to answer them. Who and what was Matthew Paris? What did he do, and what did he write that the learned few should speak of him with so much reverence, though to the unlearned many he is little more than a famous and familiar name?

Perhaps before dealing with his personal history, or entering into any examination of his literary labours, it will be well first to answer the question—*What* was Matthew Paris? for it is simply impossible to estimate rightly the debt we owe to him, or to understand the brief account that could be drawn up of his career, until we have learned to know something of the *profession* to which he belonged, and the great foundation of which he was so distinguished an ornament. By profession Matthew Paris

Paris was a monk. A monk 'professed' is a term indicating the higher grade to which not every brother in a monastery attained. The very term 'profession' may be traced to the cloister. In its usual acceptation it is modern.

To dilate upon the various monastic orders, which were almost as numerous in the 13th century as the different religious denominations are in the 19th, would be out of place here. Suffice it to say that the English monasteries in Henry III.'s time counted by hundreds. But there were monasteries and monasteries. Some the homes of the scholar, the devout and the high-minded, the seats of learning and the resting-places of the studious and the aged, who hated war and tumult, and only longed for repose. Some that were mere hiding-holes for the lazy and the incompetent, the failures among the younger sons of the gentry, who had not the power of pushing their way in the world, or whose career had been a disappointment. Such men, where all else failed, could get themselves admitted into some smaller religious house by the interest of the patron; sometimes bringing in a trifling addition to the common property, sometimes simply 'pitchforked' into a vacancy, it is difficult to say how. Then they became 'brethren' of the monastery, and sharers in most of the good things that it could offer; they were almost exactly in the same position as Fellows of Colleges were twenty years ago, holding their preferment for life, with this difference, that a Fellowship at the smallest College in Oxford or Cambridge always implied *some* qualification for the post. A College Fellow, at the worst, must have had some claims to learning or culture; whereas in the smaller and more remote monasteries a man might be scandalously ignorant, and yet gain admittance as a brother of the house.

Between the highest and the lowest of that great army of monks, dispersed through the length and breadth of the land, when English monachism had declined from its earlier ideal, there was as great a distance as there is at this moment between the Fellows of Balliol or Trinity, and the poor brethren of the Charterhouse, or the bedesmen in the cathedrals of the old foundation.

In the first half of the 13th century English monachism was at its best; the 12th century was emphatically the reformation age of British monachism. All the many schemes for starting new orders with improved *Rules*, and all the efforts to improve the discipline of the religious houses and fan the fire of devotion among their members, assumed that the monasteries were then living institutions with vast powers for good, and institutions

tions which needed only to be reformed to make them all that the most earnest and ardent enthusiast claimed that they ought to be, and might become. In the fifty years preceding the accession of King John, more than 200 monasteries had been built and endowed—some of them munificently endowed, and the only purely English order (that of St. Gilbert of Sempringham) had been founded, and in little more than fifty years could count no less than fourteen considerable houses. Englishmen believed in the monastic system as they have never believed in anything else since then; never have such prodigious sacrifices been made, never has such lavish munificence been shown by the *upper classes* as during the century ending with the accession of Edward I. In the next hundred years they were chiefly the townsmen and traders, not the landed proprietors, who emptied their money-bags into the lap of the Begging friars. Certainly the great religious houses at the end of the 13th century had the entire confidence of the country, and it is impossible to understand the long reign of Henry III. unless we are fully awake to the fact that then, too, the monasteries were not only thriving and powerful, but were institutions on whose help and power the people leant with an assured confidence, because they were pre-eminently the people's friends.

But between the old foundations which had a history and the new houses that were springing up in every shire, some feeling of jealousy and soreness was sure to arise. The old abbeys, with a history that looked back into a past all clouds and mist, but none the less glorious for that, affected a supercilious tone towards the mushrooms that had of late sprouted into vigorous life. A man need not be an old man who can remember when the Eton and Winchester boys at the Universities affected an air of contempt for all the 'modern' places of education, and disdained to number such institutions as Cheltenham or Clifton among the 'public schools.' These were all very well in their way, but where were their traditions? So with the older and grander Benedictine monasteries, with charters from Saxon kings, let alone anything else. Glastonbury, where men said two of the Apostles had built themselves a house of prayer, and where St. Patrick and St. Dunstan lay entombed; Canterbury, where Augustine, the English apostle, found a home; Malmesbury, where St. Aldhelm preached to the barbarous people, and when they tired of his sermon played to them upon his harp, and, anticipating Mr. Sankey, sang David's Psalms to the crowds that moved by him as they passed over the bridge of Avon. These venerable foundations, about whose origin a glamour of mystery had gathered, whose history had become strangely obscured

obscured by the body of myths that had grown up in the lapse of centuries—which had survived pillage and anarchy, and all the horrors of fire and sword, desolating, devastating—were there before men's eyes, testifying to the amazing vitality which a millennium of strange vicissitude had not only not destroyed, but not even impaired. Such a mighty pile of buildings, as had risen up to heaven there in the old Roman town of Verulam, appealed to the imagination of mankind—the very materials of the massive tower, ruddy in the blaze of the noon-day, must have been a wonder and astonishment to many an awe-struck pilgrim perplexed at the first sight of Roman bricks burnt on the spot a thousand years ago. There stood the mighty Roman rampart, vast, enormous—the ground beneath his feet teeming with the tangible memories of grisly conflict, or of an old civilization that had been blotted out long ago—the swords of Roman legionaries, the bones of British heroes, coins with legends that few could read turned up by the ploughman's share. Yonder, men said, away there at Redburn, the heathen pursuers had come upon England's proto-martyr and slain the saint of God, whose bones since then had been gathered up, and were now resting in their sumptuous shrine. When the Norman came, and the new order was set up in the land—not a day before it was needed—the thirteenth Abbot of St. Alban's was of the blood royal, and heir, they said, to Cnut, the Danish king, who had passed away. It was to him that the awful Conqueror made oath he would bind himself by the Confessor's laws, an oath which, if he ever meant to keep, he meant to interpret according to his mood. Even the very laxity and short-comings of the abbots of generations back, which tradition, and something more to be trusted than tradition, declared to have been matters of scandal, proved no more than that the great Abbey could live through evil times, outride the storms which would wreck weaker vessels, and right itself, though overloaded with abuses which timid pilots would have shrunk from throwing overboard: and now that 400 years had passed since Offa, the Saxon king—(stirred thereto by Karl, the Emperor)—had founded the monastery in St. Alban's honour, and from generation to generation vast building operations had been going on almost without interruption, and the old Abbey still held up its head proudly, its Abbot taking precedence of every other in the land; any man might be excused for thinking that to become a monk of St. Alban's Abbey was to become a personage of no small consideration.

Verily it was a great abbey in the days of King John. There, in the eighth year of that King's reign, was held that memorable council

council which, if it had been let alone, would doubtless have issued its protest against the intolerable aggression of the Pope and his *curia*. There, six years afterwards, another assembly was convened; the first occasion on which we find any historical proof that representatives were summoned to a national council in England. Eight times during his reign the ruffian King was himself a guest at the Abbey. Once after John's death, when Louis was desperately struggling to hold his own against young Henry's friends and supporters, he too came to St. Alban's, and threatened to give it over to fire and sword: only money saved it from a sack. There was always something to take, and yet always wonderful state kept up. The magnates in Church and State were for ever going in and out; the mere domestic expenditure was enormous. Yet, even when the country was groaning under horrible anarchy, and grinding taxation, and war and poverty, the building went on as if men lived only to glorify the great house, and to raise its church tower, or beautify the west front, or fill the windows with stained glass, or erect the splendid pulpit in the nave—a miracle of art.

It would be a very great mistake to conclude that all this lavish expenditure implied the enjoyment of large rents from land. The revenue derived from the tenants of the Abbey and the profits of farming were no doubt considerable; but that revenue could never have sufficed alone to defray the cost of keeping up the establishment. In point of fact, when a monastery, great or small, depended wholly upon its landed property, it invariably got into debt; sometimes it got hopelessly into debt. It is clear that before the Dissolution a very large number of the religious houses were insolvent. The striking paucity in the number of 'religious' at the time of the suppression—for hardly one house in ten had its full complement of inmates—is by no means wholly to be attributed to the reluctance on the part of people in general to take upon themselves the monastic vows. Where a monastery was financially in a critical condition, the brotherhood resorted to the expedient which is at this moment being carried out at more than one College in Oxford and Cambridge. Now, when times are bad, we temporarily suppress a Fellowship; then, on the death of a brother of the house, they chose no monk into his place.

The income from landed estates at St. Alban's was probably at no time equal to what may be called the extraordinary income. The offerings at the shrines of SS. Alban and Amphibalus, the proceeds of the offertory at those magnificent and dramatic functions in which the multitude delighted, and the

douceurs

douceurs that were always expected and almost always given in return for hospitality, which only in theory was free,—these and many another source of profit, which the universal habit of giving money for 'pious uses' supplied, all made up a sum total, in comparison with which the proceeds of the rent-roll were insignificant. In the taxation of Pope Nicholas (A.D. 1291) the whole revenue of the Abbey from rent and dues in the liberty of St. Alban's is set down at 392*l.* 8*s.* 3¼*d.*, a sum which in those days would go as far as 5000*l.* a-year now. Even granting that this was only half the net income derivable from the Abbey's estates, which were widely distributed, an expenditure of 10,000*l.* a year would go in our own time a very little way towards meeting the charges which such an enormous establishment involved. The mere keeping up the buildings at all times entailed a very heavy annual outlay. Already in the 13th century the precincts of the Abbey were overcrowded with palatial edifices, which were never pulled down except to make room for larger ones. There were acres of roofs within the Abbey walls.

And what return was being made to the nation, that every rank and every class were keeping up a rivalry in munificence in favour of such an institution as this? What had they done, what were they doing, these seventy men, with their Abbot at their head, who were in the enjoyment of an income larger than that of many a principality? How was it that no one *in those days* accused them of being indolent drones? Mere burdens upon the earth, as they were called frequently enough, and loudly enough, and angrily enough, three centuries later? It was the age for the expansion of the monastic system—none then wished to sweep the monks away. One of the reasons why the monasteries had retained their hold upon the affection of the people, and were regarded with reverence and pride and confidence, lay in this, that they had moved with the times, and that the monasticism of the 13th was very different indeed from the monasticism of the 9th century. The primitive asceticism had almost vanished; it had not, however, died, leaving nothing in its place. No one now expected to find the religious houses filled with religious people, every one holy, devout, and fervent; the personal sanctity of the inmates was one thing, the sanctity of their churches and shrines was quite another. In the old days the monks were separate from the world, living to save their own souls at best; examples to such as trembled at the wrath of God, and longed for the life to come. As time went on they mixed more boldly with the sinful world, and gradually they became more and more the illuminators of the darkness round

round them. Now they were regarded as in great measure the salt of the earth, and if that salt should lose its savour, where was such virtue elsewhere to be found? Personally, the men might be worldly—vicious, as a rule, they certainly were not—they were, *mutatis mutandis*, what in our time would be called cultured gentlemen, courteous, highly educated and refined, as compared with the great mass of their contemporaries; a privileged class who were not abusing their privileges; a class from whence all the art and letters and accomplishments of the time emanated, allied in blood as much with the low as the high, the aristocracy of intellect, and the pioneers of scientific and material progress. The model farming of the 13th century would be regarded as barbaric by our modern theorists; but such as it was, it was only to be met with on the demesne lands of the larger monasteries, and was a prodigious advance upon the *petite culture* of the open fields. The Priory at Norwich made an income out of its garden in the days of Edward III., and probably much earlier; the pisciculture of the religious houses remains a mystery as yet unsolved; the skill exhibited in the management of the water-power of many a district round even the smaller houses, still awakes wonder in those who think it worth their while to study it. At St. Alban's, as at Glastonbury, St. Edmund's Abbey, and elsewhere, the culture of the vine was made profitable for generations. The monasteries were the first to give personal freedom to the villeins, and the first to commute for money payments the vexatious *services* which worried the best men and maddened the worst. The landlords in the 13th century were real *lords* of the *land*. They were, as a class, very poor, spite of the privileges they enjoyed and the power that they possessed of making themselves disagreeable; and though the constitution of a *manor* was a limited monarchy, and the *limits* were very many, yet the lord could exercise a great deal of petty tyranny in his little kingdom if he were so disposed. In the manors which were in the possession of the religious houses the lord was necessarily non-resident, and the tenants were left to manage their own affairs with very little interference. The tenants of the monasteries were in a far more favoured condition than the tenants of some small lord, needy and greedy, who extorted his dues literally to the last farthing, and who knew exactly what the best beast was, on the land that owed him a heriot; and, when the tenant was *in extremis*, kept a sharp look-out that a fat bullock or a promising young horse should not be driven off before the owner died.

So the monasteries at the time we are now concerned with, were

were regarded at once with pride and affection by the great bulk of the people; they were places of refuge where, in a turbulent time, men and women who had been stricken, bereaved or wronged, might find a quiet refuge and hide their heads and be forgotten and fall asleep, with the prayers of other sufferers to console and support them in their passage through the valley of the shadow of death. The gentlest spirits here could taste the bliss of a holy tranquillity; the ascetic could indulge his most fantastic self-immolation; the morbid visionary could dream at his will and give his imagination full play, none hindering him; evil demons might chatter and gibe and twit him at his prayers; choirs of angels might calm his despair with celestial lullabies; awful forms might rise from clouds of incense as the gorgeous procession moved along the vast church aisles, or stopped before some glittering shrine. What then? Who would question the reality of a miracle, or doubt that sublime revelations might be made to any holy monk as he wrestled in prayer with a rapture of the soul, and found himself lifted to the seventh heaven in ecstasy unutterable?

What has been said applies mainly to the older houses, those which were under what may be called the *primitive* Benedictine rule. If men were moved to rigid asceticism, however, and had a taste for bald simplicity; if art, and music, and ornate architecture, had no charm for them, and they dreamt that God could only be sought and found in the wilderness, the Cistercian houses offered such a congenial asylum. The Cistercians were the Puritans of the monasteries, and appealed to that mysterious sentiment which makes some minds shrink with fear from the touch of luxury, and regard culture as antagonistic to personal holiness. The sentiment was strong in the reign of Henry II., when nineteen Cistercian houses were founded; but it is not improbable that other motives, beside mere taste for a stricter discipline, led to the foundation of eight more in the reign of King John. Meanwhile the Benedictines had become by far the most learned and most *educating* body in the land, and pre-eminent above them all was the great Abbey of St. Alban's. If it was not at this time the centre of intellectual life in England, it was because at this time centralization was unknown. Eadmer, Florence of Worcester, Gervase of Canterbury, William of Malmesbury, Simeon of Durham, were all 12th-century Benedictines. They were all students and writers of history, and history meant *literature* till Peter Lombard arose at the end of the 12th century and revolutionized the world of thought—at any rate the domain of logic. John of Salisbury fiercely assails the intellectual innovators of his time on the ground that the

new lights of the 12th century disdained to be students of history, and affected contempt for the past. It was the old story; literary culture found itself in antagonism with scientific culture, and the vigorous childhood of scientific research was aggressive, insolent, and noisily insubordinate. The old seminaries, whose homes were in the Benedictine monasteries, refused to welcome the new learning. Its teachers settled themselves elsewhere; at Paris, on the other side of the water, they had a hard fight of it. Once in 1209 the Synod of Paris actually prohibited the reading of Aristotle's 'Metaphysics.' At Oxford they seem to have met with a more generous reception. Perhaps it was because that reception was too enthusiastic that King Stephen at the close of his miserable reign expelled Vacarius, the first teacher of scientific law in England. Whereupon young men of parts and ambition crossed the Channel, seeking and finding at Pavia and Bologna what was not to be had at home. The monastic schools held their own, and went on in the old groove; the intellectual revolution which soon came about by the agency of the Mendicant Orders was not yet dreamt of. St. Alban's, Malmesbury, and other such mighty foundations, stuck to the old studies, just as Eton and Winchester stuck to Latin Verse as the one thing needful, and reluctantly gave into the new-fangled notion of having a 'modern side.'

Outside the Abbey precincts, a hundred yards from the great gate, and separated from it by the *Rome land*, which may possibly have served the boys as a playground, stood the Grammar School. Whether it offered a different training from that which was usually supplied to the scholars who were under training in the cloister, it is difficult to say. Within the precincts, when the 13th century began, there stood the great church—enriched by the accumulated offerings of centuries, and glowing with dazzling splendour of jewels and cloth of gold, and glass that glorified the very sunshine, and wonders of sculpture and colour and needlework filling the heart to overflowing with inexplicable hopes and longings for an ideal that seemed possible of realization, if only the Church in heaven should be as far removed above the actual of the Church on earth, as the glories of the Church on earth were removed above the squalid life of the common workday world. All this in witness that the great Abbey was, first and foremost, a religious foundation, raised in the first instance to the glory of God, and meant to help forward the worship of God, and make that worship worthy of the Most High.

But besides being primarily and emphatically a religious foundation, the Abbey in the 13th century had grown into something

something else, and had become the home of a corporation of scholars and students, who were the leaders of art and culture in an age when art and culture were to be met with nowhere outside the walls of a great monastery. There, in what might be called the museum of the Abbey, you might see no mean collection of antique gems that had once been the pride of Roman magistrates. Mysterious specimens of barbaric gold-work, fashioned by unknown craftsmen for the necks of nameless chieftains who had drawn the sword and perished, none knew when. Engraved gems that had been dug up in mysterious sepulchres, about which even imagination despaired of telling any story; relics of saints and martyrs, charters of Saxon kings, granted centuries before the Normans came to ring out the old and ring in the new. The wealth of mere archæological specimens at St. Alban's made it such a museum of antiquities as provokes wonder and bitterness, as we read the catalogue of what was once there, and has perished utterly and for ever.*

The range of buildings to the south of the church covered a far larger area than that which the church itself occupied. Uncertain though the exact site may be and is, there had already been added in Brother Matthew's time what we should now call an Art school, a Library, and, almost more famous than all, the Scriptorium. By-and-bye, too, came the printing-press which John Herford set up in 1480. Wynkyn de Worde was sometime schoolmaster of Saint Alban's, and Lady Juliana Berners' famous volume issued from the Abbey Press, while Caxton was still pursuing his craft in the almonry of another monastery at Westminster.

In the days of King John, however, people had so little idea of the possibility of the printing-press, that they were almost equally ignorant of such a material as paper for literary purposes. Yet it is a huge mistake which has not yet been exploded, as it ought to be, that reading and writing were rare accomplishments in the 13th century. Knowledge of a certain kind was disseminated far more effectively and far more universally than is generally believed. The country parson was expected to be the schoolmaster of his parish, and generally was so, and there was hardly a village in England during the reign of Henry III. in which there were not one or more persons who could write a *clerkly* hand, draw up accounts *in Latin*, and keep the records of the various petty courts and

* In Dr. Luard's sixth volume there are two facsimiles of certain coloured drawings of the more precious gems at St. Alban's, with careful descriptions of them, the text and the illustrations being most probably *executed by Matthew Paris himself.*

gatherings that were continually being held, sometimes to the annoyance and grievous vexation of the rural population. The professional *writers* were so numerous, and their training so severe, that they had got for themselves privileges of a very exceptional kind; the *clerk* took rank with the *clergyman*, and the *writer* of a book was almost as much esteemed as its *author*.

The scriptorium of a great monastery was at once the printing-press and the publishing office. It was the place where books were written, and whence they issued to the world. With the traditional exclusiveness of the older monasteries there was less desire, no doubt, to diffuse and disperse than to accumulate books, but the composing and the multiplication of books was always going on. The scriptorium was a great writing school too, and the rules of the art of writing which were laid down there were so rigidly and severely adhered to, that to this day it is not difficult to decide at a glance whether a book was written in St. Alban's or St. Edmund's Abbey. Sometimes as many as twenty writers were employed at once, and besides these there were occasionally supernumeraries, who were professional scribes, and who were paid for their services; but nothing short of perfect penmanship, such trained skill, for instance, as would now be required of an engraver, would qualify a copyist to take part in the finished work, which the copying of important books required.

One of the conclusions which Sir Thomas Hardy arrived at during the course of his minute examination of Sir Frederick Madden's theory is so curious, and opens out such an unexpected view of the way in which our monasteries may have been brought under the influence of foreign literature, that it is worth while in this connection to quote the great critic's own words:—

'After minutely examining every page of the manuscripts in question, as well as others, which were undoubtedly written in the monastery of St. Alban's, and comparing them with others executed in various parts of England and on the Continent, I can come to no other conclusion than that during the latter half of the 13th century, and perhaps a little earlier, there prevailed among the scribes in the Scriptorium of St. Alban's, a peculiar character of writing which is not recognizable in any other religious house in England during that period; but which is traceable in some foreign manuscripts, and even in private deeds executed in England in the neighbourhood of St. Alban's during the 12th and 13th centuries. These facts lead me to the inference, that *the schoolmaster who taught the art of writing to Matthew Paris and the other members and scholars of the establishment at St. Alban's was a foreigner;* that his pupils not only imitated their instructor in the formation of his letters, but also in his exceptional orthography.'

What

What questions suggest themselves as we accept the conclusion arrived at! Who was he, this 'foreigner,' who had come from across the sea to bring in his outlandish novelties into the great scriptorium? Was he some 'Frenchman' imported from sunny Champagne, where Thibaut, the mawkish singer, was making verses which his people loved to listen to? Did he teach the young novices French as well as writing? Did he touch the lute himself on Feast-days, and charm them with some new lyric of Gasse Bruslé, or delight them with one of Rutebeuf's merry ditties? France was all alive with song at this time, and princes were rivals now for poetic fame. It may be that this 'foreigner' brought in a taste for light literature as well as for a new fashion in penmanship, and made known to his pupils such alluring novelties as the 'Roman d'Alexandre,' soon to be eclipsed by the 'Roman de la Rose.'

The scriptorium at St. Alban's was founded by Abbot Paul, a kinsman of Archbishop Lanfranc, when the great Abbey had already existed for three centuries. Paul became Abbot eleven years after the Conquest, and he showed himself an able and earnest administrator. From this time learning and a love of books became a tradition of the house. Abbot after abbot continued to add to the collection of MSS., and to increase the value of the library. But St. Alban's had never had a great historian of its own. Strange and shameful fact! East and west and north and south, all over the land, there were great writers holding up their proud heads. Out in the desolate wilds there at Peterborough, they had been actually keeping up a chronicle for centuries—aye, and written in the vernacular too. The lonely monastery of Ely, among the swamps, had its historian. Malmesbury boasted her learned William; and Worcester, which St. Wulstan had raised from the dust, as it were, only the other day, had already her Florence. In the great houses of the Northern Province there had been no lack of writers to whom the past was an open book. Even Westminster had long ago had her *chronographer*, and far away in furthest Wales, Geoffrey, the Monmouth man, was making men open their eyes very wide indeed with tales—idle tales they might be, but they were well worth the reading—and there was talk too of another young Welshman, Giraldus, who was on the way towards outdoing the other by-and-bye. What are we coming to? Holy St. Alban, shalt thou and thy house be put to shame?—that be far from us!

Thus it came to pass that about a century after the foundation of the scriptorium, and when the library had grown to an imposing size, Abbot Simon bestirred himself, and a new office

was

was created in the Abbey, to wit, that of Historiographer. In our time we should have given this functionary a grander title, and called him Professor of History; but in the 12th century, they called him what he was, a writer of history, and from this time, in fact, the writing of history, after a certain authorized method, began, and what has been called, and deserves to be called, the St. Alban's School of History took its rise.

It is evident that before the 13th century had well begun, an historical compendium of great value had already been drawn up, which must have been compiled by careful students with a command of books such as during this age was rare.

'The compilation,' says Dr. Luard, 'whenever and by whomsoever it was written, must be regarded as a very curious and remarkable one. The very large number of sources consulted, the miscellaneous character of many of the extracts, the mixture of history and legend, the giving fixed years to stories which even writers like Geoffrey of Monmouth had left undated, the care at one time and the carelessness at another, the slavishness with which one authority is followed, and the recklessness with which another is altered, the frequent confusion of dates, their ignorance and want of care, the blunders displayed in many instances from the compiler not understanding the author whom he is copying, as is especially the case in the extracts from the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle;" all these characteristics may well earn for the author the title that Lappenberg has given to him, though under the name of "Matthew of Westminster," namely, that of the "Verwirrer der Geschichte." At the same time there is no doubt that he had access to some materials which we no longer possess: and my object has been to trace all his statements, where possible, to their source, and to distinguish any additions that the compiler has made when they are merely rhetorical amplifications of his own, or when they are really from some source not now extant.' —Pref. to vol. i., p. xxxiii.

After all that can be said, the work surprises us by the erudition it displays. Nor is that surprise lessened when we have gone through the masterly analysis of its contents, which Dr. Luard has given us in the Preface to his first vol. Such as it was, it became the great text-book on which Roger of Wendover founded his own labours when he incorporated it into the chronicle which he left behind him. Roger of Wendover did good work, and laboriously epitomized, supplemented, and improved, but he was a mere literary monk after all; a student, a bookworm, simple, conscientious, and truthful; a trustworthy reporter, 'a picker-up of learning's crumbs,' a monkish historiographer, in short; but by no means a historian of large views and of original mind. Roger of Wendover died in 1236, and Matthew Paris succeeded to his office and work.

From

From what has been said, the reader may be presumed to have gained something like an answer to our first question: *What* was Brother Matthew? Briefly, he was a representative monk of the most powerful monastery in England during the 13th century, when that monastery was at its best, and doing the work which in after times the Universities and great schools of the country took out of the hands of the religious houses; work, too, which since those days has been done by the printing-press, and by many other institutions better fitted to deal with the requirements of an immensely larger population, and to be the instruments for diffusing culture and refinement through the nation after it had outgrown the older machinery.

When we come to look into the personal history of Brother Matthew, the details of his biography need not detain us long. Sir Henry Taylor's famous line is only half true, after all;

'The world knows nothing of its greatest men'

really means that the world knows less about them than it would like to know. And yet the world knows almost as much about them as is good for it. The leading facts of a man's career are all that concern most of us—the main lines—not the details. Of Matthew Paris we know enough, because he has himself given us so faithful a picture of his times, and so charming an insight into the daily life which he led.

Unnecessary doubt has been suggested as to his parentage, and whether his extraction was or was not from a stock that could boast of gentle blood. For our part we incline strongly to the belief, that Brother Matthew was called Paris because that was his name, and had been his father's name before him. A family of that name held lands in Bedfordshire in Henry III.'s time; others of the same stock were settled in Lincolnshire earlier still; and the Cambridgeshire family (one of whom was among the visitors of the monasteries under Henry VIII.) boasted of a long line of ancestors, and retained their estates in the Eastern Counties till late in the 17th century. Young Matthew probably received his education in the school at St. Alban's, and soon showed a decided taste for learning and the student's life, and that in the 13th century meant an inclination for the life of the cloister. Many a precocious lad is even now taught from his childhood to look forward to the glories of a College Fellowship, and the career which such an academic success may open to him; and in the 13th century a schoolboy's ambition was directed to the goal of admission to a great monastery—that step on the ladder which whosoever could reach, there was no knowing how high he might climb—how high above

above the common sons of earth or, if he preferred it, how high towards the heaven that is above the earth.

Matthew was probably born about the year 1200, and in January 1217 he became a monk at St. Alban's, *i.e.*, he became a *novice*. At this time a lad could commence his noviciate at 15; but the age was subsequently advanced to 19, the younger limit having been found, as a rule, too early even for the preliminary discipline required. On the day after the lad was admitted, a frightful scene took place in the monastery. A band of Fawkes de Breauté's cut-throats had stormed the town of St. Alban's, burst into the Abbey, and slaughtered at the door of the church one Robert Mai, a servant of the Abbot. William de Trumpington was Abbot at this time, a vigorous and resolute personage, who ruled the convent with a firm hand. Like all really able men, he was ably seconded, for he knew how to choose his subordinates. At first the monks had repented of their choice, and there were quarrels and litigation and appeals to the Pope, and many serious 'unpleasantnesses;' but as time went on, Abbot William had won the allegiance of all the convent, and they were proud of him. He was a man of books, among his other virtues, and had an eye for bookish men; and when he deposed Roger de Wendover from being Prior of Belvoir with a somewhat high hand, and brought him back to St. Alban's, he doubtless did so because he knew that at Belvoir he was a square man in a round hole, while in the scriptorium of the Abbey he would be in his right place. Certainly the event proved that the Abbot was right, and it was to this judicious removal of a student and man of letters to his proper home that we owe so much of our knowledge of those interesting minutiæ of English history which the writer has revealed. It was under the eye of Roger de Wendover that Matthew Paris grew up, rendering him every year more and more substantial assistance in the library and in the scriptorium.

But the young man was not only a bookworm and a copyist, he soon got to be looked upon as a prodigy. He was a universal genius; he could do whatever he set his hand to, and better than any one else. He could draw, and paint, and illuminate, and work in metals. Some said he could even construct maps; he was versed in everything, and noticed everything from 'the cedar that is in Lebanon to the hyssop upon the wall;' he was an expert in heraldry; he could tell you about whales, and camels, and buffaloes, and elephants—he could even draw an elephant—illustrate his history, in fact, with the elephant's portrait, the first elephant, he says, that had ever been seen in our northern climes. It was centuries before men had dreamt

dreamt of what the science of geology would one day reveal. Then, too, he had vast capacity for work, and was a courtly person, and he had the gift of tongues, and had been a great traveller; he had early been sent by the convent to study at the University of Paris, and wherever he went, he was the man to make friends. When the Benedictines in Norway had convinced themselves that there was sore need of a reform of their rule and discipline, they applied to Pope Innocent IV. to send them a Visitor furnished with the necessary authority for carrying out so delicate and difficult a mission, and they made choice of Matthew Paris as the fittest possible person for such a work. Reluctantly Brother Matthew was compelled to undertake the task: he started on his northern voyage in 1248, and was absent about a year. In Norway he soon grew into high favour with King Hacon, who peradventure would have kept him at his side if he could. This seems to have been the most important episode in his otherwise uneventful life. But the advantages and opportunities which were at the command of any ambitious and studious young monk at St. Alban's were in themselves extraordinary. We have said that building was always going on. It was going on on a very large scale indeed in Abbot William's time. That means that there were the plans and sections and working drawings to be copied for the architect, and measurements and calculations by the thousand to be made—*a school of architecture*, in short: and besides that, what Roger de Wendover was in the scriptorium, that Walter of Colchester, *pictor et sculptor incomparabilis*, was in the painting room. Walter was a sculptor; indeed he wrought at his marvellous pulpit which the Abbot set up in the middle of the church: and he carved the story of St. Alban upon the great beam over the high altar, and did many another thing of which we have only too brief descriptions. Then, too, there was Richard, the monk who decorated the grand new guests' hall *deliciose*, as we are told, and who painted pictures and carried out other works of embellishment at a pace which none could have kept up, but that he had his father to help him with his brush, and another artist, John of Wallingford, to carry out his great designs, and many more skilled limners whose names have gone down into silence.

When Abbot William's reign came to an end, the monks were unanimous in choosing John of Hertford as his successor, and the new Abbot lost no time in showing favour to Matthew Paris. Next year Roger de Wendover died, and who could there be so worthy to succeed him as historiographer as the versatile and accomplished brother, who by this time was the boast of the great house? And historiographer accordingly Matthew became—

came—*mutatis mutandis*, a sort of 13th-century editor of the 'Times;' his business was to gather from all points of the compass, if not the latest news, yet the best and most trustworthy reports upon whatever was worth recording. He had his correspondents all over Europe, and that he sifted the evidence as it came to him we know.

Wherever there was any great event that deserved a place in the Abbey Chronicle, some splendid pageant to describe, some battle, or treaty, or pestilence, or flood, or famine, straightway tidings came to the vigilant historiographer; and there was a comparison of the evidence brought in, and some testing of witnesses, and finally the narrative was drawn up and incorporated into Matthew's history. Again and again it happened that a great personage who, while himself *making* history, was anxious that his own part in a transaction should be represented favourably, would try and get the right side of the famous chronicler, and would furnish him with private information. Even the King himself thought it no scorn to communicate facts and documents to Brother Matthew. Once when Henry saw him in a crowd on a memorable occasion, he picked him out, and bade him take his seat by his side, and see to it that he made a true and faithful report of what was going on; and it is evident that the royal favour which he enjoyed through life must have extended to furnishing him with many a story and many a detail which none but the King could have supplied. The minute account of the attempt to assassinate Henry in 1238; the curious State paper giving a narrative of the dispute between the King and his nobles in 1242; the strange scene at the tomb of William Marshall in 1245, and scores of other incidents in the career of Bishop Grossteste and Richard of Cornwall, were evidently 'inspired,' and can only have come from eye-witnesses of the events recorded. Nevertheless Matthew, though he was willing enough to receive information, and to utilise facts and documents, was by no means the man to reproduce them exactly in the form in which they came to him. More than once he ventured to remonstrate with the King, and very much oftener than once he expresses his opinion of him in no measured terms. Some of the severest censures he had marked for omission, and some expressions he modified considerably, for we have the good fortune to possess his chronicle both in an earlier and in a later form; but even though the fuller and more outspoken record had perished, we should still have had enough proof to make it clear that we have in Matthew Paris an instance of a born historian, one who never consented to be a mere advocate, taking a side and seeing only

only half the truth of anything; but a man gifted with the judicial faculty, that precious gift without which a man may be anything you please—a rhetorician, a special pleader, a picturesque writer, a laborious collector of facts; but an historian, never. And yet Matthew Paris was a magnificent hater, with a fund of indignant scorn and righteous anger which never fails him upon occasion. Friend of King and nobles as he was, he will not spare his words of wrathful censure upon the tyrant, or upon any that he held deserving of rebuke for cruelty, oppression, and avarice. When he has to lay the lash on such as had proved themselves enemies to his much-loved Abbey, or who had wronged and defrauded it, he is well-nigh as fierce as Dante. He singles them out—the doomed wretches—and holds them, as it were, over the fire of hell before he drops them down into the burning flame.

Did Ralph Cheinduit, that blustering, burly knight, cry aloud 'A fig for St. Alban and his monks! Since they excommunicated me—look you! I have only increased in girth, behold me fat and jolly, in faith almost too big for my saddle. A fig for them all!' Did he say so, the impious wretch? Be it known that from that very day Sir Knight began to shrink and waste and pine, and if he had not repented and been absolved in time, he had gone down to the bottomless pit with never a hope of deliverance.

Did not Sir Adam Fitz William show the evil spirit that was in him when he sided against us time and again? And now, look to his awful end! Gorged with meat and drink one night, he sprawled upon his bed, *indigestus*, as you may say, and he never woke more. Aye! and he died intestate too. And as though that was not bad enough, his wife too died, straightway, like another Sapphira slain by the shock of the tidings. And then there was Alan de Beccles, too, always notorious for setting himself against us and our house, he too perished as the other did, for he loved choice dainties overmuch, and he dined late, and he ate as none should eat, and when he could eat no more, suddenly his speech failed him, and his veins burst, smitten with an apoplexy. And many another, whom it would take too long to name, following his evil course, and being persecutors of Holy Alban's Church, perished for ever by God's vengeance.

It is no longer the fashion now to denounce the Pope and his myrmidons, but if the rage of Exeter Hall should ever recur, and the orators of the old platform should revive a taste for anti-papal agitation, they might find in Matthew Paris as rich a repertory of testimonies against Roman aggression and greed as the most rabid Irish Protestant could desire. 'O thou Pope,'

Pope,' he bursts out once, 'thou the father of all the fathers in Christ, how is it that thou sufferest the realms of Christendom to be fouled by such creatures as are thine?' The 'creatures' were the papal legates and nuncios and all their belongings, who were plundering England without shame. 'Harpies they were and blood-suckers,' says Matthew, 'mere plunderers, skinning the sheep, not shearing them only.' Then there were the King's Justiciars—'Justice'—nay, with that they had nothing to do. Why tell of their unrighteous deeds? he asks. 'Better forbear from vainly writing about the *wrongers*, and return to the story of the wronged.'

Of course the friars come in for their share of strong words—chiefly because the Pope made use of them so vilely, and not less because they set themselves above their betters—us, to wit—monks of the old houses.

'They started with such fair professions, they were going to be so very poor, and so very unworldly, and were going to supplement our work and interfere with nobody, and give us all a helping hand. Look at them now!' says Matthew; 'they march through the streets in pompous array with banners flaunting in the sun and waxen tapers, and rich burghers in holiday garments joining in the long train, and if they have no land they have money, good store, and as for their churches, they are eclipsing us all. Their invasion of our territory is a dreadful scandal, and they sneer at us and at all other religious men and women, and they flout the parish priests and call them humdrums, and schism is at work horribly, and the people are running away from the old guides, and there is no end to them. Actually in the year of grace 1257,' he says, 'a new order of these fellows turned up in London. Friars of the sack, forsooth, because they were clothed in sackcloth! Of course they came armed with a papal licence as usual. What did these fellows come for? Was it to make confusion worse confounded? Alas! alas! If we had only been as we were in the golden age, these friars would never have had a chance—not they! We too are not as the monks of old were; they lived the guileless life—austere, hard, self-denying, saintly! What are we in comparison with them?

'Did not we find the bones of our brethren there, hard by the High Altar, when we were beautifying the same? O ye degenerate sons of this degenerate age! Two centuries ago and our monks were men of faith and prayer. In the year of grace one thousand two hundred and fifty-one, we found more than thirty of them buried together, and their bones were lying there, white and sweet, redolent with the odour of sanctity every one; each man had been buried as he died, in his monastic habit, and his shoes upon his feet too. Aye, and *such* shoes—shoes made for wear and not for wantonness. The soles of these shoes were sound and strong, they might have served the purpose for poor men's naked feet even now, after centuries of lying

lying in the grave. Blush ye! ye with your buckles, and your pointed toes and your fiddle faddle. These shoes upon the holy feet that we dug up were as round at the toe as at the heel, and the latchets were all of one piece with the uppers. No rosettes in those days, if you please! They fastened their shoes with a thong, and they wound that thong round their blessed ankles, and they cared not in those holy days whether their shoes were *a pair*. Left foot and right foot each was as the other: and we, when we gazed at the holy relics—we bowed our heads at the edifying sight, and we were dumbfoundered, even to awe, as we swung our censers over the sacred graves of the ages past!'

The anecdotes and out-of-the-way pieces of information in the 'Chronica Majora,' which may be said to represent the *paragraphs* of modern journalism, are countless. Brother Matthew enlivens his history with these cross-lights at every page, and what gives to these scraps an added charm is that Matthew himself seems to be always with us when he prattles on. Not even Herodotus has succeeded more entirely in impressing his quaint personality upon his narrative. It is always something which he has seen, or heard from some living man who saw it with his own eyes.

'There was my friend John of Basingstoke, had studied at Paris, and a wonder of learning he was, but he told me himself that his best teacher by far was the young lady Constantina, daughter of an archbishop she. Archbishop of Athens, too—archbishops may marry out there! Before she was twenty she knew all that men may know; she was worth two universities of Paris any day; she foretold the coming of plagues and storms, and eclipses—and—more wonderful still—the coming of earthquakes too: and John of Basingstoke was her scholar, and whatever he knew that was deep and rare, he learnt it of the lady Constantina, the Archbishop's daughter.'

Matthew is very great when he has to tell of omens and portents:

'We were scurvily treated by Pope Innocent III.,' he says, 'in the days of Abbot John. Spite of all our privileges and indulgences, the Pope would have him come to Rome every third year; a sore burden and harm to us all. Forthwith evil omens came. Thrice in three years was our tower struck by lightning. After that wrong of his Holiness it was no wonder that the impression of the papal seal in wax, which we had taken good care to fix on the top of the steeple, availed not to keep off the thunderbolt—small good you see in that kind of thing.'

Besides the miscellaneous paragraphs, there are periodical reports of the weather, and the storms, and the droughts, and the harvests. Moreover, there are what answer to our police reports,

reports, and details of criminal proceedings against Jew and Gentile, and births and deaths and marriages, and now and then brief notes upon the state of the markets, and sometimes hints and reflections upon the desirability of certain reforms in Church and State; and all this not in the spirit of modern journalism, which at its best too often bears the marks of haste, and betrays the literary soldier of fortune paid for his work at so much a column, but genuine, hearty, throbbing with a certain passionate loyalty to a tradition, or an idea which you may say is exploded, grotesque, or fanciful, but which in the 13th century honest men and devout ones lived by and lived for, and were trying in their own way to carry out into action.

But now that we have got this precious 'Chronicle,' not to mention other works in the composition of which Brother Matthew had at least a large share—though our space forbids us dwelling upon them or their contents, and we must refer our readers to Dr. Luard's elaborate prefaces if they would desire to know all about them—another question suggests itself, which sooner or later will become a pressing question,—What are we going to do with such a national work of which this country has great reason to be proud?

The days are gone by when a man was supposed to be educated in proportion as he was familiar with the literature of Greece and Rome and ignorant of everything else. Already at Oxford candidates for the highest honours in the final schools think it no shame to read their Plato or their Aristotle in English translations, and in half the time that was needed under the old plan they get a mastery of their Thucydides or Herodotus, devoting themselves to the subject-matter after they have proved at 'Moderations' that they have a respectable acquaintance with the language of the authors.

May the day be far off when Homer and Æschylus shall cease to be read in the original! The great writers of Hellas and Italy were poets or orators, great teachers or great thinkers; but they were something more. They were perfect instrumentalists too. Their thoughts, their lessons, their aspirations, their regrets, you may interpret and transfer into the speech and the idioms of the moderns; but the music of their language, the subtleties of melody and rhythm, and harmony and tone, can no more be translated than a symphony for the strings can be adequately represented upon the organ. You may persuade yourself that you have got the substance; you have missed the perfection of the form. Yet who but a narrow pedant will insist that the study of any literature, ancient or modern, is valuable chiefly for familiarizing us with the language, not for enriching

enriching our minds with the subject matter? Do we desire to understand the past and so to be better able to estimate the importance of great movements that are going on in the present or, by the help of the experience of bygone ages, to forecast the future? Then it behoves us to see that our induction shall be made from as wide a view as may be, and to avail ourselves of any light that may be gained. But it is mere waste of time to be for ever staring at the lamp which may be pretty to look at in itself, but is then most precious when it serves as a means to an end. If we are ever to construct a Science of History, the old methods must give place to something which may approximate to philosophic enquiry. When we come to think of it, how very small an area of time or space is covered by the historians of Greece and Rome: how small an area and how superficially dealt with! Even Thucydides hardly ventures to lift the veil which separates the civilization of his own age from that of an earlier period; he lifts it for a moment, then drops the curtain and passes on. It is true indeed that Herodotus introduces us to a world that is not Hellenic, and brings us into some sort of relation with men whose habits and art and religion had a character of their own; but then these nations were not as we, and not as men even of our race could ever become. We never seem to be *in touch* with Egypt or Assyria, and when he prattles on about these nations it is less as a historian than as an observant traveller that Herodotus delights and allures. Xenophon's passing notices of the manners and education, of the *feudalism* and the social life of the Medes, are too brief to be anything but tantalizing; but the neglect of Xenophon by professed students is not creditable, however significant. Perhaps of all the Greek writers Polybius was the man who had the truest conception of the historian's vocation; perhaps, too, it was just because he was so much before his age that his voluminous and ambitious work has come down to us little more than a fragment. Because he was something better than a compiler of annals, they who read history only to be amused found him dull, and the moderns have not yet reversed the verdict which was passed upon him. Who ever heard of a candidate for honours taking Polybius into the schools?

It is from the Latin historians that we might have expected so much and from whom we get so little. What do they tell us of ancient Spain—the Spain that Sertorius pretended he was going to regenerate, and whose civilization, literature, and national life he did so much to extinguish? If it were not for what Aristotle has told us in the *Politics*, what should we know of that mighty commercial Republic which monopolized the carrying

carrying trade of the old world? It never seems to have occurred to Livy that the political organization of Carthage could be worth his notice. His business was to glorify Rome, and to tell how Rome grew to greatness—grew by war and conquest and pillage, and the ferocious might of her relentless soldiery. The 'Germania' of Tacitus stands alone—unique in ancient literature; but what would we not give for such a monograph upon the Britain which Cæsar attempted to conquer, or the Gaul which he plundered and devastated? The great captain's famous missive might be inscribed as the motto of his 'Commentaries.' Veni! vidi! vici! sums up in brief the substance of what they contain. It was always Rome's way! Rome swept a sponge that was soaked in blood over all the past of the nations she subdued. She came to obliterate, never to preserve. Her chroniclers disdained to ask how these or those doughty antagonists had grown formidable, how their national life had developed; whether their progress had been arrested by the conquerors or whether they had become weak and enervated by social deterioration or moral corruption. Enough that they were *Barbarians*.

The science of history can be but little advanced by writers such as these, who pass from battlefield to battlefield—

> 'Crimson-footed, like the stork,
> Through great ruts of slaughter,'

and to whom the silent growth of institutions and the evolution of ethical sentiments and the development of the arts of peace were matters which never presented themselves as worthy of their attention. You may call this History if you will, in truth it is little better than Empiricism. The world is a larger world than Rome or Athens dreamt of, and students of history are beginning to realize that not quite the last thing they have to do is 'to look at *home*.' Such a work as the 'Chronica Majora' of Matthew Paris is a national heritage which it is shameful to allow much longer to be known only by the curious and erudite. Now that there is no excuse for our neglect, is it too much to hope that the day may not be far distant when the name of this great Englishman may become as familiar to schoolboys as that of Sallust or Livy, of Cornelius Nepos or Cæsar—his name as familiar, and his writings better known and more loved?

ART. II. 1.—*The Christian Brothers, their Origin and Work, with a sketch of the Life of their Founder, The Venerable Jean Baptiste de la Salle.* By Mrs. R. F. Wilson. London, 1883.

2. *La Première Année d'Instruction Morale et Civique: notions de droit et d'économie politique* (*Textes et Récits*) *pour répondre à la loi du* 28 *Mars* 1882 *sur l'enseignement primaire obligatoire: ouvrage accompagné de Résumé, de Questionnaires, de Devoirs, et d'un Lexique des mots difficiles.* Par Pierre Laloi. Quatorzième Edition. Paris, 1885.

3. *Report of the Committee of Council on Education* (England and Wales). 1884–85.

4. *Seventy-fourth Annual Report of the Incorporated National Society.* 1885.

MOST travellers in France will have met occasionally in Paris and in the provincial towns a school of boys walking two and two, and followed by a serious-looking superintendent of very solemn deportment. The boys are in no marked respect different from other boys, but they are orderly and well conducted. They are probably on their way to a church; and if you watch them, you will see them march in with much propriety. The superintendent is evidently not an ordinary schoolmaster; you would suppose that he is an ecclesiastic of some kind. He wears a loose black cloak, a hat with a low crown and a portentous brim, and bands such as were much worn by English clergymen till late years, and which, when strongly developed, were supposed to indicate a sympathy with Calvinistic theology. Nevertheless, the solemn-featured young man is not an ecclesiastic, neither is he a Protestant minister. He is one of the Frères Chrétiens, or Christian Brothers; and the boys whom he has under his charge are pupils in one of the Écoles Chrétiennes, or Christian Schools.

We will venture to assume, that some of our readers are not well acquainted with the story and the principles of the remarkable institution known as the Schools of the Christian Brothers, or with the life of their remarkable founder. We propose in this article to supply some information upon the subject, not only because we think that such information will be interesting in itself, but also because we believe that from the story of the work and principles of the French schools of the Christian Brothers we may proceed without difficulty, and almost by necessary consequence, to some useful considerations with respect to English schools as now established and conducted amongst ourselves.

Jean Baptiste de la Salle was born in Rheims, April 30, 1651.

1651. The house in which he was born is still standing, and is regarded with reverence. He came of a noble family, which was originally of Bearn. His grandfather settled at Rheims, of which he became an honoured citizen, but was apparently in no way himself remarkable. His second son, Louis, was the father of a child, who received the name of Jean Baptiste on the same day as that upon which he was born.

This child, whose career we purpose briefly to follow as that of the founder of the Christian Brothers, exhibited early signs of a devotional spirit; he learnt to recite the Breviary from his grandfather, and continued to do so even before being bound to the practice by his ordination vows; and he soon made it clear to himself and to others that his vocation was that of the priestly office. His conduct as a student in the University of Rheims, which he entered at eight years old, was marked by diligence in study and gentle docility.

Before he had reached the age of sixteen he was made a canon of the cathedral; such were the strange ecclesiastical possibilities of those times. An aged relative resigned in his favour, and died the following year. The preferment, however, did not spoil him; he looked upon it as a call to duty. He was diligent in attendance upon the offices of the Church, diligent in private prayer, diligent in study—in every way a remarkable boy-canon!

In October 1670 he entered the seminary of St. Sulpice in Paris, where, amongst other fellow-students, was Fénelon, subsequently the great Archbishop of Cambrai. Little is recorded of his seminary life, except that it was gentle, modest, blameless. In 1672 he lost his father, and in the same year returned to Rheims to take charge of his younger brothers and sisters. The responsible position in which he was thus placed seems to have shaken for a time his persuasion that he had a true vocation for the priesthood; but after consultation with a friend who knew him well, his doubts vanished, and on the eve of Trinity Sunday in this same year he was admitted to the subdiaconate.

Then follow six years of quiet home work and retirement. During this time he attended the theological course of the University, provided for the education of his brothers and sisters, and gave himself very earnestly to prayer and good works. In the year 1678, on Easter Eve, he was ordained Priest.

During all this time De la Salle's attention does not seem to have been turned to that which ultimately became the great work of his life. As not unfrequently happens, the real bent

was

was given to his energies by what might be described as accidental circumstances. The friend whom he consulted when in doubt concerning holy orders was one Canon Roland. This good man had interested himself much about an orphanage for girls at Rheims, which had fallen under bad management, and urgently needed reform. Canon Roland was taken ill just before De la Salle's ordination, and, dying not long after, left the young priest his executor, commending to his special care the orphanage just mentioned. De la Salle could not refuse the charge; it was not much to his taste, but it was the bequest of his friend; it was the leading of God; and he girded himself to the task. He applied through the Archbishop to the King for letters patent recognizing the institution, and thus put it upon a lasting foundation; he bore the expense of the whole transaction; then he supplemented the funds out of his own means; and having thus satisfied his obligations to his deceased friend, he returned to his quiet devotional life. The thought that this orphanage for girls would constitute a valuable training-school for schoolmistresses seems already to have crossed his mind.

Now comes the turning-point of De la Salle's life, and it comes in a curious way. There was a certain rich, fashionable, and extravagant married lady living in Rouen, who, like the rich man in the parable, was clothed in fine linen and fared sumptuously every day, while Lazarus lay at the gate. One day a poor beggar, who had been harshly repulsed from the door, touched the heart of a servant by his manifest misery, and was received into the stables, where he died the same night. The dead man must needs be buried; so the servant went to the mistress, confessed his fault, received some violent language and notice of dismissal, but at the same time procured a sheet to serve as a shroud for the corpse. At dinner-time the lady perceived the very sheet, which she had given for the burial, folded up and lying in her own chair; some mysterious hand had brought back the ungracious present, as though the deceased beggar would not receive a favour in death from one who had been so cruel to him in life.

This strange and apparently not very important occurrence changed the whole course of the lady's life. She gave up all her old habits of magnificence and extravagance, lived the life of a devotee, and soon succeeded in separating from herself all her old companions and friends, who, in fact, deemed her mad. After her husband's death she became still more strict in her habits, and devoted to the service of the poor a large part of her fortune.

Amongst other charities which she assisted was the female orphanage, of which we have already spoken as having been cared for by Canon Roland, and after his death by M. de la Salle. She conceived the idea of establishing something of the same kind for boys in her native town of Rheims, and she consulted Canon Roland on the subject. Ultimately she engaged a devout layman, named Adrien Nyel, who had experience of poor schools in Rouen, promised him maintenance for himself and a young assistant, gave him a letter of introduction to her relative M. de la Salle, and sent him to Rheims to open a school there for poor boys.

This school, which was commenced in 1679, was the germ of the great system of *Écoles Chrétiennes*. Its success led a pious lady in Rheims to wish to establish another of the same kind in a different part of the town. She consulted M. de la Salle, who had become patron of the first school, on the subject; and thus he became, without any special wish or intention of his own, drawn into the work of the education of poor boys. His own account of the matter is worth quoting:—

'It was,' he wrote, 'by the chance meeting with M. Nyel, and by hearing of the proposal made by that lady [to whom reference has been made], that I was led to begin to interest myself about boys' schools. I had no thought of it before. It was not that the subject had not been suggested to me. Many of M. Roland's friends had tried to interest me about it, but it took no hold of my mind, and I had not the least intention of occupying myself with it. If I had ever thought that the care which out of pure charity I was taking of schoolmasters would have brought me to feel it a duty to live with them, I should have given it up at once; for as I naturally felt myself very much above those whom I was obliged to employ as schoolmasters, especially at first, the bare idea of being obliged to live with such persons would have been insupportable to me. In fact, it was a great trouble to me when first I took them into my house, and the dislike of it lasted for two years. It was apparently for this reason that God, who orders all things with wisdom and gentleness, and who does not force the inclinations of men, when He willed to employ me entirely in the care of schools, wrought imperceptibly and during a long space of time, so that one engagement led to another in an unforeseen way.'

This passage somewhat anticipates events; but it is convenient for the condensed character of this narrative that it should be so. We will therefore briefly fill up the gap left by M. de la Salle's own statement by saying, that he found the work of directing schools for the poor increase upon his hands in a wonderful manner. The success of those which he visited and superintended led to the establishment of others. Soon the masters

masters themselves formed a small body which required superintendence and guidance. He took a house in which he placed them; the house of course needed rules for its orderly and efficient working; these M. de la Salle supplied. But still all was not quite as it should be. Cathedral duties took up much of the Canon's time; these duties were of primary obligation, and left comparatively little of the day to be given to the superintendence of schoolmasters. But more than this, the difference of station and comfort and habits between a well-endowed Canon of a Cathedral, enjoying in addition a private fortune of his own, and poor schoolmasters taken from the humblest ranks, and living in the most humble manner, was quite immeasurable. It was comparatively easy to have the whole company to dine with him, and so to meet them halfway down the social hill; but this was not enough. M. de la Salle began gradually to realize the fact, that his great undertaking of supplying schools and schoolmasters for the gratuitous education of the poor, could only be crowned with complete success on the condition of his own adoption of poverty in all its thoroughness. Accordingly he determined to resign his canonry and spend his fortune upon the poor. Not altogether so easy a thing as might at first sight appear. Great opposition was made by his friends: the Archbishop was unwilling to accept his resignation: nothing but persevering determination on the part of De la Salle could have carried the business through; but he was full of perseverance and full of determination, and in 1683 he at last succeeded in divesting himself of his Cathedral preferment. The sale of his property, and spending the money upon the poor, was an easier matter, especially as the year 1684 was one of dearth; in the course of that year and the following he managed to get rid of all.

This parting with his money, instead of spending it upon his great work, may well seem to be a conduct of doubtful wisdom; especially as at a later period much difficulty was encountered for want of funds. But it is hard, and perhaps not justifiable, to find fault with a man, who adopts the course of selling all that he has and giving to the poor, after using devoutly such a prayer as the following:—

'My God, I do not know whether to endow or not. It is not for me to found communities, or to know how they should be founded. It is for Thee, O my God. Thou knowest how, and canst do it in the way which is pleasing to Thee. If Thou foundest them, they will be well founded. If Thou foundest them not, they will be without foundation. I beseech Thee, my God, make me know Thy will.'

Soon after the last livre was spent, De la Salle had occasion to

to make a journey in connection with his work. He went on foot, as needs he must, and begged his way. An old woman gave him a piece of black bread; he ate it with joy, feeling that now he was indeed a poor man. He had at this time reached the age of thirty-three years.

Behold the Society of the Christian Brothers, and the Christian Schools, taking form at last with De la Salle at the head! Let us examine that work and see how matters stand.

In the first place, so far as the founder was himself concerned, his life was one of asceticism, but still more of prayer:—

'He prayed by day and by night—his life was one incessant communion with God. He would fain have avoided even the interruption caused by sleep, and he grudged every moment given to it, because it shortened his time of prayer. He slept on the ground, or sometimes in his chair, and was the first to rise at the sound of the morning bell. While at Rheims he regularly spent Friday night in the Church of Saint Rémi; he made the sacristan lock him in, and there poured out his soul in prayer for help, and guidance, and success in his work.'

The Superior and the Brothers of course lived a common life. The great principle of bringing himself exactly to the level of those who worked under him, which had led to his resignation of his stall and the sale of his property, made it quite certain that he would not call upon the Brothers to do or to bear anything which he was not willing to do and to bear himself. But the burden was heavier to him than to them. They were poor men originally, accustomed to hard work and rough fare; while he had been brought up in ease and plenty, and had never known what want and poverty were. Consequently it cost De la Salle much effort and self-denial to enter upon his new life; but he was satisfied with no half measures; the sacrifice was to be absolute and complete; he fought the battle and gained it,—yet not he, but the grace of God that was in him. At the first starting of the Society there was no distinct rule, but the following arrangements were made:—

The food was to be substantial but frugal, fit for labourers engaged in hard toil; nothing costly, nothing but what was necessary; on the other hand no special rigour of abstinence, beyond that demanded of other Christians.

For dress was adopted a capote, such as was common in the country, made of coarse material, and black; together with a black cassock, thick shoes, and a broad-brimmed hat.

For a name they chose that of 'Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes,' or, as commonly abbreviated, 'Frères Chrétiens.'

With regard to vows, De la Salle decided that they should take

take the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but for three years only. They might make them perpetual the following year.

As to the Superior himself, he had little difficulty with regard to the first two points, for his only possessions were a New Testament, a copy of the 'Imitation,' a Crucifix and a Rosary; and to celibacy he was already committed. With regard to obedience, the fulfilment of the vow was not easy to a man in his position; but he endeavoured to find a way to make this vow also a practical one, by the method of resigning his post and putting one of the Brothers in his place; this he ultimately succeeded in doing, though only for a short time.

We must leave to the reader's imagination the manner in which the work grew under such remarkable auspices, the growth of M. de la Salle's reputation as a saint, and the constantly increasing load of responsibilities of all kinds which rested upon his shoulders.

In the year 1688 the work extended to Paris. When De la Salle arrived there he left behind him in Rheims a principal house containing sixteen Brothers, and a training college for country schoolmasters, containing thirty men, besides fifteen lads in their noviciate. For the purpose of his work in Paris he hired a house in the village of Vaugirard; this he occupied for seven years, collecting the Brothers about him in their vacations, and making it a home for the sick and weary, and a place where postulants might make proof of their profession. We shall not follow his footsteps during this time, except to say that the work flourished wonderfully well under his hand, as it always did, notwithstanding all kinds of difficulties. We may produce, however, a striking document of self-dedication which belongs to this period. The Brothers seem to have been strongly moved by the desire of making their vows perpetual, instead of only for three years; the Superior opposed the innovation, but finding them resolute, he at length gave way, and commenced the new system by a formal dedication of himself, expressed in the following remarkable words:—

'Most Holy Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, prostrate in deepest reverence before Thine infinite and adorable Majesty, I consecrate myself wholly to Thee, to seek Thy glory in all ways possible to me, or to which Thou shalt call me. And to this end I, Jean Baptiste de la Salle, Priest, promise and vow to unite myself to, and abide in society with, the Brothers [here follow twelve names], and in union and association with them to hold free schools in any place whatsoever (even though, in order to do so, I should have to beg for alms, and live on dry bread), or to do in the said Society any work which

which may be appointed for me, whether by the Community or by the Superior who shall have the direction of it. For which reason I promise and vow obedience as well to the Society itself as to the Superior of it. And these vows of association with, and steadfastness in, the said Community, and of obedience, I promise to keep inviolable during my whole life; in witness whereof I have signed. Done at Vaugirard, this sixth day of June, being the Feast of the Most Holy Trinity, in the year 1694.

'(Signed) De la Salle.'

Having taken this step, De la Salle made a great effort to divest himself of his post as Superior, but in vain. He argued, but the Brothers were not convinced. He insisted upon an election, and every single vote was given for him. He begged for a second voting, but the result was the same. The Brothers said it would be time enough for them to elect his successor, when death had deprived them of him. So in his post of Superior he remained; and doubtless the Brothers were right, and he was wrong, as to the point in dispute between them.

Let us now look for a moment at the rule of the Christian Brothers in the complete form which it ultimately assumed.

The first Article sets forth the purpose of the Society as follows:—

'The Institute of the Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes is a Society, the profession of whose members is to hold schools gratuitously. The object of this Institute is to give a Christian education to children, and it is for this purpose that schools are held, in order that the masters, who have charge of the children from morning to night, may bring them up to lead good lives, by instructing them in the mysteries of our Holy Religion and filling their minds with Christian maxims, while they give them such an education as is fitting for them.'

Thus the schools were to be free, and they were to be essentially and fundamentally Christian; but there was no intention of making them exclusively religious and banishing secular studies. On the other hand, the greater part of the time given to the children was devoted, as in reason it must be, to secular teaching; and only a small portion retained for teaching of a more solemn kind. No doubt De la Salle depended for the religious results of schooling more upon the men who taught and the general atmosphere of his schools, than upon amount of religious lessons actually taught and learnt: this is indicated by the following article of the Rule:—

'The Brothers of the Society will have a very deep reverence for the Holy Scriptures, and in token of it they will always carry about them a copy of the New Testament, and will pass no day without reading

reading a portion of it, in faith, respect, and veneration for the Divine Words which it contains. They will look upon it as their prime and principal Rule.'

Again :—

'The spirit of the Institute consists in a burning zeal for the instruction of children, that they may be brought up in the fear and love of God, and led to preserve their innocence, where they have not already lost it; to keep them from sin, and to instil into their minds a great horror of evil, and of everything that might rob them of purity.'

The great purpose of De la Salle was to form men suitable for the work of education as thus conceived; and one notable feature of his scheme was that they should be laymen; even with regard to the Superior of the Society, De la Salle, though himself a Priest, bound the Brethren down to a pledge that they would not, when he was gone, elect a Priest into his room. It is needless to say that he had no prejudice against the priestly office as such; but he was genuinely persuaded that the work which he wished to have done could best be performed by laymen; partly because they could give themselves up to it more completely, partly because they could be had more cheaply, and partly because poor men such as he enlisted, and intended to enlist, were more thoroughly on a level with the poor, whose children he desired to educate. It was in the same spirit that he forbade to the Brothers the knowledge of Latin.

There are five vows in the Society. Brothers who have not attained the age of twenty-five years can take them for only three years. No one may take them even for three years, until he has been at least two years in the Society, and has had one year's experience of the Noviciate, and one year's teaching in the schools. The vows are as follows :—

1. Poverty.
2. Chastity.
3. Obedience.
4. Steadfastness.
5. Giving gratuitous instruction to children.

By this last vow they also bind themselves to take all possible pains to teach them well and to bring them up Christianly; and they promise neither to ask nor to accept, from the scholars, or from their parents, anything, be it what it may, either as a gift, or in any other form of remuneration whatsoever.

The rule of daily life is given by the following table :—

4.30 A.M. Hour of rising.

5. Prayer and meditation.

6. Attend

6. Attend Mass, reading, &c.
7.15. Breakfast; prayer and preparation for school.
8 till 11. School, and children taken to Church.
11.30. Particular examination of conscience; dinner and recreation.
1 P.M. Prayer in oratory, and depart to various schools.
1.30 till 5. School; half-an-hour given to catechism.
5.30. Spiritual reading and mental prayer. The reading begins with a portion of the New Testament, read upon the knees.
6. Mental prayer, and confession of faults one to another.
6.30. Supper; reading at all meals; recreation.
8. Study of catechism.
8.30. Prayers in oratory.
9. Retire to dormitory; in bed by 9.15.

So much for the Rule of the Christian Brothers. It is sufficiently strict; but, as before remarked, not intensified by any special austerities. The general order prescribed is, however, strengthened by injunctions against unnecessary communications with persons outside the Brotherhood, unnecessary possessions, unnecessary exercise of the will: the devotion to the rule is absolute, the poverty complete, the submission of the will unbounded. Very wonderful all this, but quite true.

In connection with the rule, it may be well to say a few words concerning the manuals which De la Salle composed for the guidance of the Brothers. The principal was a book entitled, 'Conduite à l'usage des Écoles Chrétiennes;' this was circulated in manuscript, and a copy given to each Brother in charge of a school, but was not printed during the author's lifetime. He revised it in 1717, when he had retired from his post as Superior, and it was printed in 1720, a year after his death. It has been the guide of the Brothers ever since, and is read through twice a year in every one of their houses. The book shows great insight and good sense. Here is an instruction for a lesson in arithmetic:—

'After the children have done their sums on the paper, instead of correcting them himself the master will make the children find out their mistakes for themselves, by rational explanation of the processes. He will ask them, for instance, why in addition of money they begin with the lowest coin, and other questions of the same sort, so as to make sure that they have an intelligent understanding of what they do.'

When the subject is religious teaching, the tone of the book rises to the occasion:—

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'The masters will take such great care in the instruction of all their scholars, that not one shall be left in ignorance, at least of the things which a Christian ought to believe and do. And to the end they may not neglect a thing of such great importance, they will often meditate earnestly on the account which they will have to give to God, and that they will be guilty in His sight of the ignorance of the children who shall have been under their care, and also of the sins into which their ignorance may have caused them to fall.'

The faults which De la Salle regards as worthy of being treated with most severity are these: untruthfulness, quarrelling, theft, impurity, misbehaviour in church. It is notable that idleness and inattention to lessons, sauciness, and other boyish faults, which have brought much trouble upon many thousands of urchins, are not here enumerated at all; probably the wise Superior of the Christian Brothers thought that these and the like infirmities could be more successfully treated by other means than by severe punishment. We incline to believe that he was right. Certainly we shall have no difficulty in assenting to the wisdom of the rules laid down as to the conditions of punishment being useful: it must be (1) disinterested, that is, free from all feeling of revenge; (2) charitable, that is, inflicted from a real love to the child; (3) just; (4) proportioned to the fault; (5) moderate; (6) free from anger; (7) prudent; (8) voluntary on the part of the scholar, that is, understood and accepted by him; (9) received with respectful submission; (10) in silence on both sides.

These samples must suffice to indicate M. de la Salle's practical and simple wisdom.

The thought of all that we wish to say before concluding this article compels us once more to appeal to the reader's imagination with regard to the success of De la Salle's work. His fame went through France and beyond it; he became the recognized apostle of elementary education; when he made an expedition to Calais and the north in the latter part of his career, it was almost a triumphal progress; nothing, however, could spoil the sweet simplicity of his character, or interfere with his utter devotion to his work, and his humble desire to shift the burden upon what he believed to be stronger shoulders than his own. This desire was at length accomplished, and on the 8th of May, 1717, after much earnest consideration and religious observance, a second Superior of their Society was unanimously elected by the Christian Brothers.

And now this remarkable man had nothing more to do in this world but to await his call and to depart in peace. At the earnest entreaty of the Brethren he took up his abode with them

them in their house at Rouen; and there, in the midst of increasing infirmities, and in the exercise (so far as was possible) of his priestly office, he tarried the Lord's leisure. We give the closing scene in the words of the interesting volume, the title of which heads this article, and from which we have been drawing the materials of our sketch.

'The Festival of St. Joseph, March 19, was approaching. He had always had a special veneration for that great Saint, whom he had chosen for patron of his Society, and he had a great wish to celebrate once more on that Festival. He could hardly have hoped to do so, for he had now for some time been quite unable to leave his bed; but in the evening of the 18th, about ten o'clock, his pain was unexpectedly relieved, and he was conscious of some return of strength. The night was quiet, and on the morning of the Festival he was able to crawl to the Altar, and to celebrate the Holy Mysteries in the presence of all the Brothers, who could scarcely believe their eyes. All that day he continued better, was able to converse with the Brothers, listened for the last time to their confidential talk, and gave them some last counsels. But the pain came on again, and he was obliged to go to bed.

'The Curé of the parish, hearing that he was worse, hastened to visit him, and thinking from the bright cheerfulness of his face that the dying man was not aware of his own condition, said to him, "Do you know that you are dying, and must soon appear before the presence of God?" "I know it," was the answer, "and I wait His commands; my lot is in His hands, His will be done." In truth, his soul dwelt continually in unbroken communion with God, and he only waited with longing for the moment when the last ties that bound him to earth should be severed. Several days passed thus. Feeling that he was getting worse, he asked for the Viaticum, and it was arranged that he should receive it on the following day, which was Wednesday in Holy Week. He spent the whole night in preparation, and his little cell was decorated as well as the poverty of the house allowed. When the time came, he insisted on being taken out of bed, and dressed, and placed in a chair, vested in a surplice and stole. At the sound of the bell announcing the approach of the Priest, he threw himself on his knees, and received his last Communion with the same wonderful devotion which had often formerly struck those who assisted at his Mass, only with even more of the fire of love in his face. It was the last gleam of a dying light, which was being extinguished on earth, to shine with undiminished brightness "as the stars for ever and ever."

'The next day he received Extreme Unction. His mind was still quite clear, and the Superior asked him to give his blessing to the Brothers who were kneeling round him, as well as to all the rest of the Community. He raised his eyes to heaven, stretched out his hands, and said, "The Lord bless you all."

'Later in the day he became unconscious, and the prayers for the dying

dying were said; but again he revived. About midnight the death agony came on: it was the night of the Agony in Gethsemane. It lasted till after two: then there was another interval of comparative ease, and he was able to speak. The Superior asked him whether he accepted willingly all his sufferings. "Yes," he replied, "I adore in all things the dealings of God with me." These were his last words; at three o'clock the agony returned, but only for a short hour. At four o'clock in the morning of Good Friday, the 7th of April, 1719, he fell asleep.

'As soon as the news of his death was spread abroad, the house was beset by crowds desiring to see him. All revered him as a Saint, and wanted to look once more on the venerable face, and to carry away something in remembrance of him. He had nothing belonging to him but a Crucifix, a New Testament, and a copy of the Imitation; but his poor garments were cut up, and distributed in little bits to satisfy the people.'

The Christian Brothers since the death of their great founder have steadily continued their charitable self-denying work. They have received much encouragement from high authorities in Church and State, much also from the good opinion which their work has gained for them wherever it has been known. Their history, however, records reverses: the chief of them connected with the catastrophe of the great Revolution. With regard to this, it might have been expected on general grounds, that in a social upheaval, which was essentially a rising of the poor and oppressed against the rich and the privileged, a society which had poverty as its foundation principle, and the free education of the children of the poor as its only reason of existence, must have been spared by general consent in the midst of the social ruin by which so much was overwhelmed. At first it seemed that this might have been so; when the Religious Orders were suppressed by decree of the National Assembly in 1790, exception was made in favour of those engaged in public instruction and the care of the sick; but in 1792 all corporations, specially including the Christian Brothers, were abolished, on the ground that their existence was incompatible with the conditions of a really free State. During the Reign of Terror the Institute was broken up, the Brothers scattered, and many suffered. There was a revival under Napoleon, which lasted till the Revolution of 1830. At this time the Institute was shaken, as was almost everything else in France; but the recognized merits of the Christian Brothers carried them safely through the storm, and one of the most telling and triumphant facts in their history is the confidence reposed in them by M. Guizot, when Minister of Public Instruction under Louis Philippe. More than once

M. Guizot

M. Guizot endeavoured, but in vain, to persuade the Superior to accept the Cross of the Legion of Honour.

The work of the Christian Brothers in France at the present time is of special value; but also carried on under much chilling discouragement. A systematic attempt is being made to secularize education, and to drive every indication of religious faith from the primary schools. It remains to be seen what will be the result of the fanatical opposition to all that is dear to the minds of many French men and almost all French women, which is carried on so persistently by the Legislature and the Government. Already there are signs of reaction; the result of the late elections, which has substantially changed the proportion of parties in the representative Chamber, is probably not a little connected with the enforcement of an utterly godless education.* Meanwhile it would seem, as a matter of fact, that the number of children under the teaching of the Christian Brothers has increased instead of diminishing; there are still some French people left who have not bowed the knee to Secularism, and Materialism, and Atheism: even those who tremble at Priestcraft can accept the ministration of the Christian Brothers, who cannot (as we have seen) be Priests, according to their fundamental rule: and so, although the secularist flood is just now frightfully high, there is a gleam of hope to be found in the work of the Christian Schools, and the light which shines in them and from them may serve as a witness for God till the tyranny be overpast, and then may perhaps serve as a light at which the torch of religious teaching will be lighted again once more.

We have placed at the head of this article the title of one of the manuals in use in the primary schools of France. It is worth studying in connection with the work of the Christian Brothers, and on other grounds as well. The entire absence of all reference to God or to any kind of religious knowledge or religious principle in connection with duty is startling, and gives the book a complexion somewhat strange to an English mind; and there are portions which can scarcely fail to strike

* 'The policy of the late Chamber with regard to religion, education, and the army had very much greater weight with the electors. . . . The persistent threat held out by certain Republicans to destroy the Church, either by a hypocritical fulfilment of the Concordat or by the forcible separation of Church and State, has been skilfully used by their adversaries amongst the peasantry, who dread nothing so much as having to pay their curé themselves. The Government was so well aware of this fact, that in some of the departments the Catechism was ordered to be recited in the schools during the last week before the elections, though only two months earlier the teachers had been strictly forbidden to use it. This childish stratagem had, as might have been expected, no great success.'—Gabriel Monod, in 'Contemporary Review,' of December, 1885.

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an Englishman as droll; but it is full of French ingenuity. It contains a vast amount of compressed information, and the dry instruction of the text is enforced, or rather sweetened and made palatable, by a series of stories in the form of a running commentary or collection of foot-notes, in which the heroes of the stories illustrate the lessons which the scholars have to learn.

We take two or three specimens from the manual, which we will present in a free translation:—

'Our Duties towards Ourselves.

'As you grow older, you become more serious. Consider what your duties are.

'You have duties towards yourselves, that is, towards your bodies and towards your souls.

'Sound health must be taken care of; weak health must be strengthened by a good hygiene.

'Hygiene demands cleanliness; wash your whole body carefully and frequently.

'Keep nothing dirty upon you, nor in your house, nor near your house.

'Hygiene demands good air: air your bed, your chamber, and all places in which you live and work.

'Hygiene forbids all excess, and the use of injurious things, as alcohol and tobacco. It prescribes temperance and sobriety.

'Hygiene requires you to avoid a sudden change from heat to cold. When you are in a perspiration, do not lie down upon the ground, do not expose yourself to draughts, and do not drink cold water.

'Hygiene requires gymnastic exercises, which make the body supple, healthy, and strong.

'*Attention to health gives a chance of long life.*

'In order to fulfil your duties towards your soul, you must continue to cultivate your intelligence and to educate yourself.

'Do not forget that you may educate yourself at any age.

'You must fight against sensuality, which would make you gluttons, drunkards, and debauchees; against idleness, which would make you useless to others and a burden to them; against selfishness and vanity, which would make others detest you; envy, which would render you unhappy and hateful; anger and hatred, which might lead you to all kinds of evil deeds.'

These lessons are enforced by an extract from the French Law, which informs the scholar that persons found in a condition of manifest intoxication in the street or a public-house are punished by a fine of from 1 to 15 francs; that for a second offence the punishment is imprisonment for three days; and that for a third breach of the law the offender may be sentenced to imprisonment for from six days to a month, and to a fine of from 16 to 300 francs. In addition to this, the offenders will be declared

declared incapable of exercising their political rights for two years.

This is very practical teaching; but the duties which little boys owe to their bodies and souls are rendered more attractive, than either the dicta concerning hygiene or the threatened results of evil ways are likely to make them, by the history of a certain Dr. John Burnett, a physician, who made an immense fortune in New York. This is found as a *feuilleton* at the foot of the page, under the title 'Un Bon Charlatan.'

The pith of the teaching under the head of Morals, is contained in the following summary:—

'1. I will fulfil my duties towards myself. My duties towards my body are, cleanliness, sobriety, temperance, precaution against the inclemency of the seasons, exercise.

'2. I will fulfil my duties towards my soul by continuing to educate myself, and by combating all bad passions.

'3. I will not do to another that which I would not that he should do to me.

'4. I will not do him wrong, either by striking him, or robbing him, or deceiving him, or lying to him, or by breaking my promise, or by speaking evil of him, or by calumniating him.

'5. I will do to another that which I should wish him to do to me.

'6. I will love him, I will be grateful, exact, discreet, charitable.'

Very good resolutions these, but one cannot avoid the thought that the little scholar might estimate 3 and 5 not the less, perhaps the more, if informed of the life and character of Him who first spoke these apparently simple rules in such manner as to impress them upon the heart of the world. Would not all the resolutions gain strength from the belief that duty towards God is the true spring of duty towards our neighbours and ourselves, and that the grace of God is necessary to make the best resolutions practically operative in the life?

We will now give our readers a specimen of the tales by which the lessons of the manual are illustrated and enforced. It shall be taken from the section entitled *Society*, the second subsection of which is as follows:—

'Freedom of Labour.

'In France, labour is free; every one employs, as he pleases, his intelligence and his arms.

'You may choose any profession you please; but everybody else has the same right as yourself.

'Competition is therefore permitted; never complain of competition.

'If you hinder your neighbour from working as he pleases, you may yourself be hindered in like manner.

'Competition

'Competition excites the workman to do his best and at the cheapest rate.

'Thus competition is advantageous to all. *Never ask Society to interfere with freedom of labour, but work hard yourself.*'

These wholesome lessons on competition are illustrated by the following tale:—

GREGORY'S VIEWS ON COMPETITION.

'Our friend Gregory is a good husband; but he sometimes has little arguments with his wife.

'The other day, Mrs. Gregory was angry, because she had found out that a shoemaker was going to establish himself in the village. "What do we want another shoemaker for," said she "when you and I are here already? The Government ought to prevent such things."

'Gregory, who was at his work, lifted his head and said: "The Government ought to prevent women from talking nonsense. Suppose that I was the shoemaker who had just established himself in the village; what would you say if any one interfered with my carrying on my trade? You would not be very well pleased, I fancy."

'He then explained to his wife the necessity of competition.

'"There is plenty of work for everybody," said he. "If there had been already two or three shoemakers in the place, this new fellow would not have come to settle here. He would have seen that there was nothing for him to do. I am surprised that no competing shoemaker has come here before. You know very well that we have sometimes to refuse work, and that there are people in the village who have to go to the town to get their shoes. Beyond doubt the newcomer will take some of our custom; but it is our business to look after that. We must work better than we have done hitherto; and that's all about it."

'Mrs. Gregory was not convinced, but she said nothing.

'"You see," continued Gregory, "you must look a little beyond the end of your nose. You wish that there should be only one shoemaker in the place. The linendraper wishes that there should be only one linendraper; the grocer only one grocer; and so on through all the trades. Very well; don't you remember when we had only one linen-draper how dear shirts used to be? And don't you remember some twenty years ago, when there was only one smith? You could never get hold of him; and when you did, his charges were tremendous. I recollect him putting a bell to our front door. When he gave me the bill, and I had seen the amount, I said to him, 'My good fellow, I didn't order a silver bell.' 'And I have not put up a silver bell,' was the reply. 'Oh! I thought from the price it must have been silver,' said I. This vexed him, and he answered, 'If you are not satisfied, go elsewhere.' That was well enough; he was the only smith in the neighbourhood. I could not send for a man from Pekin: he would have been sure to be lost on the road, and I should have been obliged to provide for his family."

'Gregory made some other good remarks to show that if competition prevents a shopkeeper from selling his goods at a high price, it enables him to buy from others at a cheap rate. "So, on the whole," concluded he, "do not let us fuss and make ourselves ill. I would much rather have some coffee, than be compelled to take medicine."'

Gregory must have had some of the saintly qualities of his great namesakes to enable him to take so calm a view of the invasion of his shoemaking monopoly. We trust that Mrs. Gregory was eventually convinced by his wise and philosophical arguments, and still more, that the generation of Frenchmen who enjoy such teaching from their early years may emulate so bright an example.

We cannot refrain from making one more extract from our little manual. The thirteenth section deals with 'The Rights and Duties of the Citizen,' and the third subsection treats as follows of:—

'Political Duties.

'The French people ought, more than any other people, to respect the law made by its own deputies.

'It ought without murmuring to pay the taxes voted by the Chambers, and to fulfil its military duties.

'It ought to respect the authority of all the agents of the Government, from the lowest to the highest, from the *garde champêtre* to the Ministers and the President of the Republic, for the agents of authority are the servants of the law, and all are chosen, directly or indirectly, by the deputies of the people.

'*The greater the rights of citizens, the greater their duties.*

'It used to be said, *Noblesse oblige.* This meant: a nobleman ought to behave himself better than another, to be worthy of his nobility.

'It should now be said, *Liberté oblige.* This means that a free citizen ought to behave himself better than another, in order to be worthy of liberty.

'You have the duty of putting your name upon the electoral roll at the Mairie of the Commune in which you reside.

'You have the duty of voting, and you must vote according to your conscience.

'You have not the right of being indifferent to public affairs, and of saying that they do not concern you.

'You have an interest in securing to your Commune good Municipal Councillors, who will look well after the finances, will take care of the schools, and of the roads, and attend to all wants.

'You have an interest in securing to your Department good General Councillors, who will do for the Department what the Municipal Councillors do for the Commune.

'You have an interest in nominating good Deputies and good Senators,

Senators, who may make useful and just laws, choose a President of the Republic worthy of that supreme honour, and keep the Government in good ways.

'You ought to make a good choice, not merely for your own interest, but for the love of your country.

'*Love those republican institutions which France has provided for herself.*

'Endeavour to make them loved, respecting the while your neighbour's opinions, and restraining yourself from all hatred and from all violence.

'The future of the Republic depends upon each of you. If each of you does his duty, it will be strong: strong enough to make our lives happy, and to restore to us one day the brothers whom we have lost—the BROTHERS OF ALSACE AND LORRAINE.'

This is the conclusion of the manual. All works up to ALSACE AND LORRAINE. (The capital letters are in the original.) Is it not delightful? Is it not most truly French?

We should be sorry to see a parody or parallel to this French manual introduced into our own schools. At the same time we think there is something to be learnt from studying it. Our neighbours seem to have in some respect learnt better than ourselves the maxim of Horace:—

'pueris dant crustula blandi
Doctores, elementa velint ut discere prima.'

The pages of our manual are full of literary *crustula;* and we imagine that most boys would find themselves sufficiently amused to read and study the book, whether they were desirous of profiting by the contents or not. And after all it is a great thing to *get hold* of a boy, whether it be by the loving and evidently self-sacrificing efforts of the Christian Brothers, or by the ingenious mental food provided by the Minister of Public Instruction. Notwithstanding such ingenuity, we do not, however, believe that the present system of French teaching can answer: it is hollow and unsound: it ignores the deepest of motives, and disregards the most potent of influences: it may breed a desire to fight with Germany for the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine, but it can scarcely produce the highest class of citizens and heroes, because it does not acknowledge the fear of God as the beginning of wisdom, and the love of God as the best foundation of the love of man. The principles of duty inculcated in the manual from which we have been exhibiting a few elegant extracts will never rear such a character as De la Salle, nor supply the foundation of such an institution as that of the Christian Brothers.

But we must come nearer home—

'Nam tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet.'

We have not yet arrived in England at the complete secularization of our elementary schools; but we are, in the opinion of some and in the wish of others, within measurable distance of the Paradisiacal terminus of secularism and secular reform; and therefore, with the thought of what has been going on and is still going on in France, we may do well to look for a few moments to our own country, and examine what has been going on and is going on there.

Let us beware, however, of exaggeration or alarmism. We do not at all desire to imply that there is anything approaching to parallelism in the conditions and possibilities of the two countries. Had it been proposed to do in England what has been done in France, the opposition would have been indignant and overwhelming. There is no such desire for emancipation from Priests and Priestcraft in England as has long existed and still exists in France. To be sure we hear something on this side of the Channel of sacerdotal pretensions and unwarrantable clerical claims; but the men by whom the offence comes are few in number; and, at the worst, they and their conduct are but as a drop in the great bucket of the English Church and its influence upon the nation. In France matters are painfully different. While the women are largely *dévotes*, the men are very sparingly *dévots*. Unfortunately the admission of superstitious practices, the practical hiding of Holy Scripture, the adoption under the patronage of the Church of foolish tales of miracles, and the absence of effectual protest against the unwarrantable assumptions of the Vatican, have combined to offer to the intellect of France an unnecessary obstacle, which in too many instances causes shipwreck to faith; and so, while in England the men, who make the laws, are, speaking broadly, Christian believers, in France the men, who equally make the laws, are as broadly unbelievers. This difference is not likely to disappear. France has reached a point at which the disease of unbelief may be said to have become chronic; England, on the other hand, although there have been of late, and are still, symptoms of infidel proclivities, appears nevertheless, so far as her condition can be tested, to be sound at heart, and in some respects in a more healthy state of religious conviction and activity than has been manifested hitherto.

The question of the comparative conditions of France and England is one with which we have no desire to enter at length; and indeed a native of one of the countries is very unlikely

unlikely to be in a condition to take a quite just and fair view of the other. We only desire to guard ourselves from appearing to assume the probability of the secularization of our English schools on the ground of the step having been already taken in France. And having premised this caution, we will ask our readers to accompany us in the consideration of some details, suggested by the Report of the National Society, and by that of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education. Afterwards we will submit a few general reflections, and so close our article.

It was feared by some and hoped by others fifteen years ago, when the law of compulsory education and School Boards was enacted in this country, that Voluntary Schools would undergo what was described at the time as a 'process of painless extinction,' and that Board Schools would reign supreme. These fears and hopes have been curiously falsified; the Voluntary Schools have not been extinguished either painlessly or otherwise; on the other hand, they have increased, both in work done and in support given, to an extent which could never have been anticipated. It will be observed that the question is not purely and simply between Board and Voluntary Schools; it may be so in some parishes, where with unanimity on the part of the parishioners, one Parish School can be made to supply the wants of all; but generally the question is that of supporting Voluntary Schools and paying towards Board Schools as well; the support of one does not exclude the legal claim of the other, as it has been frequently argued that it ought in equity to do; consequently Voluntary Schools are heavily handicapped, and nothing but a deep sense of the advantage of freedom in religious teaching, and an utter dread of secularism, can account for the remarkable results exhibited by the progress of Voluntary Schools under such manifest difficulties.

The following Tables are so exceedingly instructive, that we make no apology for introducing them :—

Accommodation.

Day Schools, Year ended August 31.	1882.	1883.	1884.
Church	2,385,374	2,413,676	2,454,788
British, &c.	384,060	386,839	394,009
Wesleyan	200,909	200,564	203,253
Roman Catholic	269,231	272,760	284,514
Board	1,298,746	1,396,604	1,490,174
	4,538,320	4,670,443	4,826,738

Number

Number on the Registers.

Day Schools, Year ended August 31.	1882.	1883.	1884.
Church	2,133,978	2,134,719	2,121,728
British, &c.	339,812	337,531	333,510
Wesleyan	177,840	175,826	172,284
Roman Catholic	232,620	226,567	226,082
Board	1,305,362	1,398,661	1,483,717
	4,189,612	4,273,304	4,337,321

Average Attendance.

Day Schools, Year ended August 31.	1882.	1883.	1884.
Church	1,538,408	1,562,507	1,607,823
British, &c.	245,493	247,990	253,044
Wesleyan	125,109	125,503	128,584
Roman Catholic	160,910	162,310	167,841
Board	945,231	1,028,904	1,115,832
	3,015,151	3,127,214	3,273,124

Voluntary Contributions.

Day Schools, Year ended August 31.	1882.	1883.	1884.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Church	581,179 5 3	577,313 16 5	585,071 11 10
British, &c.	75,132 11 8	71,519 2 9	72,978 10 0
Wesleyan	15,705 2 2	15,271 14 1	16,802 2 0
Roman Catholic	51,283 11 7	51,564 15 2	57,672 1 2
Board	1,545 2 2	1,420 1 3	1,603 7 10
	724,845 12 10	717,089 9 8	734,127 12 10

From these Tables it appears that in spite of the surrender of some Church Schools to Boards, a process which is always to some extent going on, and which causes an increase in the number of Board Schools beyond that produced by actual building, the accommodation in Church Schools rose in 1884 by 41,112, and the average attendance by 45,316. The Church was also educating about half as many again as were being educated in Board Schools, and the amount voluntarily contributed during the year was more than 585,000*l.*, in addition to a large sum expended on buildings and improvements.

This does not look much like speedy extinction, and we sincerely

sincerely trust that that event is still far distant. It is not so much that we are opposed to Board Schools on principle, still less that we disapprove of the national determination that every child shall be educated, which logically leads to some national machinery involving the principle of Board Schools in some form or other,—not so much this, as that we are persuaded that the existence of Voluntary Schools is an unspeakable benefit even to the Board Schools themselves. We hold that a definite system of religious teaching, according to which the religious studies of the school and the secular are co-ordinate and equally regarded, and the religious atmosphere which such consideration implies, are of the very essence of a rightly ordered school; the ideal may be reached in a Voluntary School, it is impossible that it should be reached in a Board School; nevertheless, there may be Board Schools *and* Board Schools; in some there may be simple secularism, and in others there may be a good religious spirit and fair religious teaching; and the degree in which the average quality of Board Schools will approximate to the latter limit rather than the former, will depend very much upon the standard set up by the Voluntary Schools. A reference to the Report of the Committee of Council on Education proves that Voluntary Schools are worked more cheaply, and, so far as can be judged by the results of examination, are secularly not less successful than schools upon the Board system; and therefore even with reference to economy there is some advantage in keeping the two classes of school going side by side. But all questions of comparative economy, and of advantages arising from an honourable competition, are as nothing compared with the reflected influence in the direction of bringing up the average religious character of Board Schools to the highest point which the shackles of legislation allow.

In addition to the work of voluntary elementary schools, there are two other departments in which voluntary efforts are doing much in support of the religious and Christian character of English education.

There are no less than thirty Training Colleges in connection with the Church. The pupils trained in these Colleges are not in general bound by any rule to accept posts only in Church schools; as a matter of fact, many are drafted into Board Schools; but it is impossible to exaggerate the importance to the subsequent influence for good, in a school of whatever kind, of a thorough religious training in youth upon definite religious principles. So far as an opinion can be formed, it would seem that these Training Colleges must always rest upon a voluntary foundation; it is difficult to conceive of their being carried on upon

upon State principles; you may make religious teaching optional in an elementary day school, and the evil results may be not easily perceptible; but when eighty or a hundred young men or young women are brought together into one home, to lead a common family life with common purposes and prospects, the religious equality principle breaks down; you must have common religious teaching and common worship, and these must be utterly vapid and miserable, unless there be a hearty agreement upon the grounds and articles of faith, such as is only possible for those who are of one Church, or at all events of one denomination. Doubtless on this very account efforts have been made, and efforts will be made, to break down the Church Training College system, or to erect something on broader principles which shall gradually extinguish it; but on all grounds we trust that these efforts may fail, and that at all events no change may be introduced which shall be successful in rendering impossible the carrying on of institutions, to which we are convinced that the education of the poor children of England is indebted more than to almost any other. We have but been working out under new conditions the great problem which De la Salle perceived to lie at the root of elementary education: the forming of the instrument wherewith to do the work was, as he clearly perceived, the great thing to be accomplished; and for that purpose personal influence was needed; it was necessary to stir up in each young aspirant to the office of a teacher something of the enthusiasm of teaching, to breed a high conception of the value and responsibilities of the office, to make it felt that self-denial and self-devotion were essential conditions of any lasting success. English Training Colleges differ very widely from that community which De la Salle established, and over which he presided; in our opinion, they, at least their managers, might profit by studying his work and emulating his spirit; but after all, they will still be widely different, and any attempt at exact imitation amongst ourselves would perhaps produce a parody rather than an adequate copy. Any one who can remember the early work of Derwent Coleridge at St. Mark's, Chelsea, and the vast change which was brought about in the training of the schoolmaster, the estimate of his qualifications, and his general status, by the admirable and laborious efforts of that good and able man, will be conscious that a work has been done amongst us in these latter days, upon which De la Salle himself would have looked with a kindly smile of approval, though in some respects he might have imagined, and perhaps with justice, that it was not so thorough as his own.

The

The other department of voluntary action to which we proposed to refer, is that which is known as Diocesan Inspection. This system of inspection is carried on by Clergymen, who are appointed with the approval and in connection with the Bishops, and whose stipends are provided by voluntary contribution. The action is not uniform throughout the Dioceses, but there is scarcely a Diocese in which the work is not carried on with great energy. These Inspectors visit the schools, in some Dioceses the Board Schools as well as those in connection with the Church; they examine the children, confer with the masters and mistresses, give advice and encouragement as may seem to be necessary and fitting, and make a report upon the general condition of the school with reference to religious knowledge. In most Dioceses there is in addition some kind of prize scheme, by means of which children are encouraged to give special attention to the religious side of their education.

We think it worth while to call attention to this system of Diocesan Inspection, because it is well that Englishmen, and especially English Churchmen, should be awake to the religious needs of our times, and the efforts which are being made to meet them. We are aware that all such machinery as that which we have described must be ineffectual in implanting in the minds of children that 'fear of the Lord,' which is 'the beginning of wisdom.' No system of inspection and examination, and no careful grinding of certain lessons, whether they be taken from Holy Scripture or from any other book, into the minds of little children, can be a substitute for the true influence of heart upon heart; the teacher who would generate religious life in the soul of a child must imitate the Prophet, who put his mouth to the child's mouth, and his eyes upon his eyes, and his hands upon his hands, and prayed that the child might awake to new life; nevertheless on the supposition that no pains are spared in obtaining suitable masters and mistresses, much may be done to encourage them in their difficult work by making it manifest that the heart of England and of England's Church is with them. And indeed it *is* a difficult work: the education of children will never be a simple and easy thing as long as the world lasts: the value of the finished article may generally be taken as some measure of the labour and care necessary to produce it: and the value of a pure, simple-hearted, well-taught Christian child is so immeasurably and indescribably great, that we may safely conclude that the workmen and workwomen employed in producing the result must have spent upon their work an incredible amount of honest self-denying

denying toil: a perfunctory discharge of the office of schoolmaster,—so many hours a week, and so much pay,—will never do: the master of the Elementary School must ever be a Christian Brother in reality, if not in name.

Passing for a moment from the religious side of the educational question, the reader may be interested by looking at a few statistics, indicating the general position of England, or rather England and Wales, with reference to elementary education.

In the year ending August 31, 1884, Her Majesty's Inspectors visited 18,761 day schools, having on their registers the names of 4,337,321 children. Of these, 3,273,134 were, on an average, in daily attendance throughout the year. The amount of income arising from school-pence, it may be worth while noting, was 1,734,115*l.*, or nearly two millions. The Government grants reached 2,722,351*l.*, or nearly three millions.

Besides the day schools, 847 night schools were examined. In many parts of the country these night schools are very important: they afford big boys the only opportunity of keeping up their knowledge, or intellectually improving themselves. Nearly twenty-five thousand scholars over twelve years of age are, on an average, in attendance each night.

There are nearly forty thousand certificated teachers at work; and 3214 students are being prepared in forty-one Training Colleges.

The expense of education in different places varies remarkably, and apparently without any intelligible principle. Thus the income per scholar from voluntary contributions in Voluntary Schools, and from rates in Board Schools, is in certain selected towns as follows:—

	Voluntary contributions.	Rates.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
London	0 9 0¼	1 9 9
Brighton	0 11 7½	0 17 7
Birmingham	0 5 3¾	0 13 10¾
Bradford	0 2 11¾	0 13 2
Sheffield	0 2 4¾	0 9 8
Manchester	0 4 7	0 10 10

We submit the above figures and facts to the reader's consideration, and we are compelled to confess that we do not find ourselves in a condition to offer a satisfactory solution of the difficulties which they suggest. We should probably have expected that London would be in an exceptional position with regard

regard to this as to many other matters; but the magnificent manner in which its Board contributions exceed those of any other town quite baffles us; it will be observed that the odd shillings and pence of London more than pay the whole expense at Sheffield. Possibly the practical difficulty of understanding this economical anomaly may have had something to do with the results of the late Board election in London.

On the whole, we English people seem to be solving the national education question *more nostro*. We have got a system not quite symmetrical, not quite logical, not the perfect exponent of the crotchets of any particular school, but nevertheless one which has on the whole produced remarkable results, and seems to have in it sufficient powers of adaptation and development. Of late a new question has been opened—and an important one—namely, that of making elementary education entirely gratuitous. There is something to be said in favour of the proposal, and it is a pity that the merits of the question should have been somewhat obscured by the intolerable, but to some persons perhaps attractive, suggestion that the additional expenditure necessary for making education gratuitous should be supplied by the robbery of the Church, or (in politer phrase) by the appropriation to the purposes of education of the national property hitherto applied to the support of religion. This cat can scarcely be said to have been let out of the bag, for her head was no sooner seen peeping out than the alarm created was dangerously great, and Puss was concealed again in a twinkling; *but she is inside the bag still.* A much less objectionable proposal was speedily made, namely, that the deficiency created by the remission of school-pence should be supplied by a Parliamentary grant. And this proposal, we presume, may be regarded as at present before the country.

Looking upon the matter from a Chancellor of the Exchequer point of view, it is a serious thing to think of having to make an addition of about two millions to the annual national expenditure; and it may be observed that leading statesmen on both sides of politics may be found who are at present unconvinced. Doubtless an expenditure of two millions would not be grudged by the nation for any necessary purpose; but when the proposal is to substitute a payment of two millions by the Exchequer for the two millions paid in driblets by the persons most interested, for the most part gladly and with special provisions for preventing the payment pressing hardly upon the exceptionally poor, it may well be that many sensible persons will ask the question, *Cui bono?*

Independently, however, of any fiscal considerations, it seems to

to us that there are weighty arguments against the proposal of a gratuitous education.

It may be observed, and we think it an important observation, that the proposal of free education is in the teeth of all our recent policy; and some pressing reasons ought to be given for a complete and sudden reversal of all that we have hitherto been doing. There are many free schools in the country, endowed by 'pious founders,' and established for the special purpose of giving free education to the children of particular parishes. Some of these schools have had to pass through the hands of the School Commissioners and to receive new schemes. It has been, we believe, the invariable practice to insert into these new schemes the condition of school-pence; the portion of the endowment so saved has been applied to the foundation of exhibitions and other methods of assisting deserving children. The inhabitants of the parishes in which this innovation has been introduced have grumbled and submitted; it has in some cases been a bitter pill, but the law-abiding character of the Englishman has caused it to be swallowed without noisy remonstrance. We cannot, without raising a suspicion of having practised educational quackery, retreat from the position which we have thus taken up.

What is the argument for the position? It is sometimes stated thus, that people value a thing more when it costs them something to get it. The argument is not to be despised; but we think that it yields in importance to the consideration, that the payment of the school fees is almost the only indication left of the great truth, that the parent is responsible for his children's education. We have sometimes trembled when we have seen in Board Schools directions concerning the doings of the children, which would seem to have had a right to come from parents, but which do in fact come 'by order of the Board.' We have almost feared lest in the Fifth Commandment our boys and girls of the rising generation should be tempted to substitute 'Board' for 'father and mother.' Certainly there is great danger in virtue of modern social arrangements lest parents should forget their highest duties to their children, and children cease to honour their parents in the good old-fashioned way. We confess, therefore, that we are jealous of the proposal to take away from the father the proud privilege of paying for his children's schooling, even though it may sometimes cost him an effort to do so.

It may be said, of course, that every man does pay indirectly, because he pays according to his means to the taxes of the country, and that therefore the proposal only gives him of his own. The argument

argument is defective, because it ignores the fact that whatever a man may pay indirectly in taxes, there is a conscious effort in finding the pence for the children's schooling, which morally is of great importance. But the argument fails also on other grounds: it assumes that all men have children equally; it asserts that the married man with his five children has no more responsibility than the elderly spinster who lives next door; it supposes that the parents have not a special interest in their children, distinct from that which can be felt by any other person whatever. It may be further urged, that if a man pays for his children while they are in process of education, the pressure comes upon him when he is in full vigour, and most able to bear it; whereas if the payment of pence be commuted for a perpetual tax, the pressure becomes one of a lifelong character, and is not relieved when the powers of earning begin to diminish.

We do not deny that painful cases have occurred, and are likely still to occur, in which parents are summoned before the magistrates for the non-attendance of children at school. But free education will not get rid of these painful cases. Already arrangements are made by law for the payment of fees for very poor parents who make the proper application; and if there be any obstacle in the way of the smooth working of the law, the matter should be looked into and the law amended; but the great difficulty in the way of good attendance on the part of very poor children lies, as we apprehend, not more with school-pence, than with school-clothes, and school-dinners. Attendance cannot be enforced completely all round, unless free education comprise in its idea free food and clothing, as well as free books and lessons.

We cannot but fear also lest the remission of school-pence should be another step towards the destruction of Voluntary Schools. It is evident that the proposal is so regarded; and, though it may not be difficult to find arguments to show, that if the loss from school-pence be made up from the Exchequer, the compensation will work equally and fairly with respect to all schools, whether Voluntary or Board, still there can be little doubt that the additional grant will give a handle for proposing to introduce some more direct interference with the management of Voluntary Schools than has existed hitherto: and it is probably a true instinct which leads many friends of Voluntary Schools to look upon the free system with sincere apprehension. Certainly the indirect abolition of Voluntary Schools would be a great calamity; and if the views already expressed be correct, the abolition would leave a legacy of weakness, and a permanent

manent injury to the Board Schools, when they found themselves 'monarchs of all they survey,' and without the wholesome rivalry of Voluntary Schools.

There was no such objection to the free education offered to his poor brethren by the hero of this article, the sainted De la Salle. He made himself poor and bound all his disciples to a life of poverty, in order that they might have fullest sympathy with the poor, and might teach their children for no other payment or purpose but the love of God. The atmosphere of a school conducted upon such principles would be so saturated with the spirit of holiness and godly love, that there would be no danger of duty to parents, or indeed of any duty either to God or man, being left out of sight. It would never be forgotten in such schools that the formation of character is the chief aim of education: *manners makyth man*—as William of Wickham, our great English father of liberal education, has taught us: and *manners*, taken in the broadest and best sense, even more than the three Rs and all the extra subjects of all the standards, is what we want in our elementary schools, and what we shall never get, except upon the condition of a religious tone and a pure atmosphere, and teachers whose hearts are animated by the love of little children and by the love of God.

We gladly turn once more, before laying down our pen, to the volume which we have already introduced to the reader, and out of which we have told the tale of De la Salle, and the Christian Brothers. We do so for the purpose of showing what kind of men these good Brothers are, when put to the test in a severe and unexampled manner.

'After the disasters of the Prussian invasion in 1871,' says our author, 'the City of Boston, in America, placed at the disposal of the French Academy a special prize of two thousand francs to be given to whoever should be judged most worthy of the honour, on account of services rendered during the siege and in presence of the enemy. The Academy could find no more fitting recipient of this distinction than the Community, which during the whole time of the war had sent five hundred infirmarians into the battlefields, one of whom had fallen under the fire of the Prussians, among the wounded at Bourget. Public opinion fully endorsed the decision, when the first literary body in the world adjudged this reward to the humble and despised corps of the Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes. At the same time the National Defence Government insisted on decorating their venerable Superior with a cross of honour. He would have refused it, as he and his predecessors had already done many times, and he only yielded when he was told that there was nothing personal in the honour; that it belonged to his Institute; and that it was only as the representative of the Society that he was asked to wear it. The eminent

eminent Dr. Ricord, who had been an eyewitness of the devotion of the Brothers, was charged with the office of fastening the cross on the cassock of Frère Philippe, in the great hall of the mother-house. This was the most embarrassing moment in the life of that man of God. He could not bear to wear the cross of honour, and in fact he never did wear it. When he returned after conducting the Doctor to the door at the end of the ceremony, he somehow managed that no one should perceive his decoration. The cross was not to be seen; and it has remained ever since as a kind of myth, or mysterious souvenir; it was never found.'

Thus in France Ministers of Public Instruction and Superiors of the Frères des Écoles Chrétiennes agree in removing the cross from elementary schools: but how marvellous the distance between the religious principles which lead to the two kinds of removal!

And now, in these days of payment by results, let us look for one moment to the Écoles Chrétiennes from this point of view; and then we will bid the Brothers a respectful farewell.

'For the last forty years a certain number of exhibitions or scholarships (bourses) have been offered by the City of Paris for competition amongst the scholars of elementary or primary schools, which give to the successful candidates a right of free education in the higher class schools. The number of scholarships which are offered varies. In 1848 there were twenty-nine; in 1871, fifty; in 1874, eighty; and in 1877 the number was raised to a hundred. Competition is open to all elementary schools, whether taught by the Christian Brothers, or by lay teachers of no religious order or society.

'The result, taking the thirty years from 1847 to 1877, has been that of 1445 exhibitions gained by scholars, 1148 have been won by boys from the Christian schools, and 297 by those from other schools. Or to take the last seven years of that period, during which every effort has been made by the Government, at a lavish outlay, to promote the efficiency of the secular schools, the results, though the numbers are not quite so disproportioned, yet show a marked superiority in the schools of the Christian Brothers. Out of 490 exhibitions, 364 have been adjudged to their pupils, and 126 to those of the secular schools.'

Well done, Christian Brothers! You have preached an admirable sermon to all those who take an interest in the education of children upon those comprehensive and deep-reaching words of Christ, 'Take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? . . . But seek ye first the kingdom of God, and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you.'

ART. III.—*The State Papers of the Venetian Republic;* namely, *Cancelleria Inferiore, Cancelleria Ducale, Cancelleria Secreta,* preserved in the Convent of the Frari, at Venice.

IN recent years a new tendency has been given to historical studies by the avidity with which scholars have investigated the masses of State documents accumulated through centuries, almost untouched, in the Record Offices of various nations. This tendency has been in the direction of minuteness and accuracy of detail. The finer shades of policy, the subtler turns in the game of nations, have been revealed by this intimate study of the documents which record them. Among the archives of Europe there is none superior, in historical value and richness of minutiæ, to the Archives of the Venetian Republic, preserved now in the convent of the Frari at Venice. The importance of these archives is due to three causes: the position of the Republic in the history of Europe, the fulness of the archives themselves, and the remarkable preservation and order which distinguishes them, in spite of the many dangers and vicissitudes through which they have passed. Venice enjoyed a position, unique among the States of Europe, for two reasons. Until the discovery of the passage round the Cape of Good Hope, she was the mart of Europe in all commercial dealings with the East—a position secured to her by her supremacy in the Levant, and by the strength of her fleet; and, in the second place, the Republic was the bulwark of Europe against the Turk. These are the two dominant features of Venice in general history; and under both aspects she came into perpetual contact with every European Power. The universal importance of her position is faithfully reflected in the diplomatic documents contained in her archives. The Republic maintained ambassadors and residents at every Court. These men were among the most subtle and accomplished diplomatists of their time, and the government they served was exacting and critical to the highest degree. The result is that the dispatches, news-letters, and reports of the Venetian diplomatic agents, form the most varied, brilliant, and singular gallery of portraits, whether of persons or of peoples, that exists. There is hardly a nation in Europe that will not find its history illustrated by the papers which belong to the Venetian department for foreign affairs. Nor are the papers which relate to the home government of the Republic less copious and valuable. Each magistracy has its own series of documents, the daily record of its proceedings: in these we find the whole of that elaborate machinery of State laid bare before us in all its intricacy of detail;

detail; and we are enabled to study the construction, the origin, development, and ossification, of one of the most rigid and enduring constitutions that the world has ever seen; a constitution so strong in its component parts, so compact in its rib-work, that it sufficed to preserve a semblance of life in the body of the Republic long after the heart and brain had ceased to beat.

Admirable as are the preservation and order of these masses of State papers, it is not to be expected that each series, each magisterial archive, should be complete. There are many broad lacunæ, especially in the earlier period, which must ever be a cause for regret: for Venice growing is a more attractive and profitable subject than Venice dying. During the nine hundred and eighty-seven years that the Government of the Republic held its seat in Venice, the State papers passed through many dangers from fire, revolution, neglect, or carelessness. When we recal the fires of 1230, 1479, 1574, and 1577, it is rather matter for congratulation that so much has escaped, than for surprise that so much has been destroyed. The losses would, undoubtedly, have been much more severe had all the papers and documents been preserved in one place, as they are now. But the Venetians stored the archives of the various magistracies either at the offices of those magistrates, or in some public building especially set apart for the purpose. The Secret Chancellery, which was always an object of great solicitude, containing as it did all the more private papers of the State, was deposited in a room on the second floor of the Ducal Palace. Many of the criminal records belonging to the Council of Ten were stored in the Piombi under the roof of the Palace; and the famous adventurer Casanova relates how he beguiled some of his prison hours by reading the trial of a Venetian nobleman, which he found among other papers piled at the end of the corridor where he was allowed to take exercise. Soon after the fall of the Republic, the following disposition of the papers was made. The political archive was stored at the Scuola di S. Teodoro; the judicial, at the convent of S. Giovanni Laterano; the financial, at S. Procolo. In the year 1815, the Austrian Government resolved to collect and arrange all State papers in one place. The building chosen was the convent of the Frari; and the work was entrusted to Jacopo Chiodo, the first director of the archives. The scheme suggested by Chiodo has served as a basis for the arrangement that has been already carried out, or is still in hand.

Under the Republic it was natural that access to important diplomatic papers and to secrets of State should be granted with reserve, and only to persons especially authorized to make

research. The directors appointed by the Austrian Government showed a disposition to maintain that precedent; and M. Baschet relates that it was only by a personal appeal to the Emperor that he obtained access to the archives of the Ten. The Italian Government allow nearly absolute liberty; and nothing can exceed the courtesy of the officials under their distinguished director, the Commendatore Cecchetti.

Any attempt to explain the archives of Venice and to display their contents, must be preceded by a statement of the main features of the constitution of the Republic upon which the order and the arrangement of the archives is based. The constitution of Venice has frequently been likened to a pyramid, with the Great Council for its base and the Doge for apex. The figure is more or less correct; but it is a pyramid that has been broken at its edges by time and by necessity. The legislative and political body was originally constructed in four groups, or tiers—if we are to preserve the pyramidal simile—one rising above the other. These four tiers were the Maggior Consiglio or Great Council, the Lower House; the Pregadi or Senate, the Upper House; the Collegio, or the Cabinet; and the Doge. The famous Council of Ten and its equally famous Commission, the Three Inquisitors of State, did not enter into the original scheme; they are an appendix to the State, an intrusion, a break in the symmetry of the pyramid. Later on we shall explain their construction and relation to the main body of government. For the present we leave them aside, and confine our attention to the four departments of the Venetian constitution above mentioned.

The Great Council, as is well known, did not assume its permanent form and place in the Venetian constitution till the year 1296. At that date the famous revolution, known as the closing of the Great Council, took place. By that act, which was only the final step in a revolution that had been for long in process, those citizens who were excluded from the Great Council remained for ever outside the constitution; all functions of government were concentrated in the hands of those nobles who were included by the Council; the constitution of the Republic was stereotyped as a rigid oligarchy. Previous to the year 1296, a great council had existed, created first in the reign of Pietro Ziani (1172); but this council was really democratic in character, not oligarchic; it was elected each September, and its members were chosen from the whole body of the citizens. Earlier still than the reign of Ziani, the population used to meet tumultuously and express their opinion upon matters of public interest, such as the election of a Doge or a declaration of war, first

first in the *Concione* under their tribunes, while Venetia was still a confederation of lagoon-islands; and then in the *Arengo* under their Doge, when the confederation was centralized at Rialto. But of these assemblies the latter was disorderly and irregular, and the former was of doubtful authority. It is from the closing of the Great Council that we must date the positive establishment of the Venetian oligarchy, and the completion of that constitution which endured for five hundred years, from 1296 till the fall of the Republic in 1797.

The age at which the young nobles might take their seats in the Council, that is to say, might enter upon public life, was fixed at twenty-five, except in the cases of the Barbarelli, or thirty nobles between the ages of twenty and twenty-five, who were elected by ballot on the fourth of each December, St. Barbara's day; and in the case of those who, in return for money advanced to the State, obtained a special grace to take their seats before their twenty-fifth year.

The chief functions of the Great Council were the passing of laws, and the election of magistrates. But in process of time the legislative duties of the Council were almost entirely absorbed by the Senate; and the Maggior Consiglio only retained its great and distinguishing function, the election of almost every officer of State, from the Doge downwards. The large number of these magistracies, and the various seasons of the year at which they fell vacant, engaged the Great Council in a perpetual series of elections. It is not our intention to explain in detail the elaborate process by which the Venetians carried out their political elections; such an explanation would carry us beyond our scope, which is to state the position and functions of each member in the constitution of the Republic. But, briefly, the process was this. The law required either two or four competitors for every vacant magistracy, and the election to that magistracy was said to take place *a due* or *a quattro mani*, respectively. If the office to be filled required *quattro mani*, the whole body of the Great Council balloted for four groups of nine members each, who were chosen by drawing a golden ball from among the silver ones in the balloting urn. Each of these groups retired to a separate room, and there each group elected one candidate to go to the poll for the vacant office. The names of the four candidates were then presented to the Council and balloted. The candidate who secured the largest number of votes, above the half of those present, was elected to the vacant office. Thus the election to a magistracy was a triple process; first, the election of the nominators, then the election of the candidates, and finally the election to the office.

The Great Council, as representing the whole Republic, possessed certain judicial functions, which were used on rare occasions only, when the State believed itself placed in grave danger through the fault of its commanders. The famous case of Vettor Pisani, after his defeat at Pola, in 1379, and the case of Antonio Grimani, in the year 1499, were both sent to the Grand Council, who passed sentence on those generals. But, broadly speaking, the judicial functions of the Maggior Consiglio hardly existed, its legislative functions dwindled away, and were absorbed by the Senate, and its chief duty and prerogative lay in the election of almost every State official.

Coming now to the second tier in the pyramid of the constitution, the Senate, or Pregadi,—the invited, we find that the Senate proper was composed of sixty members, elected in the Great Council, six at a time. The elections took place once a week, and were so arranged that they should be complete by the first of October in each year. In addition to the Senate proper, another body of sixty, called the *Zonta* or addition, was elected by the outgoing Senate at the close of its year of office; but it was necessary that the names of the *Zonta* should be approved by the Great Council before their election was valid. The Senate and the Zonta together formed one hundred and twenty members; and besides these, the Doge, his six councillors, the Council of Ten, the Supreme Court of Appeal, and many special magistrates, who presided over departments of Finance, Customs, and Justice, belonged *ex officio* to the Senate, and brought the number of votes up to two hundred and forty-six. Further, fifty-one magistrates of minor departments also sat, with the right to debate, but without the right to vote.

The Senate was the real core of the Administration. The presence, *ex officio*, of so many and such various officers of State sufficiently indicates the wide field which was covered by the authority of the Pregadi. The large number of the Senatorial body, and the diversity of subjects with which it dealt, required that business should be carried on with parsimony of time and precision of method; and therefore private members were restricted to the right of debate. Only the Doge, his councillors, the Savii Grandi and the Savii di Terra ferma had the right to move the Senate; and their propositions related to peace, war, foreign affairs, instructions to ambassadors, and representatives of foreign Courts, to commercial treaties, finance, and home legislation. The various measures were spoken to by their proposers, and by the magistrates whose offices they affected. As in the case of the Great Council, the Senate also on rare occasions exercised judicial functions. It was in the discretion of

of the College to send a faulty commander for trial either to the Great Council or to the Senate; but in that case the charge must be one of negligence or misjudgment; if the charge implied treason, it was taken before the Council of Ten. A few of the higher officers of State were elected in the Senate, among them the Savii Grandi and the Savii di Terra ferma, and the Admiral of the Fleet. The functions of the Senate were legislative, judicial, and elective. But just as the Great Council was pre-eminently the elective body, so the Senate was pre-eminently the legislative body in the constitution of Venice.

The Collegio or Cabinet of Ministers, formed the third tier in the pyramid. The College was composed of the following members: The Doge, his six councillors, and the three chiefs of the Court of Appeal; these ten persons formed the Collegio minore, or Serenissima Signoria; in addition to these there were the six Savii Grandi; the five Savii di Terra ferma, and the five Savii da mar; a body of twenty-six persons in all, forming the College. Beginning with the lowest in rank, the Savii agli ordini, or da mar, were, as their name implies, a Board of Admiralty; but they acted in that capacity under the orders of the Savii Grandi upon whom the naval affairs of the Republic immediately depended. The Savii agli ordini had a vote but no voice in the College; this post was given, for the most part, to young and promising politicians; it was a training school for statesmen: 'Officio loro,' says Giannotti, 'è tacere ed ascoltare.' The office lasted for six months only; and so there was a constant stream of young men passing through the political school, and becoming intimately acquainted with the affairs of the Republic and the methods of government. How excellent that school must have been will become apparent as we proceed to note the functions of the College of which the Savii agli ordini formed a silent part.

Next in order above the Savii agli ordini came the Savii di Terra ferma. This Board was composed of five members; the Savio alla Scrittura, or Minister for War; the Savio Cassier, or Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Savio alle ordinanze, or minister for the native militia in the cities on the mainland; the Savio ai da mò, or minister for the execution of all measures voted urgent; the Savio ai Ceremoniali, or Minister for Ceremonies of State. These Savii di Terra ferma, like the Savii agli ordini, held office for six months only.

The six Savii Grandi, who came above the Savii di Terra ferma, superintended the actions of the two boards below them, and, if necessary, issued orders which would override those of the other ministers. They were, in fact, the responsible directors of the

the State. The Savii Grandi were required to prepare all business to be laid before the College, where it was first discussed and arranged before being submitted to the Senate for approval. To facilitate this labour of preparation, each of the Savii Grandi took a week in turn, and the Savio of the week was, in fact, Prime Minister of Venice. It was he who read dispatches, granted audiences to ambassadors, and prepared official replies. The Doge presided in the College, it is true, but it was the Savio of the week who opened the business, and suggested the various measures to be adopted.

Besides these boards of Savii, the College included the Ducal Councillors, and the three chiefs of the Court of Appeal. We shall speak of these latter when we come to the judicial department of the constitution. The office of Ducal Councillor was, perhaps, the most venerable in Venice. These six men held, as it were, the Ducal honours and functions in commission; they embodied the authority of the Doge to such an extent, that without their presence he could not act; he became a nonentity unless supported by four at least of his council; while, on the other hand, the absence of the Doge in no way diminished the authority of the Ducal Councillors. For example, the Doge without his council could not preside, neither in the Maggior Consiglio, nor in the Senate, nor in the College; but four Ducal Councillors had the power to preside without the Doge. The Doge might not open dispatches except in the presence of his council, but his council might open dispatches in the absence of the Doge. Yet, great as were the external honours of the Ducal Councillors, the office was rather ornamental than important. It was the Savii Grandi who were the directing spirit through all the multitudinous affairs of the College. As we have seen, those affairs embraced the whole field of government, except the field of Justice. The College had no judicial functions, nor did it legislate. As the Maggior Consiglio was the elective member, and the Senate the legislative, so the College was the initiative and executive member in the State. The College proposed measures which became law in the Senate; and the execution of those laws was entrusted to the College which had the machinery of State at its disposal. It is this right of initiating which distinguishes the College; and it is just upon this point that the Ducal Councillors appear to have a slight pre-eminence; for the Doge, his council, and the Savii alone, had the right to initiate in the Senate; the Doge, his council, and the chiefs of the Ten alone, had the right to initiate in the Council of Ten; the Doge and his council alone had the right to initiate in the Maggior Consiglio. The Doge and his council alone

alone move through all departments of government, presiding and initiating, embodying the spirit of the Republic; and yet in no case is their power great; for the Savii had more influence in the Senate, the chiefs of the Ten in the Council of Ten; and the Great Council, where the Doge and his councillors had the field to themselves, was of little importance in the direction of affairs.

At the apex of the constitutional pyramid we find the Doge. The Doge also had his distinctive functions in the State; his duties were ornamental rather than administrative. Though all the acts of the Government were executed in his name, laws passed, dispatches sent, treaties made, and war declared, yet it is not in these departments that the Doge stands pre-eminent; it is throughout the pomp and display of the Republic that he is supreme; and the archive wherein his glory shows most brightly is the *Ceremoniali*.

The Doge was elected for life. When a Doge died, the eldest Ducal Councillor filled the office of Vice-Doge until the election of the new Prince. The remains of the deceased Doge were laid out in the Chamber of the Pioveghi, on the first floor of the Ducal Palace, dressed in robes of State, the mantle of cloth of gold and the ducal beretta. Twenty Venetian noblemen were appointed to attend in the chapelle ardente. On the third day the Doge was buried; and the Great Council on the same day elected the officers who were to revise the coronation oath, and to render its provisions more stringent if the conduct of the deceased had revealed any point where a future Doge could exercise even the smallest independence in constitutional matters. At the same time the Council elected another body of officers, who were required to examine the conduct of the late Doge, and, if he had violated his coronation oath, his heirs paid the penalty by a fine. Immediately after the appointment of these officers, the Maggior Consiglio proceeded to create the forty-one electors to the dukedom. The process of election was long and intricate, and occupied five days at the least; for there was a quintuple series of ballots and votings to be concluded before the forty-one were finally chosen. When the forty-one noblemen had been appointed, they were taken to a chamber specially prepared for them, where, as in the case of a papal election, they were obliged to stay until they had determined upon the new Doge. They were bound by oath never to reveal what took place inside this election chamber. But that oath was not always observed in the spirit; and memoranda of the proceedings of the forty-one are still preserved in the private archives of the Marcello family. The first

first step was to elect three priors, or presidents, and two secretaries. The presidents took their seats at a table on which stood a ballot-box and an urn. The secretaries gave to every elector a slip of paper, upon which each one wrote the name of the man whom he proposed as Doge. The forty-one slips of paper were then placed in the urn, and one was drawn out at hazard. If the noble, whose name was written upon the slip, chanced to be an elector, he was required to withdraw. Then each of the electors was at liberty to attack the candidate, to point out defects and recal misdeeds. These hostile criticisms, which covered the whole of a candidate's private life, his physical qualities and his public conduct, were written down by the secretaries, and the candidate was recalled. The objections urged against him were read over to the aspirant, without the names of the urgers appearing, and he was invited to defend himself. Attack and defence continued till no further criticisms were offered, and then the name of the candidate was balloted before the priors. If it received twenty-five favourable votes, its owner was declared Doge; if less than twenty-five, a fresh name was drawn from the urn, and the whole process was repeated until some candidate secured the necessary five-and-twenty votes. As soon as this issue was reached, the Signoria was informed of the result, and the new Doge, attended by the electors, descended to Saint Mark's, where, from the pulpit on the left side of the choir, the Prince was shown to the people, and where, before the high altar, he took the coronation oath and received the standard of Saint Mark. The great doors of the Basilica were then thrown open, and the Doge passed in procession round the Piazza and returned to the Porta della Carta. At the top of the Giants' Stair the eldest Ducal Councillor placed the beretta on his head, and he was brought to the Sala dei Pioveghi, where the late Doge had lain in state, and where he too would one day come. Then the Doge retired to his private apartments, and the ceremony of election closed.

As we have already observed, the position of the Doge in the Republic of Venice was almost purely ornamental. The Doge presided, either in person or by commission through his councillors, at every Council of State; he presided, however, not as a guiding and deliberating chief, but as a symbol of the Majesty of Venice. He is there not as an individual, a personality, but as the outward and visible sign of an idea, the idea of the Venetian oligarchy. The history of the personal authority of the Doge falls into three periods. A period of great vigour and almost despotic power dates from the foundation of the Dukedom,

Dukedom, in the year 697, down to the reign of Pietro Ziani in 1172. During this first period, the Ducal authority showed a tendency to become concentrated, and almost hereditary in the hands of one or two powerful families. For example, we have seven Doges of the Partecipazio house, five Doges of the Candiani, and three of the Orseoli. But the rivalry and balanced power of these great families eventually exhausted one another, and preserved the Dukedom of Venice from ever becoming a kingdom. A second period extends from the year 1172 down to 1457, and is marked by the emergence of the great commercial houses, and the development of the oligarchy upon the basis of a Great Council. The aristocracy during this period were engaged in excluding the people from any share in the government, and in curbing and finally crushing the authority of the Doge. The steps in this process are indicated by the closing of the Great Council, the revolution of Tiepolo, the trials of Marino Faliero, Lorenzo Celsi, and the Foscari. The third period covers what remains of the Republic, from 1457 down to 1797. During this period the Doge was little other than the figurehead of the Republic; the point of least weight and greatest splendour; the brilliant apex to the pyramid of the Venetian constitution.

So far, then, we have examined the four tiers in the original structure of the constitution, the Doge, the College, the Senate, and the Great Council; and we have seen that, broadly speaking, these were, respectively, ornamental, initiative and executive, legislative, and elective. But this pyramid of the constitution was not perfectly symmetrical; its edges were broken. This interruption of outline was caused by the Council of Ten. The exact position in the Venetian constitution occupied by this famous Council, and its relations to the other members of the government, have proved a constant source of difficulty and error to students of Venetian history. Leaving aside the obscure problem of the origin of the Ten, it is still possible for us to indicate the constitutional necessity which called that Council into existence. As we have pointed out, the College could not act on its own responsibility without the Senate; the Senate could not initiate without the College, for the preparation of all affairs passed through the hands of the College. To establish connection between these two branches of the administration was a process that required some time; it could not be done swiftly and secretly. In all crises of political importance, whether home or foreign, some instrument, more expeditious than the Senate, was required to sanction the propositions of the College. That instrument, acting swiftly and secretly,

secretly, with a speed and secrecy impossible in so large a body as the Senate, was created with the Council of Ten. The Ten were an extraordinary magistracy, devised to meet unexpected pressure upon the ordinary machine of government. The emergence of the Ten proves this view. Without determining whether the Council existed previous to the year 1310, we may take that year as the date of its first appearance as a potent element in the State. The rebellion of Tiepolo and Querini, an aristocratic revolt against the growing power of the new commercial nobility, paralysed the ordinary machinery of State, and revealed the danger inherent in a large and slow-moving body of rulers. The Ten were called to power, just as the Romans created the Dictatorship, in order to save the State in a dangerous crisis.

The place of the Ten in the constitutional structure is below the College and parallel with the Senate. Below the College the administration bifurcates, the ordinary course of business flows through the Senate, the extraordinary through the Ten. The Ten possessed an authority equal to that of the Senate; the choice of which instrument should be used, rested with the College. The Ten appear to be of more importance than the Senate, solely because they were used upon more critical and dramatic occasions. Wherever the machinery of the College and Senate moves too slowly, we find the swifter machinery of the College and the Ten in motion. And so not only in political affairs, home and foreign, but also in affairs financial and judicial, the Council of Ten takes its part. The Ten, as being the readier instrument to the hands of the College, gradually absorbed more and more of the functions which originally belonged to the Senate. This process of absorption, and the extension of the province of the Ten, is marked by the establishment of its sub-commissions, that took their place in every department side by side with the delegations of the Senate and the ordinary magistrates. In politics and foreign affairs there is the famous office of the Three Inquisitors of State. In the region of Justice all cases of treason and coining, and certain cases of outrage on public morals, came before the Ten; and it was always open to the College to remove a case from the ordinary courts to the Ten, when State reasons rendered it expedient to do so. In the Police department the Esecutori contro la Bestemmia, and in Finance the Camerlenghi, were officers of that Council. In the War Office the artillery was under their control; and in the arsenal certain galleys, marked C.X., were always at their disposal.

These five great members of the State, four regular and one irregular,

irregular, formed the political and legislative departments of the Venetian Government. It would require too many details to give a similar account of the Judicial, Educational, and Religious machinery.

One of the most remarkable features in the Venetian constitution is the infinite subdivision of government, and the number of offices to be filled. Nobles alone were eligible for the majority of these offices, and if we consider how small a body the Great Council really was, it is clear that the larger number of Venetian noblemen must have been employed in the service of the State at some time in their lives. The great political and administrative activity which reigned inside the comparatively small body that formed the ruling caste, as compared with the absolute stagnation and quiet which marked the life of the ordinary citizen, is one of the most noteworthy points in the history of Venice. Every noble above the age of twenty-five was a member of the Maggior Consiglio; every week that council had to fill up some office of State, had some new candidate before it. The tenure of all offices, except the Dukedom and the Procuratorship of St. Mark, was so brief, rarely exceeding a year, or sixteen months, that the fret and activity of elections must have been nearly incessant. This constant unrest bore its fruit in perpetual intrigues, and the censors were appointed to check the rampant canvassing and bribery. But the main point which is impressed upon us is the universality of political training to which all the nobles of Venice were subjected. No matter how frivolous a young patrician might be, he would be obliged to sit in the Great Council; he would be called upon to assist in electing the Ten, whose omniscience and severity he had every reason to dread; he might even find himself named to fill some minor post. It was impossible, under these circumstances, that he should fail to be educated politically, or that he should ever lose the keenest interest in every movement of the State. It is to this political activity that we may possibly look for one of the reasons which conduced to that extraordinary longevity which the constitution of Venice displayed.

Each of the Government offices, many as they were, possessed its own collection of papers. These are either still in loose sheets, just as they left the office, or bound in volumes. They are indicated by the name of the Government department, the subject dealt with, and the date. The papers are of three kinds; first, there are the files or *filze*, the original minutes of the Board, written down in actual Council by the secretaries, and with the *filze* are the dispatches or other documents upon which

which the Council took measures. In many of the more important departments, such as the Senate, the Ten, or the College, these *filze* were epitomized; the substance of each day's business was written out in large volumes known as *Registri;* each entry was signed by the secretary who had made the digest, and was accepted as authentic for all purposes of reference. These registers are, in many cases, of the greatest value where the files have been destroyed or lost. They were more constantly in use, and therefore more carefully preserved; and now they frequently form our sole authority for certain periods. As a rule the registers are very full and good; they contain all that is of importance in the files; but in making research upon any point it is never safe to ignore the files where they exist. In some cases the secretaries made a further digest of the registers in volumes known as Rubrics, which contain in brief the headings of all materials to be found in the registers. As the registers sometimes supply the place of lost files, so the rubrics are occasionally our only authority where registers and files are both missing. The rubrics are often of the highest value. As an instance, we may cite the twenty volumes of rubrics to the dispatches from England between the years 1603 and 1748. The method of research, therefore, where all three kinds of documents exists is this, to examine first the rubrics, then the registers, and then the files. But the infinite subdivisions of the Government offices in Venice render the task of research somewhat bewildering; and a student cannot be certain that he has exhausted all the information on his subject, until he has examined a large number of these minor offices. He will probably find some notice of the point he is examining in the papers of the Senate or of the Ten, and, if it be a matter of home affairs, he can trace it thence through the various magistracies under whose cognizance it would come; or if it be a matter of foreign policy, he will find further information in the papers of the College.

Under the Republic these collections of State papers were not known as archives, but as chancelleries. The collections of highest interest, the papers to which the student is most likely to turn his attention, are those relating to the ceremony, to the home, and to the foreign policy of Venice. These three groups are contained in the Ducal, the Secret, and the Inferior Chancelleries. The three chancelleries were committed to the charge of the Grand Chancellor and his staff of secretaries, who received, arranged, and registered the official papers as they issued from the various Councils of State. The Grand Chancellor was not a patrician; he was chosen from that upper class of

of commoners known as *cittadini originarii*, an inferior order of nobility, ranking below the governing caste, but bearing coat armour. The office of Grand Chancellor was of great dignity and antiquity, and was held for life. The Chancellor was head and representative of the people, as the Doge was head and representative of the patricians; and, when the nobility began to exclude the people from all share in the government, the Grand Chancellor was allowed to be present at all sessions of the Great Council and of the Senate as the silent witness of the people, confirming the acts of the Government, and bridging, though by the finest thread, the gulf that otherwise separated the governed from the governing. The part which the Grand Chancellor took in the business of the Maggior Consiglio and of the Senate was a constant and an active part. It was his duty to superintend the arrangements for every election, to direct the secretaries in attendance, to announce the names of the candidates for office, and to proclaim the successful competitor. His seat in the Great Council Hall was on the left-hand of the Doge's daïs, and his secretaries sat below him. But the custody of the State papers was by far the most important function which the Grand Chancellor had to perform. To assist him in these labours he was placed at the head of a large College of Secretaries, trained in a school especially established to fit them for their duties. In the year 1443 a decree of the Great Council required the Doge and the Signoria to elect each year twelve lads to be taught Latin, rhetoric and philosophy, and the number of the pupils was gradually increased. From this school they passed out by examination, and became first extraordinaries and ordinaries, called Notaries Ducal, then secretaries to the Senate, and finally secretaries to the Ten. The post of secretary was one which required much diligence and discretion. The secretaries were in constant attendance on the various Councils of State, and thus became intimately acquainted with all the secret affairs of the Republic. They were frequently sent on delicate missions. It was a secretary of the Ten who brought Carmagnola to Venice to stand his trial; and, as we shall presently relate, it was a secretary of the Senate who announced to Thomas Killigrew, the English Minister, his dismissal from Venice. The secretaries were sometimes accredited as Residents to foreign Courts, though they were not eligible for the post of Ambassador. Inside the Chancellery the secretaries were entirely at the disposal of the Grand Chancellor, and their duties were to study, to invent, and to read cipher; to transcribe the registers and rubrics;

rubrics; to keep the annals of the Council of Ten, and to enter the laws in the statute book.

We may now turn our attention to the principal series of State papers which issued from the five great members of the Constitution, the Maggior Consiglio, the Senate, the Ten, the College, and the Doge, and show how these papers were arranged under the three Chancelleries of which we have spoken.

The Cancelleria Inferiore was preserved in one large room near the head of the Giants' Staircase in the Ducal Palace, and was entrusted to the care of the Notaries Ducal, the lowest order of secretaries. The documents in this Chancellery related chiefly to the Doge; his rights, his official possessions, his restrictions, and his state. Among these papers, accordingly, we find the coronation oaths, the Reports of the Commissioners appointed to examine those oaths, and the Reports of the Commissioners appointed to review the life of each Doge deceased. This series is valuable as revealing the steps by which the aristocracy slowly curtailed the personal authority of the Doge, and bound his office about with iron fetters, and crushed his power. In addition to these papers the Inferior Chancellery contained the documents relating to the dignitaries of St. Mark's in its capacity as Ducal Chapel; the order and ceremony of the Ducal household; the expenditure of the Civil List; and the archives of the Procurators of Saint Mark, which contained the will, trusts, and bequests of private citizens.

The Ducal Chancellery, which the Council of Ten once called 'cor nostri status,' was preserved on the upper floor of the palace, and was reached by the Scala d'oro. The papers were arranged in a number of cupboards surmounted by the arms of the various Grand Chancellors who had presided in that office. The documents of the Ducal Chancellery are of far higher importance than those contained in the Cancelleria Inferiore; they consist of political papers which it was not necessary to keep secret. Among the many interesting series of documents which fell to the Ducal Chancellery, the most valuable are the 'Compilazione delle Leggi,' or statute-books distinguished by the various colours of their bindings—gold, roan, and green—to mark the statutes which relate to the Maggior Consiglio, the Senate, and the College respectively; the Secretario alle voci, or record of all elections in the Great Council; the Libri gratiarum, or special privileges. But most important of all is the great series of documents which include the whole legislation of the Senate relating to Venetian affairs on sea and land. Of this vast series those marked *Terra*

Terra contain 3128 volumes of files, 411 volumes of registers, and 7 volumes of rubrics; those marked *Mar* number 1286 volumes of files, 247 volumes of registers, and 7 volumes of rubrics. It will easily be seen how important the Ducal Chancellery is both for the verification of dates, and also as displaying so large a tract of the Venetian home administration.

But important as the Ducal Chancellery undoubtedly is, it cannot vie in interest with the Cancelleria Secreta, which might, with every justice, have been called 'cor nostri status', for it is in the papers of that Chancellery that the long history of the growth, splendour, and decline of the Republic is to be traced in all its manifold details and complicated relations. The Secret Chancellery was established by a decree of the Great Council in the year 1402. Its object was to preserve those papers of highest State importance, from the publicity to which the Ducal Chancellery was exposed. The regulation of the Secret Chancellery was undertaken by the Council of Ten, and the rigorous orders which they issued from time to time abundantly prove the difficulty they experienced in securing the secrecy which they desired. The Secret Chancellery became the depository of all State papers of great moment; and if we take the chief members of the constitution in order, and note the documents issuing from them which fell to the custody of the Secreta, we shall see how the great flow of Venetian history is to be followed here rather than in any other department of the archives.

To begin with the Maggior Consiglio, we have the long series of registers containing the deliberations of the Council from the year 1232 down to the fall of the Republic in 1797, occupying forty-two volumes, and distinguished, at first, by such capricious names as Capricornus, Pilosus, Presbiter, and Fronesis; and later on by the names of the secretaries who prepared them, Ottobonus primus, Ottobonus filius, Busenellus, and Vianolus. In the special archive of the Avogadori di Commun a contemporary series of registers is to be found; it covers from 1232 to 1547, and should be consulted together with the first series, for it is more voluminous and minute. The first reference to England that occurs in the Venetian archives is in the volume Fronesis (1318–1385). This, and all other documents relating to Great Britain, have been collected and rendered accessible in the splendid and monumental series of the 'Calendar of State Papers,' edited with such diligence and care by the late Mr. Rawdon Brown. Mr. Brown's published work goes down to the year 1552; and it is only after that date that any work relating to England remains

remains to be done. That work, however, is voluminous, for the regular and unbroken series of dispatches from England does not begin till the reign of James I. Little more respecting England is to be expected from the papers of the Great Council, however; for at the date where Mr. Brown's work ends, the Maggior Consiglio had ceased to occupy a high position in the direction of Venetian foreign policy; its functions were chiefly confined to the election of magistrates.

The Senate supplied a far larger number of papers to the Secret Chancellery than that yielded by the Great Council. This was to be expected, owing to the central position of the Senate in the constitution, and its prominent place in the management of Venetian policy, home and foreign. The oldest documents in the archives of Venice belong to the Senate. They are contained among the volumes of Pacts or treaties, seven in number, without including the volume Albus, which is devoted to treaties between the Republic and the Eastern Empire, nor the volume Blancus, which contains the treaties between Venice and the Emperors of the West. The thirty-three volumes of Commemoriali formed a sort of common-place book for the use of statesmen; in them were registered briefly the most important events and abstracts of principal documents which passed through the hands of the Government. The Commemoriali cover the years 1293 to 1797; but after the middle of the sixteenth century they were neglected, and they are chiefly valuable down to that date only. After the Patti and Commemoriali we begin the record of the regular proceedings in the Senate. This series contains papers relating to home government, foreign policy, the dominions of Venice on the mainland, in Dalmatia and the Levant, ecclesiastical matters, relations with Rome, instructions to ambassadors and reports from governors. So widely spread and so varied were the attributes of the Senate, that the analysis of a single day's proceedings in that house would prove most instructive to the student of the Venetian constitution, and would, in all probability, bring him into contact with a large number of the leading magistracies of the Republic. The series of senatorial papers proceeds in almost unbroken completeness from the year 1293 down to the close of the Republic; and counting files, registers and rubrics, numbers 1599 volumes. This main series is known by different names at different periods, and shows signs of that tendency to subdivision which characterizes all Venetian Government offices. The volumes which run from the year 1293 to 1440 were known as Registri misti; those covering from 1491 to 1630, and overlapping the first Misti, were

were called Registri secreti. After the year 1630 the papers of the Senate are divided into those known as Corti, relating to foreign Powers; and those known as Rettori, relating to the government of the Venetian dominion.

Besides this great series of Deliberazioni, containing the general movement of business in the Senate, there is another voluminous series of documents, equally important, and even more interesting to the student of general history, the dispatches received from Venetian representatives at foreign Courts, and the Relazioni, or reports which ambassadors read before the Senate upon their return from abroad. Nothing can exceed the brilliancy of this series; and the value of the Relazioni at least has been fully recognized. Yet it should be borne in mind that the Relazioni are only a part of the series, and that, taken alone and isolated from the dispatches, they lose much of their value. For we must not forget that the Relazioni were drawn up on more or less conventional lines; the headings, under which the report was to fall, were indicated by the Government, and were invariable; and, further, the home-coming ambassador handed his report to his successor, who frequently used it as a basis in drawing up his own. The result is that, except in the descriptions of Court life, and in the sketches of prominent characters, the Relazioni are apt to repeat themselves. But, taken with the dispatches, which arrived almost daily, they form the most varied, brilliant, and minute gallery of national portraits that the world possesses. The reports and dispatches were made by men whose whole political training had rendered them the acutest of observers, and they were presented to critics who were filled with the keenest curiosity, and were accustomed to demand full and precise information. Not a detail is omitted as unimportant; the diurnal gossip of the Court, the daily movements of the sovereign and his favourites; are all recorded with impartial and unerring observation. The relation of the Dispacci to the Relazioni is the relation of the study to the picture. The Relazioni are the large canvas upon which the whole nation is broadly depicted, the Dispacci are the patient and minute studies upon which the excellence of the picture depends. The majority of the Venetian Relazioni between the years 1492 and 1699 have been published; the earlier part by Signor Alberi, and the later by Signori Barozzi and Berchet. The eighteenth century still remains to be worked out. In the series of Relazioni and Dispacci, Great Britain occupies a comparatively small space. While France, Germany, and Constantinople, each give five volumes of reports, England gives one only, dating from 1531 to 1763. Of dis-

patches from England there are 139 volumes in all; while from Constantinople we have 242, from France 276, from Milan, 230, and from Germany 202.

Previous to the year 1603, when the regular series of dispatches from England begins, there had been intermittent relations between the Republic and the English Court. Sebastian Giustiniani was Venetian ambassador in London in the reign of Henry VIII. (1515–1519); and in the reign of Mary, Giovanni Michiel represented the Republic for four years—from 1554 to 1558. The Protestant reign of Elizabeth caused a long break, during which the Republic received its information about the affairs of England from its ambassadors in France and Spain. Permanent relations were not resumed between the two Powers till the accession of James I., one of whose earliest acts was to send Sir Henry Wotton to Venice as his ambassador. The appointment of Sir Henry Wotton was a movement of gratitude on the part of the King; and the cause of it cannot be better told than in the words of Sir Henry's biographer, who thus describes this 'notable accident:'

'Immediately after Sir Henry Wotton's return from Rome to Florence—which was about a year before the death of Queen Elizabeth—Ferdinand, the Great Duke of Tuscany, had intercepted certain letters, that discovered a design to take away the life of James, the then King of Scots. The Duke abhorring this fact, and resolving to endeavour a prevention of it, advised with his secretary Vietta, by what means a caution might be best given to that King; and after consideration it was resolved to be done by Sir Henry Wotton, whom Vietta first commended to the Duke, and the Duke had noted and approved of above all the English that frequented his Court.

'Sir Henry was gladly called by his friend Vietta to the Duke, who dispatched him into Scotland with letters to the King, and with those letters such Italian antidotes against poison as the Scots till then had been strangers to.

'Having parted from the Duke, he took up the name and language of an Italian; and thinking it best to avoid the line of English intelligence and danger, he posted into Norway, and through that country towards Scotland, where he found the King at Stirling. Being there, he used means, by Bernard Lindsey, one of the King's bed-chamber, to procure him a speedy and private conference with his Majesty.

'This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to the King, the King required his name—which was said to be Octavio Baldi—and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening.

'When Octavio Baldi came to the Presence-chamber door, he was requested to lay aside his long rapier,—which, Italian-like, he then wore;—and being entered the chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scotch Lords standing distant in several corners of the chamber;

chamber; at the sight of whom he made a stand; which the King observing, bade him be bold and deliver his message; for he would undertake for the secrecy of all that were present. Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his letters and message to the King in Italian; which when the King had graciously received, after a little pause, Octavio Baldi steps to the table, and whispers to the King in his own language, that he was an Englishman, beseeching him for a more private conference with his Majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that nation; which was promised and really performed by the King, during all his abode there, which was about three months. All which time was spent with much pleasantness to the King, and with as much to Octavio Baldi himself as that country could afford; from which he departed as true an Italian as he came thither.'

The presence of Sir Henry in Venice, where he was a *persona gratissima*, both for his love of Italy and his knowledge of the language, did much to strengthen the new relations between England and the Republic. The feeling between Venice and the Stuart kings became extremely cordial; but on the outbreak of the Civil War, in 1642, the Republic suspended the commission of Vincenzo Contarini, who had been appointed to succeed Giovanni Giustinian as ambassador to England. The secretary Girolamo Agostino, however, continued to discharge Venetian affairs till the year 1645; and his dispatches contain minute particulars concerning the progress of the Civil War. In the year 1645, Agostino was recalled, and the interests of Venice in England were entrusted to Salvetti, the Florentine resident. Agostino left behind him in England a secret agent, with instructions to forward a weekly report on the progress of affairs to the Venetian ambassador in France, among whose dispatches we find these news-letters from London. After the death of Charles I. it is not likely that the Republic would have been represented at the Court of Cromwell, towards whom the feeling of Venice was not cordial, had she not been in great straits for help against the Turk. But in the year 1652 she resolved to dismiss the representative of Charles II., then in Venice; and, at the same time, the Government instructed the ambassador at Paris to send his secretary, Lorenzo Pauluzzi, to London to open negociations with Cromwell. With Pauluzzi the series of dispatches from London recommences; but these dispatches are to be found among the communications from the Venetian ambassador in Paris, by whom they were forwarded to the Senate. The dispatches of Pauluzzi are of great importance, and give us a vivid though hostile picture of Cromwell and his surroundings. 'Nell' universale,' he says, 'ha pochissimo affetto;' and further on, 'non ardiscono tentare alcuna cosa nè

parlare che tra i denti; ma ognuno sta sperando un giorno verificate le profizie che questo governo non possa a lungo durare.' In 1655 the negociations between England and Venice had advanced so far that the Republic had determined to send an Ambassador Extraordinary to the Protector's Court. Giovanni Sagredo, ambassador at Paris, was chosen, and the closing paragraph of his first dispatch shows how strongly Cromwell's personality impressed him. 'Per il resto,' he writes, 'è uomo di 56 anni, con pochissima barba, di complessione sanguigna, di statura media e robusta e di presenza marziale. Ha una fisonomia cupa e profonda. Porta una gran spada al fianco. Soldato insieme ed oratore, e dotato di talenti per persuadere e per operare.' The result of Sagredo's mission is contained in the long and brilliant Relazione which he read in the Senate on his return to Venice in 1656. In this splendid specimen of a Venetian report, he gives, with singular lucidity and grasp, a brief sketch of the condition of Great Britain; of the causes of the Civil War; of Cromwell's rise to power; of his foreign relations; and closes with a portrait of the Protector which confirms Pauluzzi's unfavourable view, and draws a terrible picture of that restlessness and dread which clouded Cromwell's last days—'più temuto che amato . . . vive con sempiterno sospetto.' When Sagredo returned to Venice, his secretary Francesco Giavarnia was left behind in England, as Venetian resident, and continued to hold that post till the Restoration, sending dispatches every week direct to Venice, detailing the close of the Protectorate, and the return of Charles II., whom he was the first to welcome at Canterbury the day after his landing. In 1661 the Republic gladly re-opened full relations with the Stuarts. Giavarnia was superseded by two Ambassadors Extraordinary, who conveyed to Charles two gondolas for the water in St. James's Park, and from that date onwards the diplomatic connection between England and the Republic followed the ordinary course.

We come now to the papers of the Council of Ten; all of these were committed to the custody of the Secret Chancellery. We have already seen that the Council of Ten was an extraordinary office, used upon extraordinary occasions, where secrecy and speed were required. Its chief occupations may be summed up under three heads—safety of the State, protection of citizens, and public morals. That being the case, the number and interest of its documents is very great—greater than that of any other Council of State; but this interest is confined, for the most part, to matters affecting the home policy of the Republic; foreign affairs find comparatively little illustration among the papers

papers of the Ten. The series of documents, containing the ordinary business of the Ten, dates from the year 1315 to the close of the Republic. The documents are arranged according to the matter they deal with, that is to say political matter, *parti communi* and *secreti*, or criminal matter, *parti crimminali*. The immense importance and interest attaching to the papers of the Ten will be illustrated by the statement, that there we find the cases of Marino Faliero, of the Carraresi, of Carmagnola, of Foscari, of Caterina Cornaro, and of Foscarini.

Among the papers of the Collegio we find ourselves once more in the general current of foreign politics. The ordinary proceedings of the College, the papers containing the arrangement and discussion of affairs to be presented to the Senate, are included in the volumes of files and registers, known as the Notatorii del Collegio. The College was entrusted, as we have said, to receive all the representatives of foreign Powers and to open all letters and dispatches addressed to the Government. It is in the three series known as Lettere Principi, Espozioni Principi, and Ceremoniali, that we obtain the fullest information about the action of the agents from foreign Courts resident in Venice. The series called Lettere Principi, letters from royal personages, covers the years between 1500 and 1797, and is contained in fifty-four volumes of *filze*. England is represented by two of these, beginning with the year 1570, and ending with 1796, entitled 'Collegio, Secreta, Lettere. Rè e Regina d' Inghilterra.' These volumes contain one hundred and seventy-one letters, thus distributed among the various sovereigns; there are thirteen in the reign of Elizabeth; forty in that of James I.; four in that of Charles I.; three from Oliver Cromwell; one from Richard Cromwell; one from Speaker Lenthal; ten during the reign of Charles II.; five during that of his brother; three during the reign of William, including one from the Old Pretender; seven in the reign of Anne; eight in that of George I.; twenty-one from George II., and fifty-five from George III. These letters are concerned with formal announcements and the exchange of courtesies, the credentials of ambassadors and notices of royal births, marriages and deaths. Their historical importance is very slight. The long series of George III. is almost entirely occupied by noting the yearly increase of his family. The autographs of the ministers who countersigned the letters, form their greatest attraction. The late Mr. Rawdon Brown has published facsimiles of these autographs down to the year 1659; but after that date we find such interesting endorsements as those of Lauderdale, Arlington, Bolingbroke, Carteret, Pitt, Halifax, Henry Conway, Shelburne, and Charles James Fox.

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On a loose parchment among these letters is one very curious document. It is dated Bologna, 21st February, 1671, and begins 'Carlo Dudley per la gratia di Dio Duca di Northumbria et del Sacro Romano Impero, Conte di Woruih e di Licester, et Pari d'Ingliterra.' The document goes on to state that Charles Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, in consideration of the affection and partiality always shown towards his person and house, grants to Ottavio Dionisio, noble of Verona, the title of Marquis to him and to his eldest son, to his younger sons and to his brothers and their sons the title of Count, in perpetuity; and this in virtue of the declaration and authority of His Holiness Pope Urban VIII., which conferred on Charles Dudley and his eldest born the right to exercise all the privileges of an independent prince. At the date which this document bears, 1671, there was no Duke of Northumberland; that title had lately been bestowed by Charles II. on an illegitimate son, and had perished with him. This Charles Dudley was probably some pretender to the honours of the Dudley family who once held the dukedom of Northumberland. The document is curious, for the noble family on whom Charles Dudley conferred this title of Marquis still exists, and we do not know if any British subject, either before or after, has even claimed to be a fountain of honour. But Charles Dudley is not the only English pretender who figures among the papers at the Frari. Filza 8 of the loose papers, titled 'Miscellanea Diversi Manoscritti,' contains the marriage certificate and will of James Henry de Boveri Rossano Stuart, natural son of Charles II., and seven letters from his son James Stuart, dated Milan, Gemona and Padua, 1722 to 1728. The majority of these letters are addressed to Cardinal Panighetti, from whom this 'povero principe Stuardo,' as he calls himself, hoped to receive money and support in some imaginary claims on the Crown of England. The letters are full of a certain pathos—the pathos which cannot fail to attach itself to fallen royalty. The handwriting is that of an uneducated man; and James Stuart, in these letters, certainly shows no signs of the ability required to meet so trying a situation. He appeals to the Cardinal first on the grounds of his creed. It is 'for the Faith that he finds himself in the miserable little town' of Gemona. Failing upon this line, James Stuart abandons himself to astrology, in the hope that the stars may give an answer favourable to his hopes. But to all his appeals the Cardinal replies with cold reserve, and when he hears of astrology, he adds a sharp and crushing reprimand.

Leaving the Lettere Principi we come to the last two series of State papers of which we shall speak, the Espozioni Principi,

Principi, or record of all audiences granted to ambassadors and of the communications made by them in the name of the Power they represented; and the Libri Ceremoniali, or record of the great functions of State, the coronations and funerals of the Doges, the elections of the Grand Chancellors, the reception accorded to ambassadors, princes and distinguished travellers. The Republic of Venice was as punctilious as any Court of Europe upon the points of precedence, ceremony, and etiquette. The reader will not have forgotten the amusing account, given by the elder Disraeli, of the long struggle between the Master of the Ceremonies and the Venetian ambassador at the Court of St. James. The Government required from its representatives a minute account of every detail of etiquette observed towards them, and replied in kind in their treatment of foreign ministers in Venice. The Republic was punctilious abroad, and no less so at home. Every stage in the public entry, first audience and *congé* of foreign ambassadors were carefully regulated and based upon precedent. The ambassadors of Spain and France had each a special volume devoted to the ceremonies and etiquette which the Republic observed towards them. M. Baschet describes at length the receptions of the French ambassadors, for whom he claims the highest rank among the representatives of foreign Powers at Venice. Great Britain sent fifty-eight embassies, in all, to the Republic, between the years 1340 and 1797. Of these ambassadors, Sir Gregory Cassalis filled the office twice, Sir Henry Wotton thrice, the Earl of Manchester twice, and Elizeus Burgess twice. The ceremony to which the ambassador was entitled may be gathered from the accounts of these embassies preserved in the Esposizioni Principi and the Ceremoniali.

The reception of Lord Northampton in the year 1762 will afford us the most detailed view of the ceremony, for on that occasion some questions of precedent arose, and the Cavaliere Ruzzini, who was entrusted with the conduct of the affair, presented a long report to the Senate on the subject. The ambassador was not officially recognized by the Government until he had made his public entry, and presented his credentials at his first audience in the College. Until that had taken place, he remained incognito, and was in fact supposed not to be in Venice. Before the ambassador arrived, the English Consul was expected to hire a palace for his use. There was no fixed embassy in Venice; Thomas Killigrew lodged at San Cassano, Lord Holdernesse at San Benedetto, Lord Manchester at San Stae. John Udny, who was consul at the time of Lord Northampton's Embassy, rented the Palazzo Grimani

Grimani at Cannaregio for the ambassador whenever his appointment was announced, and an amusing and characteristic story attaches to this affair. The palace belonged to a Contessa Grimani, and was in bad repair; but the owner promised to restore and fit it up for the ambassador. When the consul went to see the palace, shortly before the ambassador's arrival, he found that nothing had been done to it, and moreover that a gondolier and his wife occupied the ground-floor and refused to move. He wrote at once to the Contessa requesting her to remove the gondolier, to which he received for answer that the gondolier's wife had been nurse to one of the Countess's boys, and the Grimanis had promised her twenty ducats a-year; if the ambassador liked to pay that amount, the gondolier would turn out; if not, they must manage to share the palace between them. The consul appealed to the English Resident, John Murray, who wrote an angry letter to the Government, complaining of this treatment; 'La carità della nobile donna,' he says, 'verso la moglie del gondoliere merita senza dubbio gran lode, ma il sottoscritto s' imagina che l' avvocato più scaltro si troverebbe bene intrigato di produrre una legge o esempio per incaricare l'Ambasciatore Inglese di questa carità.'

The matter was probably arranged, for on the 22nd of October Lord Northampton arrived, incognito, of course, with all his suite, and took up his residence. Lord Northampton was ill, and it was not till the beginning of the next year that he took the necessary steps to make his entry and to secure his first audience. The etiquette observed upon such occasions required that the ambassador should send his secretary to leave copies of his credentials at the door of the College, and to ask on what day the Doge would receive him. The College reply through one of their secretaries that an answer will be sent. The Doge was then consulted what day would suit him, and he answers by putting himself at the disposal of the College. The Senate is then informed of the ambassador's arrival, and sixty senators, under the direction of a leader, are appointed to attend the ambassador until the ceremonies of his reception shall be completed. The days selected for Lord Northampton's reception were the 29th and 30th of May, 1763; and the Cavaliere Ruzzini was named as head of the sixty senators who were to attend the ambassador. Ruzzini informed Lord Northampton of these arrangements, and at the same time sent him a programme of the ceremony, which was based upon that observed towards Lord Holdernesse, and was identical with that which the Republic offered to the ambassador of the King of Sardinia. Before his public entry, the ambassador and all his suite went to

to the island of San Spirito, in the lagoon towards Malamocco. The fiction of the ceremony supposed all ambassadors to be lodged there until they had presented their credentials. San Spirito was chosen as the point of departure for the ambassadorial procession because the distance between that island and Venice was supposed to correspond exactly with the distance between London and Greenwich, whence the Venetian ambassador was wont to begin his progress. Sir Henry Wotton's second embassy forms a rare exception to this rule, for the Venetians were so fond of that charming and accomplished poet, that they allowed him to make his entry from San Giorgio Maggiore, which is much nearer the city and more convenient. After midday on the 29th, Ruzzini and his sixty senators, each in his gondola, arrived at San Spirito, and found the household of the ambassador drawn up along the landing-place *en grande tenue*. Lord Northampton was informed of Ruzzini's arrival, and came to meet him on the staircase. After exchanging the prescribed compliments, Ruzzini, with the ambassador on his right hand, descended, and both entered the Cavaliere's gondola. The whole procession left San Spirito, and proceeded by the Grand Canal to the ambassador's lodging at San Girolamo, accompanied, as Ruzzini says, by 'un immenso popolo spettatore del nostro viaggio;' for these official entries were among the most popular of the Venetian spectacles, and the whole city went out to witness them. At the palace fresh speeches and compliments followed. Lord Northampton was suffering acutely from an illness of which he died that same year, but Ruzzini reports with obvious satisfaction that he did not spare him a single ceremony, 'adempi ad ogni parte del consueto ceremoniale.' The next day Ruzzini and the sixty senators again attended at the ambassador's palace to conduct him to his audience in the College. Lord Northampton was worse than he had been the day before; but Ruzzini was implacable. It cost the ambassador three-quarters of an hour to ascend the Giant's Stair. When at last he reached the door of the Collegio, the Doge and all the College rose; the ambassador uncovered and made three bows, and, leaving his suite behind him, he mounted the dais and took his seat on the right hand of the Doge. The ambassador then covered his head, and simultaneously one of each order of the Savii did the same. The ambassador handed his credentials to the Doge, and remained uncovered while they were being read. The Doge made a brief and formal reply welcoming the ambassador to Venice, and each time the King's name occurred, the ambassador raised his cap. After repeating his three bows, the

the ambassador retired, and was accompanied to his palace by the sixty senators who had waited for him at the doors of the Collegio. This closed the ceremony of entry.

The English Ambassador Extraordinary enjoyed certain privileges, which were established on the precedent of the embassy of Lord Falconberg, Cromwell's son-in-law. Among these privileges was the right to lodging and maintenance at the cost of the Republic, a right which the ambassador usually compounded for the sum of five or six hundred ducats; a box at each theatre in Venice was placed at his disposal, and when he took his *congé* the Senate voted him a gold chain and medal of the value of two thousand scudi. The ambassadors ordinary enjoyed certain exemptions from customs dues. These exemptions were frequently abused, and were the cause of constant friction between the Government and the representatives of foreign Powers. In the year 1763 Mr. John Murray's Istrian wine was seized, and he only recovered it after expressing himself *ben mortificato*. Mr. Murray was constantly in trouble on this subject. The year before he had addressed an indignant letter to the Government because 'a certain official of the Custom House had accused him of allowing his servants to sell wine and flour at the door of the Residency. It is but a poor satisfaction after so long a period of suspicion to know that that official is bankrupt and no proof of the accusation is forthcoming.' But by far the most curious episode of this nature was that which befell Tom Killigrew, the poet, grandfather of the Mrs. Anne Killigrew of Dryden's famous ode and a friend of Pepys, who recals him as 'a merry droll, but a gentleman of great esteem with the King, who told us many merry stories,' this, perhaps, among the number. Killigrew was sent to represent Charles II. at Venice in 1649, just after the execution of Charles I., and while his son was *a ramingo*, or knocking about, as the Venetian ambassador politely puts it. Killigrew was received in the usual way on February 10, 1650, and made his address 'in lingua cattiva,' as the report affirms. But the Republic soon tired of its alliance with an exiled king, and resolved to dismiss Killigrew as soon as possible. Killigrew was poor, and his master had little or nothing to give him, so he hit upon the expedient of keeping a butcher's shop, where he could sell meat cheaper than any one else in Venice, by availing himself of his exemptions from octroi. The Senate resolved to fasten upon this illicit traffic as a pretext for dismissing Killigrew; and on the 22nd of June, 1652, they sent their Secretary, Busenello, to tell Killigrew, *vivâ voce*, that he must go. Busenello went to San Fantin, and there found one of Killigrew's butchers, who told

told him that the Resident only kept his shop there, but lived himself at San Cassano. At San Cassano Busenello was told that Killigrew was dining at Murano, and would not be home till evening; but very soon after he saw the Resident at his window, and insisted on being announced. He explained 'with all possible delicacy,' as he says, the order of the Senate; but Killigrew received the message with every sign of anger and pain. With tears in his eyes he declared that it was the other ambassadors who robbed the customs, while he had all the blame. It was true that he did keep 'a little bit of a butcher's shop to support himself,' but that could not hurt the revenue; and he added that, under any circumstance he should leave Venice, for he had received his letters of recal from France, four days previously. The Senate no more than their secretary believed in the existence of this letter of recal; but Killigrew really had the letter, dated March 14th, and it was sent into the College, along with a brief exculpatory epistle from the Resident, on the 27th of June. Killigrew left Venice the same day as he was bound to do by ambassadorial etiquette; and Charles had not another recognized agent to the Republic until his restoration; for the Venetians definitely adopted the policy of courting Cromwell, in the vain hope that he would assist them against the Turk.

With the papers of the College we close this notice of the political documents in the archives at the Frari. The other departments of the Government had each their own series of papers, equally copious and valuable. The heraldic and genealogical archives of the Avvogadori di Commun, for example, the Charters of the German and Turkish Exchanges and the records of the Mint and the public Banks, offer a wide and a rich field for study; and in spite of the profound and extensive labours of such scholars as Thomas, Checchetti, Barozzi, Berchet, Fulin, Lamansky, Mas Latrie, and Rawdon Brown, it will be long before the materials in the vast storehouse of the Frari are exhausted or even adequately displayed.

ART. IV.—1. *Journal of a Residence in Norway during the years* 1834, 1835 *and* 1836. By Samuel Laing, Esq. London, 1837.

2. *Le Royaume de Norvège et le Peuple Norvégien.* Par le Dr. O. I. Broch. Christiania, 1878.

3. *Official Reports of Prefects on the Economic Condition of the Provinces of Norway in* 1876–80. Christiania, 1884.

4. *Publications of the Statistical Bureau, Christiania.*

THE advocates of a general redistribution of landed property in Ireland, as well as those who are holding out to the agricultural labourers of other portions of the United Kingdom the Arcadian lure figuratively known as the 'three acres and a cow,' will find in the work cited at the head of this article the amplest materials for the justification of the views they are pressing for adoption partly as a remedy for agricultural distress, but essentially in application of the Socialist doctrine that the people of a country have an inherent right to an absolute, proportionate possession of its soil.

Mr. Laing's 'Journal' is, indeed, not a record of travel and adventure, but a treatise, admirably written and replete with facts, in demonstration of the great superiority of the Norwegian system of land tenure over that of any other part of civilized Europe. His views have, moreover, been to a great extent adopted in the numerous works that have since been produced by British travellers who, after a rapid drive over the main routes of Norway, have described in terms equally glowing the happy and enviable condition of the *Bonde* or yeoman farmer of that country.

Considering there is much in common in regard to race, religion, language, character, and civilization, between the inhabitants of that interesting little country and its maritime neighbours—the populations, more especially, of England and Scotland, it will be instructive, on the eve of the agrarian revolution with which the United Kingdom is threatened, to study and analyse the statements and conclusions of Mr. Laing, and to trace the subsequent and present operation of the peculiar land laws which he so highly extolled in the earlier part of this century.

With that object we proceed to describe, almost in Mr. Laing's own words, the condition of the peasant proprietors of Norway at a period (1835) when, out of a population of 1,194,827, only about eleven per cent. inhabited towns, the land in rural districts being held by 103,192 proprietors and tenants, the proportion of the two latter being respectively seventy and thirty per cent.

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'The Norwegians,' wrote Mr. Laing, 'are the most interesting and singular group of people in Europe. They live under ancient laws and social arrangements totally different in principle from those which regulate society and property in the feudally constituted states. Their country is peculiarly interesting to the political economist. It is the only part of Europe in which property from the earliest ages has been transmitted upon the principle of partition among all the children. The feudal structure of society with its law of primogeniture, and its privileged class of hereditary nobles, never prevailed in Norway. In this remote corner of the civilized world we may therefore see the effects upon the condition of society of the peculiar distribution of property; it will exhibit, on a small scale, what America and France will be a thousand years hence. . . . Here are the Highland glens without the Highland lairds. . . . If there be a happy class of people in Europe it is the Norwegian *Bonde*, king of his own land, and landlord as well as king.'

This state of happiness is, according to Mr. Laing, the result of the still existing *Odels ret* or Allodial Right, under which, he asserts, the land of Norway was always the property of the people, not of a feudal class of high nobility. But although this assertion does not much affect the main and practical object of our enquiry, it may be as well to point out at once that, whatever might have been the inherent right of every Norwegian to a portion of the soil on which he was born, Dr. Broch, an eminent native authority, maintains that a considerable portion of the land belonged anciently to the kings of Norway, and had been acquired, as in other countries, partly by confiscation from nobles. Those lands were leased and, gradually, to a certain extent, sold. In the days of Roman Catholicism, the Church also held great landed estates, which the State appropriated at the Reformation. No inconsiderable part of the State domains was then leased, and, in short, before the middle of the seventeenth century, leases comprised a little more than half of the landed property of the country; while even in 1814, they constituted one-third of it. Later, the State lands, and those which had been distributed among nobles at the Reformation, were repartitioned among the bulk of the population or sold.

But to return to the *Odels ret*. It gives, Mr. Laing shows,

'to all the kindred of the Odelsmand in possession, in the order of consanguinity, a certain interest in it. If the Odelsmand should sell or alienate his land, the next of kin is entitled to redeem it on paying the purchase-money; and should he decline to do so, it is in the power of the one next to him to claim his *Odelsbaarn ret*.'

At the present time, the allodial right is acquired only by the uninterrupted

uninterrupted possession of the same person, his descendants or his wife, during a period of at least twenty years, and it is lost if the property has been in strange hands for three years. Testamentary dispositions, in the case of persons leaving issue, are now limited to one quarter of the testator's property; whereas before 1854, a testator could not bequeath anything individually. Since the year 1860, also, there is perfect equality between the two sexes in the division of real and personal property. At the period when Mr. Laing visited Norway, the division of land among children had

'not had the effect of reducing properties to the minimum size that would barely support human existence. One sells to the other and turns his capital and industry to pursuits that would enable him to acquire the necessaries of life. The heirs who sell, very often, instead of a sum of money, which is seldom at the command of the parties, take a life-rent payment or annuity of so much grain, the keep of so many cows, so much firewood, a dwelling-house on the property, or some equivalent of that kind. Few properties have no such burthens.' He argued that 'in a country where land is held, not in tenancy merely, as in Ireland, but in full ownership, its aggregation by the death of co-heirs, and by the marriages of female heirs,* will balance its subdivision by the equal succession of children; and also, that in such a condition of society, the whole mass of property would be found in such a State to consist of as many estates of 1000*l.*, as many of 100*l.*, as many of 10*l.* a year, at one period as at another.'

'Norway,' our author urges, 'affords a strong confutation of the dreaded excessive subdivision of land. Notwithstanding, the partition system, continued for ages, it contains farms of such extent that the owner possesses forty cows.'

On the whole, the farms appeared to him to be of various sizes: many so large that a bell was used to call the labourers to or from their work; while some were so small as to have only a few sheaves of corn, or a rig or two of potatoes, scattered among the trunks of the trees. These, however, were occupied by the farm servants, or cotters, paying for their houses and land in work (*Husmænd*). Twenty to forty cows could be counted on the large farms. In the district of Verdal (Trondhjemsfiord) Mr. Laing saw beautiful little farms of forty to fifty acres, each having a pasturage or grass tract in the mountains, where the cattle were kept during the summer until the crops were taken in, and upon each such out-farm, or *Sæter*, there was a house and regular dairy, to which, he informs us, 'the whole of the

* The physical results of intermarriage, with the object of concentrating property, are very apparent in many of the older *Bonde* families in Norway.

cattle

cattle and the dairy-maids, with their sweethearts, are sent to junket and amuse themselves for three or four months of the year.'* We can well believe that, in such circumstances, Mr. Laing found 'this class of *Bönder* the most interesting people in Norway,' and that 'there are none similar to them in the feudal countries of Europe.' He appears to have been more particularly impressed with

'the farms large enough to keep a score of cows, six horses and a small flock of sheep and goats, and to maintain a family and servants in all that land usually produces, leaving a surplus for sale sufficient to pay taxes, wages, and to provide the comforts and necessaries of life to a fair extent,' all which could be bought 'for 1000*l.* or 1200*l.*, or even less.'

As regards the agricultural labourer, or cotter, Mr. Laing conceived 'his average condition to be that of holding land on which he could sow three-quarters of an imperial quarter of corn and three imperial quarters of potatoes, and which would enable him to keep two cows, or an equivalent number of sheep or goats.' His wages are stated to have been 4½*d.* to 6*d.* per diem, in addition to his food. It was consequently 'amusing to recollect the benevolent speculations in our Agricultural Reports, of the Sir Johns and Sir Thomases in our midland counties of England, for bettering the condition of labourers in husbandry, by giving them, at a reasonable rent, a quarter of an acre of land to keep a cow on, or by allowing them to cultivate the slips of land on the roadside, outside of their hedges.' He also derides 'the agricultural writers' who 'tell us, indeed, that labourers in agriculture are much better off as farm servants, than they would be as small proprietors,' for 'if property is a good and desirable thing, the very smallest quantity of it is good and desirable.' It was obvious to Mr. Laing that the forty families of two or three Norwegian highland glens, 'each possessing and living on its own little spot of ground and farming well or ill, as the case might be, were in a better and happier state, and formed a more rationally constituted society, than if the whole belonged to one of these families (and it would be no great estate), while the other thirty-nine families were tenants and farmers.'

Mr. Laing found the happy agricultural population of Norway

* It would not be right to allow this observation to pass without mentioning, even at the cost of destroying so fascinating a picture of pastoral felicity, that the hard-working dairy-maids of Norway are never accompanied by their sweethearts to the sæters, where, except from Saturday night until Monday morning, when the young men find time to visit them, they lead the most solitary lives, and are busy all day in milking cows and goats and making butter and cheese.

'much

'much better lodged than our labouring and middling classes, even in the south of Scotland;' and that no nation was at that period either better housed, or so well provided with fuel. The standard of living appeared to be higher in Norway than in most of our Scotch highland districts, although the materials were the same, namely, oatmeal, barley meal, potatoes, fish—fresh and salted—cheese, butter, and milk. He understood that it was even usual for the yeoman farmers to have animal food—'salt beef and black-puddings'—at least twice a week. At all events, he says, four meals a day formed the regular fare, and with two of those meals even the labourers had a glass of home-made brandy, distilled from potatoes by the yeoman, who 'could malt and distil in every way he pleased,' and thereby 'make free use of his agricultural produce,' with the result of 'increasing the general prosperity, improving the condition of the people, and promoting the increase of their numbers.'*

There was, at the time of Mr. Laing's residence in Norway, 'small difference in the way of living between high and low, because every man lived from the produce of his farm, and observed the utmost simplicity and economy with regard to everything that took money out of his pocket.' Furniture and clothes, except the yeoman's Sunday hat, were all home-made. 'Here was a whole population, in an old European country, dealing direct with Nature, as it were, for every article, without the intervention of money, or even of barter.' It was only the small yeomen on the verge of the Fjeld, or in the glens, far above the level of land producing corn, and the inhabitants of districts less favoured by nature, 'whose common bread consisted of the bark of trees, mixed and ground up with ill-ripened oats;' but even in their case, trout, dried and salted for winter, was no inconsiderable part of their provision, their houses being, at the same time, comfortable, though small, with wooden floors and glass windows.

Apart from these exceptionally situated proprietors, Mr. Laing found there really was 'no difference between the residence of a public functionary, of a clergyman, or of a gentleman of larger property, and that of a *Bonde*, or peasant. The latter are as well, as commodiously and even showily, lodged as the former can be, and the properties are as good.' Mr. Laing,

* In 1833 the total production of spirits in the rural districts amounted to about 3¼ gallons per head of the population. The demoralization that resulted from its increase necessitated the enactment of restrictive measures, and at last, in 1848, the small stills were purchased by the State, and private distillation was prohibited. As in Great Britain, the vice of drunkenness is now decreasing in Norway, owing partly to the reduced means of the population, but chiefly to the influence of education and of temperance societies.

however,

however, makes a reservation under this head in respect of the 'cultivated classes,' as being indisputably superior in mental acquirements to the yeoman farmer, and who lived in the same manner as the corresponding classes in England.

Towards the end of his stay in Norway, Mr. Laing often heard 'from the most intelligent men in the country' that the yeoman farmer lived too high; indulged too much in expensive luxuries, as coffee and sugar; in frequent and expensive entertainments at each other's houses; in carrioles, sledges, and harness of a costly kind; and even in a horse or two more than the farm work required; and he certainly thought this had resulted in 'a general want of money among them to pay even the most trifling taxes and other sums. A man with land worth three or four thousand dollars, and with horses, cows, and all sorts of products in abundance, was often at a loss for five or ten dollars.' Nevertheless, he was of opinion that 'the increase of the tastes and habits which belong to property tended to keep population within the bounds of what can be comfortably subsisted, and without which the increase of subsistence would tend to evil rather than good.' It was, indeed, 'a good thing that they all had the ideas, habits, and character of people possessed of independent property upon which they were living without any care about increasing it, and free from the anxiety and fever of money making or money losing.'

Their subsistence, Mr. Laing exultingly and repeatedly points out, was derived mainly from husbandry, carried on under less favourable conditions of soil, climate, crops, and pasturage than in the Scotch highlands;—

'but on the simple Norwegian system, to live on the produce of the land being the main object, and the labourer (the cotter) being paid chiefly in land, a good crop would be an unmingled blessing; whereas in countries where agriculture is carried on as a manufacture, a succession of good crops may glut the markets, ruin the tenant, and even reduce the money wages of the labourer. In Norway neither good nor bad crops can affect the proportion of population to the land that could in ordinary seasons subsist on it. Paying no rent, the Norwegian yeoman farmer is not usually employed in prospective improvements, but simply in raising food, so that he can see at once whether the land is sufficient to produce subsistence for himself and his labourers. If grain and potatoes for the use of the farm, and a little surplus for sale to pay the land-tax and buy luxuries with, can be raised by the farm, all the purposes of farming in Norway are answered.'

On the subject of pauperism, Mr. Laing alleges that 'the dread of poverty was less influential in Norway, where extreme

destitution is as rare as great wealth, and where there is so much less difference in the comforts and consideration of the richer and poorer classes.' The indigent were farmed out for a week or so at a time among the yeomen farmers, 'whose poor-rate, like the tithes of the Church, was too inconsiderable to mention.' The state of property, and its general diffusion throughout the social body, had also, he had no doubt, a beneficial effect on the moral condition of the people. 'The desire for wealth being considerably blunted, it was not the same actuating, engrossing principle of human action, the spring of much that was evil and immoral being thus removed.' Only one case of downright drunkenness—that of a Laplander—had come under his personal observation, and it was only on special occasions that the yeoman farmer could be seen a little elated. His theory, however (we may remark in passing), respecting the influence of property on the moral condition of the people is not supported by other facts which he quotes, namely, that owing to the restraints upon marriage, 'exercised, as in Paris or London, by a high standard of living,' the 'proportion of illegitimate to legitimate children in Norway was 1 in 5,' while in a parish he specifies it was (between 1826 and 1830) 'as high as 1 in $3\frac{26}{136}$.' He mentions that engagements between couples lasted generally one, two, and often several years, especially in the case of servants in husbandry waiting for a house and land to settle in as cotters. In such cases, he says, 'it too often happened that the privileged kindness between betrothed parties was carried too far,' and 'the betrothed became a mother before she was a wife.'

We quit this painful phase of peasant proprietorship with the observation that, notwithstanding a still wider diffusion of property and of moral qualities which, according to Mr. Laing, that diffusion is calculated to engender, 8·38* per cent. of the live children born in Norway between 1866 and 1870 were born out of wedlock, the corresponding proportion in 1836 having been 7·07 per cent. It is natural to find, under these circumstances, that the marriage rate was 6·84 per 1000 of the population in 1866–75 against 7·31 per 1000 between 1834 and 1836, with a fractional decrease of the total number of births in the former period, the average per family remaining slightly over four.

The ancient Allodial Right and the happy social system based upon it, Mr. Laing found jealously guarded by the

* The average proportion of 1851–52 was 9·32 per cent. There is a difference of only about 1 per cent. between the rates of illegitimacy in rural and urban districts, to the disadvantage of the latter.

yeomanry,

yeomanry, 'who have not only the legislative power and the election of the Storthing' (or Parliament) 'almost entirely in their own hands, but also the whole civil business of the community.' He may, therefore, well say, without fear of contradiction, that 'the Norwegian people enjoy a greater share of liberty, have the framing and administering of their own laws more entirely in their own hands, than any European nation of the present time;' and, further, that 'it is not a little extraordinary that almost the only result' of the universal delirium of 1790,* 'which approaches in reality to the theories of that period, has been the Norwegian Constitution.'

The paramount influence of the agrarian class over the destinies of the kingdom may be judged by the circumstances that the rural districts are permanently represented in the Storthing by two-thirds of the total number of members, limited by the Constitution to 114; and that practically the suffrage is now universal, the principal conditions of its possession being, under recent legislation, a qualification of age (25 years) and a residence of five years in the country. It is well known that the Parliament thus elected (under a system of double election), with its *de facto* single Chamber, subdivided for the more rapid and effective discharge of certain business into what Mr. Laing chooses to call an 'Upper House' and a 'House of Commons,' has, within very recent days, in virtue of the largely predominant rural, radical vote, exercised its power of impeaching and punishing, by fine and dismissal from office, an entire Cabinet, for the crime of having advised the King that his veto was not merely suspensive, but absolute, in the matter of any Bill affecting the principles of the Constitution, and that the questions in dispute between the Sovereign and the Storthing were of a constitutional character, involving indirectly not only the stability of a monarchical form of government, but also that of the personal union between the crowns of Norway and Sweden—a stability pre-eminently essential in both respects to the highest interests of Scandinavia, and in no small degree also to the maritime and political interests of this country. It is this form of Parliament that Mr. Laing extols 'as a working model of a constitutional government on a small scale, and one which works so well as highly to deserve the consideration of the people of Great Britain.'

We have at last done with Mr. Laing's remarkable statements, views, and recommendations; and the principal question we

* 'The French Constitution of 1791 is one of the principal sources of the Fundamental Law of Norway. The suspensive veto has been derived from it.'—O. I. Broch.

now have to consider is: What is the latest phase (after an interval of half a century) of the development of the peculiar social organization of Norway, and especially of its system of land tenure, differing, as both do, from the organization and system evolved out of feudality in Great Britain and Ireland? We therefore intend to enquire: (1) Has the system of land tenure in Norway prevented, as foretold by Mr. Laing, an excessive subdivision of land? (2) Has a dead level of ease and contentment been maintained? (3) Has the diffusion of land by a natural process, under the widest form of home rule, kept the rural population of Norway within the bounds of possible modern existence? (4) Has no pauperism affected the taxation of landed property? and (5) generally, Is the Norwegian yeoman farmer in a more thriving condition at the present time than the tenants and agricultural labourers elsewhere, from whom is still withheld the freehold possession of land to which, it is alleged by a certain school of politicians, they have a natural right, disputed only by monopolists and land-grabbers?

These are the questions we shall endeavour to answer with the aid, exclusively, of the latest publications of the Norwegian Government. We must, however, preface our replies by sketching roughly the influences that have sprung into operation since Mr. Laing published the Journal of his residence in Norway.

In his time the towns contained only about eleven per cent. of the total population of the kingdom, whereas at the present moment the proportion is double that of 1835.* This urban agglomeration, Dr. Broch shows, has been 'due principally to causes which have operated in the rest of Europe. Facilitated means of communication promoted the migration of the agricultural population towards the towns, where the development of industry and commerce offered the lure of gains or salaries higher than those in rural districts.' One of the causes, he justly adds, of the displacement of the population has been the immense and laudable progress of public instruction, 'and the growing taste for intellectual and material enjoyments which gave a great force of attraction to the towns.'

As in other advancing countries, the attraction of towns, and the facilities for obtaining employment in them, operate also in Norway, to the disadvantage of the yeomen farmers of the present day. Among the causes of the economic decline of the Province of North Bergen, the Prefect mentions that

* At the end of 1882, the total population was estimated at 1,922,500, or a decrease of 3900 as compared with 1881, when the increase was only 1000 from the year preceding.

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'the disinclination of young men of the yeoman farmer class to take permanent service is very general in this district, and is easily explained by the ease with which men in the prime of their strength obtain occupation as labourers in the fisheries. The great bulk of the day labourers do not seek with any great eagerness for work in the fields, so long as they hold previously acquired means sufficient to provide them with the necessaries of life, however scantily. As a rule, so long as want does not look in at the window, they will not engage themselves for such work, except at very good wages. The wages for a yearly labourer have doubled during the last twenty years.* At the same time the houseman has lost the command he previously had over his workmen, and consequently does not get the same amount of work out of them as formerly. Fishing attracts labour by a larger immediate return, acquired with less bodily exertion than in husbandry. It gives the population less taste for harder work.'

We leave Mr. Laing in doubt whether the steam-engine could 'ever be brought to perfection.' That doubt was speedily removed, and in 1852 Norway followed in the wake of other European nations by building railways, their total length in 1883 having reached very little short of a thousand English miles. Nor did their construction, with capital raised chiefly abroad and punctually repaid, arrest the improvement or the laying-down of ordinary roads, to the extent of 4000 miles, between 1845 and 1875. In addition to this extensive opening-out of communications by rail and road, the introduction of steamers on inland waters and their employment as coasters and sea-going vessels, the construction of telegraphs, the development of fisheries, of ship-building, of banking and other companies, and generally of trade and industry, produced gradually a wide disturbance in the social economy found by Mr. Laing. The expansion and prosperity of the towns, as well as the more refined habits of life adopted by the clergy and the officials of Government, were viewed by the yeomen farmers with a jealousy that was undoubtedly the original cause of their present radical proclivities, the old conservatism being relegated to towns, contrary to the experience of other European countries, and particularly to that of Great Britain, until the metaphorical three acres and a cow were dangled before the eyes of its rural population.

Under all these influences, and we may include among them the effect of a constantly-increasing number of travellers, equipped with the modern appliances of civilization, and

* In 1880, the average rate of wages for labourers engaged by the year in agricultural districts was 8*l.* 10*s.* per annum, and that of daily labour, without food, 1*s.* 9*d.* per diem; the corresponding rates in towns having been 11*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* and 2*s.*

demanding

demanding accommodation and other material comforts of a more and more superior character, the Robinson Crusoe existence of the yeoman farmer, as depicted by Mr. Laing, has suffered so much invasion that it has wellnigh disappeared.

In the matter of clothing, an assimilation to general, central European dress has for years past been noticeable even in districts the most remote, to the prejudice of home-spinning and weaving. Ancient silver ornaments have been largely discarded by the women, and converted, first into money, and eventually into articles of modern use or embellishment, to an extent that now renders travellers more and more suspicious of the Brummagem origin of the objects that remain for sale. And it is the same with old furniture and with the multifarious knicknacks which travellers less recent delighted to find in the country at reasonable prices.

The value of money has become more generally appreciated since Mr. Laing admired the absence of all incentive to 'money-making and money-losing,' and the previously unambitious character of the yeoman and his sons has undergone a tolerably complete change since education has opened out the widest avenues to personal advancement, even from the plough. They no longer live by bread alone, and therefore their artificial wants have been increasing at a greater ratio than their means of satisfying them out of the produce of the land. Without entering here upon the important effect of the corn supplies from America, and of the depreciation of the value of Norwegian timber, owing to the increased competition of America and other countries, we may sum up this imperfect prefatory sketch by stating that, from a general point of view, the Gamle Norge (Old Norway) of Mr. Laing's days has for many years been passing through a process of transformation, the latest results of which we shall now describe.*

Mr. Laing's contention, that when land is held in freehold, not as a rule in tenancy, the relative size or value of the estates into which the land is divided will remain the same at one period as at another, is entirely refuted by the official statistics of Norway. In the first place, the total number of proper-

* Our readers must, however, bear in mind that we are dealing only with the rural economy of Norway, and that the facts we shall submit on that subject affect but slightly the general financial condition of a country which continues to derive its earnings mainly from the supply of timber, fish, wood-pulp, ice, &c., to foreign countries, and from its extensive carrying trade in sailing vessels and steamers. The prosperity of the towns is influenced chiefly by the state of trade in the rest of Europe, while being (to the extent of 122 out of 128) situated on the seaboard, their successful development reacts but little on the prosperity of the inland agricultural districts.

ties,

ties, which was about 111,000 in 1838, had grown, in 1870, to 149,000 (34½ per cent.), and is still higher at the present day, with a continued tendency to multiplication by partition. Secondly, the proportion that existed in 1838 between the various sizes of agricultural holdings has undergone a notable change, marking a very considerable increase in the relative number of small plots.

As it was found practically impossible to estimate the value of landed property on the basis of its acreage (the physical conditions of the country giving such great variety to the value of estates), the 'Cadastre' introduced in 1836, established, for purposes of assessment, a classification based on 'skylddaler,' or taxable, value. This unit of taxation was assumed to represent a mean capital value of about 89*l.*, arrived at by estimating the net income derived at that period from the working of land during an average year.

The following statement exhibits the cadastral classification of properties,* and the changes that have occurred in the several groups between 1838 and 1870.

	1838.	1870.
Estates below 0·2 skylddaler in value	8,866	26,048
„ between 0·2 and 1 „	31,265	52,067
„ „ 1 „ 2 „	28,652	33,427
„ „ 2 „ 5 „	32,854	29,498
„ „ 5 „ 10 „	7,043	6,012
„ „ 10 „ 20 „	1,791	1,617
„ above 20 „	315	344
Total ..	110,786	149,013

It is thus evident that, even fifteen years ago, the increase in the total number of properties, as compared with the number in 1838, had affected only the three groups of smaller holdings, and particularly the group (below 0·2) which, according to Dr. Broch, 'includes the sites of houses and cottages owned by labourers, fishermen, seamen, and artizans, but estimated to yield an average of 5½ bushels of corn, 8 bushels of potatoes, and grass for half a cow.' The holdings more purely agricultural, and designated by the same authority as 'small properties,' are those comprised in the two next categories, namely, parcels of land over 0·2 and under 2 skylddaler in value. In 1870, we

* In the 'Tables of Landed Property,' published in 1880, the holdings (in 1865) are classified as follows:—

Properties under 5 acres	34,224	or 25·5 per cent.
„ between 5 and 12½ acres	42,984	„ 32·1 „
„ „ 12½ and 50 „	48,575	„ 36·2 „
„ above 50 acres	8,208	„ 6·2 „

find

find that a little more than one-half of the landed properties in Norway and one-third of the total cadastral area, were included in those two groups. The average yield of those small properties is estimated by Dr. Broch at '55 bushels (20 hectol) of cereals, and 82½ bushels (30 hectol) of potatoes, with fodder for four cows, seven sheep or goats, and half a horse.' He states, nevertheless, that—

'without subsidiary means of existence, the most frugal families cannot subsist on them, even when free from debt and other incumbrances. There can be no question of employing hired labour on such farms, although a domestic servant is sometimes kept. The owners or tenants of such small properties seek their principal means of existence in fishing, forest work, and a variety of other occupations.'

The group of properties more particularly admired by Mr. Laing is that which is officially classed under 'Properties of medium size,' ranging between two and ten skylddaler in cadastral value. They represented in 1870 only 24 per cent. of the total number of properties, but 59 per cent. of the cadastral area of Norway. These are the farms which can, on an average, feed fifteen head of cattle, thirty or forty sheep or goats, and a couple of pigs, and yield 30 imperial quarters of cereals, 40 imperial quarters of potatoes, and fodder for a couple of horses.

'Agriculture on these properties,' continues Dr. Broch, 'is not only the most important means of existence, but also in many cases the only resource. *They suffice for a family of simple habits, provided the proprietor is not crippled with debt, that he has not to pay too heavy "föderåd"* (annuities, incumbrances) *and on condition that he lives as a peasant, assisting personally in the work of the farm.*' *

Estates of an assessed value of more than ten 'skylddaler' are designated as 'Large Properties.' They cover 13·4 per cent. of the total cadastral area, but represent only 1·3 per cent. of the total number of properties; and it is exclusively these that afford, according to Dr. Broch, 'easy circumstances to their possessors, who are not infrequently ship-owners, forest-owners, engaged in the fishery-trade,' &c.

* The italics are our own. The author states that it is the custom among the peasants of Norway that when the eldest son, or the daughter of the house (when there is no son), marries, the parents surrender the property, but retain a right of subsistence upon it. This, he shows, explains the existence of the large number of detached dwellings on the same estate, for very often cottages have to be built for the accommodation of persons who have a right to subsistence, which is not, however, limited to a dwelling-house, but frequently includes the usufruct of a small plot of land and, almost always, fodder for a certain number of cows and goats. See also p. 386.

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It is thus manifest that, in 1878, when Dr. Broch drew up his Report for the Universal Exhibition at Paris, the diffusion of property in Norway had left only about 25 per cent. of the yeomen farmers (excluding the group of 'Large Properties') capable of maintaining themselves and their families on their freeholds on conditions which, as we shall presently show, no longer exist, and that the great bulk of the landed proprietors were in occupation of such small patches of land that their subsistence was entirely dependent upon other employments. This view is very fully borne out by the 'Reports of the Norwegian Prefects for the Quinquennial Period 1876–80.' Their observations on the growing subdivision of land as one of the causes by which the agricultural economy has been disturbed, to its great disadvantage, are well worth attention.

An increasing subdivision of land is reported from the provinces of North Bergen, Romsdal, South Trondhjem, and Tromsö. The Prefect of North Bergen points to it as one of the reasons of the unfavourable condition of the province:—

'It may,' he writes, 'with just cause be said to exist when the properties parcelled out are insufficient for the maintenance of a family, and when the farms are situated in a locality which does not afford the opportunity of some kind of subsidiary employment, or if the proprietor of such a small holding cannot attach himself to another man as a labourer for hire. When utilised, however, by the inhabitants of the coast, such subdivision cannot be regarded as excessive, for the owners of the small patches are able to obtain for themselves and their families the necessaries of life by fishing. When, however, a landowner, on account of the insignificant extent or the small productiveness of his farm, finds himself unable to subsist without seeking the wages of a labourer, his position is not better, or but little better, than that of the cotter (Husmand) alongside of him, notwithstanding that the latter is not owner of the land he cultivates. It is a matter of course that such farmers will be destitute of economic power, and unable to give to the communal or the provincial exchequer any visible contribution towards the funds that have to be raised in order to meet the public expenditure. The existence of such small proprietors is not, on the whole, desirable.'

In the province of South Trondhjem the great increase of the indebtedness of the land-owners is ascribed in part to the subdivision of property by the creation of *Myrmænd*, literally 'bogmen' (bog-trotters?), or men supplied gratuitously, in recent times, with small plots of waste land, for the purpose of qualifying them as voters. Subdivision has likewise resulted from the partition of holdings in common, which, according to Dr. Broch, formed, in 1870, 13·4 per cent. of all the properties in Norway; principally in the Western Provinces, from the Naze to the Fiord of

of Trondhjem, where they constituted at that period, on the average, as much as 30 per cent. of the landed property. Under a law passed in 1857, those lands are now divisible or exchangeable, and it appears from the Reports of the Prefects that the demands in that direction cannot be satisfied by the Government officials with sufficient promptness. In the province of South Trondhjem, for instance, about 40 per cent. of the properties were still held in common in 1875, but between 1876 and 1880 the partition of such lands was advancing 'at the rate of about twenty farms per annum.'

The Prefect of Romsdal enumerates the causes of an increasing subdivision of landed property as follows: 1. The clearing of land for fields and meadows with the view of affording support to more families than one. 2. The desire of a proprietor to let more of his children than the nearest *Odelsberretige* * come into the possession of his estate. 3. In the case of an indebted proprietor, the necessity of parting with a portion of his land in order to get clear of his creditors; and 4. The desire on the part of persons who have no real property to come into the possession of land, especially tenants and cotters. The yeomen farmers themselves, he reports:

'bring forward as a substantial reason for the increasing subdivision of land the fact that, owing to the growing difficulty of obtaining labourers, *it does not pay to remain in possession of a larger estate than can be worked by the family itself.*'

Consequently, the number of holdings was increased in that province by nearly 10 per cent. between 1876 and 1880. A corroboration of this view is to be found in other Reports, particularly in the Report from the Province of North Trondhjem, in which the yeomen farmers are declared to be compelled to 'cultivate the land with the resources of their own households.' The effect of the conversion of cotters into small proprietors may be estimated from the following opinion of another Prefect: 'The burden of bad times is often felt more heavily by the proprietor than by the cotter;' and all the Reports show that 'the times' are as bad in Norway as they are in the United Kingdom, with this aggravation, that 70 to 80 per cent. of the population of Norway is settled on the land, and steeped in debt.

Most of the Prefects report unfavourably on the condition and prospects of agriculture, and on the depressing influence of American competition in corn, which began to make itself

* The eldest of kin having allodial right.

distinctly

distinctly felt about the year 1875,* when also the forest industry, so intimately connected with agriculture, first encountered the effects of a greatly increased shipment of timber from America and other countries to Europe. But these are not the only reasons, over and above the subdivision of property already dwelt upon, to which they ascribe a very general decline in the economic condition of the yeoman farmer. In one province, 'habits of thrift and providence had been weakened and replaced by new habits of life, with greater demands for comforts and enjoyments.' High prices previously realized for timber had caused 'luxury to enter into all the circumstances of life, stimulating in many quarters a reckless waste of money earned.' In another, 'the demand for comforts of life has risen, and it is not all that have found it easy to limit the satisfaction of their wants,' and 'more has been consumed than means allowed.' The female part, more particularly, of the population of North Bergen, is reproached with an inability to withstand the temptation of buying the wares of all kinds, 'neither useful nor necessary,' which the present great number of country storekeepers insidiously place before their eyes. 'The improved mode of living introduced during a previous, flourishing period, has also contributed to ruin the economic condition of the people, who in the harder times that have succeeded have not known how to cut their coats according to their cloth.' At the same time, the Prefect adds, 'the mode of living, taking the rural population as a whole, is very frugal; yes, far too frugal. It is very desirable that they should have more substantial food than they have at present, but they must first have the means to obtain it.' Even so far north as the Provinces of Nordland and Tromsö, a similar tendency to live beyond means, the absence of good economy, and the dissipation of money 'on no particular system,' are reported to be the present characteristics of the people who are largely engaged in the fisheries.

No one who has travelled in Norway can fail to endorse the assertion, that the fare of the yeoman farmer, however many may be his cows, is of a character which no English agricultural labourer would be satisfied with. Oatmeal cake, potatoes, porridge, butter and milk, and of late years American pork (when within reach of the yeoman's means) are the principal articles of food; and the hardiest traveller, whether native or alien, would not venture to leave the main arteries of communication without making his own provision of potted meats, or trusting

* Between 1871 and 1875 Norway imported about 46 per cent. of the cereals required for home consumption, in addition to pork, butter, and other articles of food.

for

for his sustenance to the fish and game to be killed by himself. Mr. Laing's 'salted meat and black-puddings' are certainly not to be found, except at farms that are few and far between. On the high roads, where tourists' gold circulates, the traveller suffers no deprivation, and the houses and stations are so comfortable and well-appointed, that only the most exacting foreigner can find fault with the accommodation provided. Mr. Laing's observations in this respect apply at present only to establishments of this kind, and to the very few farms at which the servants are still 'called to and from their work by means of a bell.'

Except, therefore, along the course of the tourists' gold stream, and in the vicinity of towns, the mode of living is rude in the extreme, and the lament of the Prefect of North Bergen is in reality applicable to the great bulk of the yeomen farmers of Norway, as well as to their tenants and cotters. Nor is there any trace of that equality in the mode of living which Mr. Laing found in existence among the several classes of the rural population—'the public functionary, the clergyman, the gentleman of larger property, and the *Bonde* or peasant.' Refinement and culture, equal to what exists amongst corresponding classes of this country, are wanting only to the yeomen farmers; and their efforts to adopt a 'higher standard of living,' and to acquire the 'comforts of life,' have in no small degree conduced to the encumbrance of their estates. From the Reports of the Prefects it is evident that the gravest symptom of the decline of the rural economy in Norway, and, at the same time, one of its principal causes, is the heavy indebtedness of the yeomen farmers, great and small. Its origin is traceable to the year 1816, when the Bank of Norway was founded, chiefly for the purpose of 'advancing on its own notes, upon first securities over land, any sum not exceeding two-thirds of the value of the property' mortgaged to it. Mr. Laing alludes to it as 'the peculiar, and for the wants of the country, well-imagined, Bank of Norway,' which 'facilitates greatly the family arrangements with regard to land.' Its capital was originally raised by a forced loan or tax upon all landed property, and the landholders became shareholders according to the amount of their respective shares. The borrower repaid half-yearly to the Bank the interest of the sum that might be to his debit at the rate of 4 per cent. per annum, and was also bound to pay off 5 per cent. yearly of the principal, which was thus liquidated in twenty years. Although Mr. Laing was of opinion that 'a circulation of paper money on such a basis is evidently next, in point of security, to that of the precious metals,' he fails to mention that the Bank was forced to suspend

suspend specie payments three years after its establishment, and that the resumption of those payments was not commenced until 1823, when the notes of the Bank began to be convertible at little over half their original value; the operation of raising them to par, on a graduated scale, having been completed only in 1842, a period since which the Bank, with an increased Reserve Fund, has maintained an uninterrupted and unimpeachable stability. But while the Bank still advances money on the security of landed property, two-thirds of its resources are now employed in the discount of mercantile bills. At the end of 1883, its loans to the landed proprietors amounted only to 626,000*l.*

In 1852, however, the State had come again to the assistance of the landowners for the extinction of private mortgages and the consolidation of old debts by the creation of a special 'State Mortgage Bank,' with an original capital of 291,000*l.*, increased by successive issues of bonds representing advances on the security of real property, bearing interest at the rate of 4 per cent. (at present 4½ per cent.), and repayable by drawings over a period of thirty years. The amount of the bonds issued up to 1884 was about 3,812,000*l.*, and in 1878 about three-quarters of the bonds were held in the country itself, their market value being still almost at par.

It is principally into this Bank that the yeomen farmers have been dipping their estates at a rapidly increasing rate. Thus, while the loans on the security of real property in rural districts averaged 57,500*l.* per annum between 1853 and 1855, and 220,600*l.* between 1876 and 1880, the advances made in 1883 amounted to 396,500*l.* At the end of that year the balance of outstanding loans had reached the sum of 3,752,000*l.*, of which about 77 per cent., or 2,889,000*l.*, represented advances in rural districts, the remaining 23 per cent. having been borrowed in towns. The interest payable on those loans is respectively 4¼ and 4¾ per cent., according to whether the borrowers have been supplied with bonds bearing interest at the rate of 4 or 4½ per cent. per annum; and 3 per cent. of the capital is repayable per annum until the extinction of the debt over a period of thirty years.

There is a third public source available to the landed proprietors for loans on mortgages and on bonds or bills, namely the Savings Banks. In 1884, the savings-banks, in rural districts alone, held in 'mortgage bonds' and in 'bonds and bills' a sum of about 3,553,000*l.*; but in what proportion that debt was incurred by local traders and by farmers, it is impossible to say. It is, however, clear that the yeomen farmers have benefited largely

largely by the deposits made in those banks by the comparatively few who have been able to accumulate, instead of borrowing, money. Thus, the Prefect of Hedemarken reports that, 'while large amounts, realized by the sale of timber, were deposited in the savings-banks, extensive loans were made by those establishments to persons in less favourable circumstances,' and that 'the savings-banks, to be found in so many parishes, have, by the easy access they afford to loans, beguiled many into a needless borrowing of money, subsequently squandered.'

Over and above these facilities for borrowing money from public institutions, the yeomen farmers are undoubtedly heavily in debt to local storekeepers, and to merchants and traders in the towns. In fact the great bulk of the landed proprietors have been borrowing in every direction as much as they could raise by mortgage or by bill. Owing to the excellent system of registration that exists in Norway, there is no difficulty in ascertaining the extent to which the charges on real property in rural districts have increased between the years 1876 and 1880. It appears from the Reports of the Prefects that, between those dates, the balance of mortgages newly effected over those extinguished in rural districts amounted to a sum of about four millions sterling. The State Mortgage Bank is bound not to advance more than six-tenths of the value of land and buildings (forests excepted), and it is supposed that the loans have so far not exceeded four-tenths of the value of mortgaged property; but as the yeomen farmers generally contrive to borrow on second mortgages, it may safely be assumed, that their estates are charged with interest at $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 per cent. on a considerable part of the nominal value of what is not purely forest land, in addition to an annual repayment of 3 per cent. of the capital borrowed from the State Mortgage Bank. The forests, on the other hand, have been largely used up in paying the interest and capital on those loans, either by cutting them down, or by leasing or pawning them to traders, or to yeomen who have been able to keep their heads above water and to profit by the economic distress of the great majority of their fellow-landowners. The difficulty experienced by that majority in meeting the payment of interest and capital, especially at a time when the value of agricultural produce has been considerably diminished by American competition, and when also the competition of American and Baltic timber has simultaneously reduced the profits of the forest industry to a point that hardly repays the felling of trees, is clearly shown from the statistics of forced sales, of auctions and of distraints in the rural districts, and from an accompanying increase in the number of lawsuits before Courts of

of First Instance. It appears from the Reports of the Prefects that the sales of real property for debt have increased in every Province between the two periods 1871–1875 and 1876–1880 to an extent that ranges from 30 per cent. to 600 per cent., the greatest increase having taken place in the Provinces of Kristiansamt (600 per cent.), Nordland, Nedenæs, Buskerud, Hedemarken and Akershus, where it ranged between 600 per cent. and 146 per cent. From another official source we obtain the following statement:—

	1876–1880. Number.	Amount.
1. Compulsory sales of real property in rural districts.	2513	563,000*l.* averaging 224*l.* per sale.
2. Do. of personal property	5136	134,000*l.* ditto 26*l.* per sale.
3. Distraints for arrears of taxes, &c.	—	1,089,000*l.*

But since real property is of comparatively low value in Norway, and personal property limited mostly to the veriest necessities of life, it is not so much the total of the amounts realized by forced sales, or the sums for which 'executions' and 'distraints' were effected, that give the measure of the depressed condition of the yeomen farmers, as the great and steady increase that took place between 1876 and 1880 in the number of those operations. Thus, while the number of forced sales of real property in towns, as well as in rural districts, was 424 in 1876, it had grown to 1378 in 1880. It is therefore not surprising to find in the Reports of the Prefects from which we have so largely drawn our figures that 'the means of meeting liabilities and of paying taxes at the proper time have grown more feeble, and recourse to legal enforcement of pecuniary claims has consequently become more frequent.' 'The condition of this Province' (Kristiansamt) 'is all the worse from a pretty widespread misuse of credit during the previous period' (1871–75). In another province (N. Bergen) we find that the depression in 1879 and 1880 'compelled those who had claims to enforce them rigorously. Mortgages, distraints, sales, &c., have therefore increased, and there has been an exceptionally large number of suits before the Courts of Mutual Agreement.' 'The value of agricultural produce has fallen, owing to a great extent to a scarcity of money and to great competition from a desire to convert as much produce as possible into money.' In the northern province of Tromsö 'merchants have suffered from the impoverishment of their customers' (mostly fishermen as well as landowners), 'and have caused them to be made bankrupts.

rupts. Credit has been misused on a large scale. Its facility induces the population to live beyond its means. It also encourages traders to set up in business and get customers with ease, without having capital or means of their own. The one misuse reacts on the other. All products are sunk considerably in value, and this fall is even greater in the case of real estate.'

The latter statement is not generally applicable to the remaining provinces, for we find that while the average value of the 'skylddaler,' or unit of assessment, was 153*l.*,* according to prices paid for land in 1871–1875, it had risen to about 180*l.* in 1876–1880, thus confuting Mr. Laing's theory, that the peculiar succession of property would tend to keep land at a low value. It would not, however, be right to conclude from these figures that landed property has, on the whole, increased of late years in value, despite the general indebtedness of its owners. Land in the vicinity of towns and railways must naturally become more and more valuable, and the relatively much higher prices paid for such land have no doubt had the effect of raising the total average deduced from sales of every description of landed property. It may also be assumed that the demand for land is artificially increased by the facility with which it may be purchased, since at least one-half of the purchase money generally remains on mortgage, in addition to other encumbrances. At the same time, the financial institutions, to which so large a proportion of the real property in Norway is mortgaged, are interested in maintaining its value, and attain their object by abstaining from offering at any one period too many defaulting properties for sale; and it may also be suspected that the statistics of forced sales represent only cases in which no compromise could be effected, or in which it was expedient or possible to have recourse to the ultimate means of recovery without sensibly deteriorating locally the value of landed property. Cases are, in fact, not infrequent in which the mortgagees find themselves compelled to retain the property of the defaulter, and either to place it in the hands of caretakers, with the hope of future realization on more favourable terms, or to sell it in small lots as opportunity occurs. In any case, the full and exact effect of the pawning of all the landed property of the country at a time when its agriculture has to compete with American cereals, its timber industry with supplies from America and the Baltic, and its wooden ships with iron steamers

* From statistics recently published, it appears that between 1881 and 1883 the price of land, estimated on actual sales, has shown a tendency to rise in the Provinces which have a coast line, populated by fishermen, &c., and to fall in most of the inland, more purely agricultural districts.

transporting

transporting cargoes at an almost nominal freight, is not yet to be found in statistical records.

The indisputable fact remains that, notwithstanding the existence of a system of land tenure which, according to Mr. Laing, was so perfect between 1834 and 1836 as to render its adoption in this country, and especially in Ireland, highly desirable, the yeomen farmers of Norway—framers of their own laws and absolute masters of their own destinies—are not only at present suffering from the commercial and agricultural depression that obtains in other countries of Europe, in which the social state is more or less differently constituted, but also find themselves, in face of that depression, with exceptionally heavy burdens on their backs in the form of pecuniary indebtedness at a rate of interest which mere agriculture, under the most favourable circumstances, cannot possibly afford to pay.

This heavy indebtedness has not, as a rule, been incurred for productive purposes, such as drainage, improved methods of agriculture, the increase of stock, &c.; and although the use of simple agricultural machinery is somewhat on the increase in Norway, yet agriculture remains very much in the same primitive condition in which it was found by Mr. Laing.* The Prefects attribute this backwardness to want of skill on the part of the proprietors (Romsdal), to the poverty of the soil, to the dearness of agricultural labour, and generally to the unremunerative results of husbandry since the depreciation of the value of its products. In a letter addressed last year to the 'Morgenblad,' the leading Journal at Christiania, by a native authority on the subject of agriculture, it is urged that the landed proprietors of Norway have 'for some years past been going down hill;' the hopes of improving the condition of agriculture, entertained about thirty years ago, when efforts were first commenced in that direction, being now entirely dissipated.

'It is painful,' he says, 'to see how the forests are decreasing and how land once under cultivation is lying unused. When asked the reason, the proprietors reply that the prices of corn and other agricultural products are so low and the wages of labour so high, owing to emigration, that they have not the means to cultivate a large portion of the land, and could derive no advantage from it even if the means were available.'

The yeomen farmers, being therefore in a distressed condi-

* Dr. Broch shows that in 1875, which was an average year for crops, the production of cereals and potatoes (reduced to the value of barley) was 3125 hectol. per 1000 inhabitants in Norway; whereas the average crops in France yielded 7400 hectol. per 1000 of the population.

tion, and their children and best hands forced to leave their homes in order to cultivate the fruitful soil of America, to the growing detriment of those who remain to till the soil of Norway—those farmers, he points out with great force of argument, must have the same protection which is accorded to the industrial classes, if agriculture is to be saved from final ruin. In fact, this remarkable letter points to an agitation in favour of the imposition of a 'fiscal duty,' * on corn, food of all kind, cattle, dairy produce, &c.; and supports this conclusion with the argument used by Prince Bismarck on the second reading of his recent Corn Duties Bill:

'The trade of the Baltic will suffer nothing from protective duties. As regards agriculture, I am opposed to all legislation against the subdivision of land . . . but if you want to have small occupiers of land, you must vote for duties on corn.'

Account must at the same time be taken of the heavy and increasing charges that fall on landed property for the administration of rural districts in Norway. While the inhabitants of the rural communities contribute towards the support of the Central Administration only in the form of Customs and Excise duties, stamps, succession duties, and contributions towards the construction of highways, the burthen of local administration, justice, police, prisons, the Church, public instruction, poor relief, sanitary service, parochial roads, posting stations, interest on communal loans, &c., falls on their landed property. This self-assessed and self-imposed burthen has naturally been growing more heavy, from year to year, under the exigencies of modern progress. Thus, while the total communal expenditure in 1853 was 167,000*l.*, it had risen to 497,000*l.* in 1880, or 197½ per cent. About one half of the requisite resources is derived from a tax on the cadastral value of real property; the remaining half is raised by a tax on capital and income. In 1880 the communal impositions on land represented a taxation of about 6*s.* 7*d.* per head of the rural population. That the whole of the communal expenditure is not covered by taxation is apparent from the fact, that in the same year the rural districts had increased the amount of their total debts to about half a million sterling, from 312,000*l.* in 1874.

In this respect it is certainly significant to discover that Poor Relief, organized by a law passed in 1863, is the largest item of communal expenditure, being indeed very little less than half of the total annual liabilities of the rural districts, in a country

* In 1884 a motion to that effect was made in the Swedish Rigsdag by a peasant proprietor. At present the duty on cereals imported into Norway is merely nominal, averaging about 2¼ per cent. *ad valorem*.

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in which, in the halcyon days of Mr. Laing, only the infirm were supported for a few days at a time by the yeomen farmers. He appears to have attributed this to the absence of collieries, the introduction of coal as fuel having, he argues, been coëval in England with the imposition of a rate for the poor, deprived by that industry of the work of chopping up firewood which gave so much employment to idle hands in Norway. However that might be, in 1880 and 1881 the number of persons in receipt of relief or maintained in hospital, at the charge of rural communities alone, was respectively 109,688 and about 114,000, or in both years a little over 7 per cent. of the total rural population. Inclusive of urban districts the same totals amounted in those years to 81 and 83 per 1000, or above 8 per cent. of the population of the kingdom, the cost of support having been about 3*s.* 10*d.* per head of the entire population, which contributed 2*s.* 9*d.* per head in special taxation for that object, and the balance in an indirect manner, apparently by housing paupers, &c.

These paupers include cotters and labourers, as well as the ruined among the smaller yeomen. Farmers who had previously been able to employ labour, 'no longer find their advantage in it,' and consequently—

'even able-bodied workmen (in Hedemarken) were compelled to seek relief from the Poor Fund when their families were large. The smaller farmers and the labourers are in the worst plight, since the falling off in the timber trade has made them feel the want of the usual steady demand for labour at high wages.' Further: 'it has become very difficult for the least affluent and for labourers to gain a livelihood in the prevailing money and timber crisis . . . The depression must for a long time be felt by many.'

We need only point out that, in the United Kingdom, the percentage of persons in receipt of relief during the year 1881 was 3 per cent in England and Wales, 2·6 per cent. in Scotland, and 11 per cent in Ireland,* involving an expenditure at the rate respectively of 6*s.* 3*d.*, 4*s.* 6*d.*, and 3*s.* 9*d.* per head of population. Obviously, the relatively greater cost of relieving the poor in Great Britain is due to the more expensive character of the support afforded, and to the very heavy sums paid for salaries and other establishment charges; but it is unquestionably a damaging fact against the system of land tenure in Norway, that the pauperism by which it is in the present day accompanied, with a strong tendency to increase, is equalled only by the state

* From special causes, the number of persons relieved in 1881 and 1882 was exceptionally high in Ireland. In 1879 it was 7½ per cent., and in 1883 about 8 per cent. of the population.

of things in Ireland, which certain legislators now desire to remedy by the creation of peasant proprietors.

The relative state of matters in Great Britain and in Norway has therefore greatly changed since Mr. Laing wrote:

'The distribution of the wealth and employment of a country has much more to do, than the amount, with the well-being and condition of the people. The wealth and employment of the British nation far exceed those of any other nation; yet in no country is so large a proportion of the inhabitants sunk in pauperism and wretchedness.'

An increasing rate of pauperism is one of the symptoms of agricultural distress in Norway, but the strong tide of emigration from rural and urban districts marks with equal force the depression and congestion from which the country is suffering in the same degree as the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Aided by improved and cheapened means of transport, the number of emigrants from Norway ranged between 20,212 in 1880 and 22,167 in 1883, giving an average of 1·3 to 1·5 per cent. of the total population, the contingent of the rural districts being about 70 per cent. of the total number. As in the case of pauperism, the corresponding rate of emigration from Ireland, namely 1·5 per cent., exhibits a remarkable similarity, and affords another convincing proof that peasant proprietorship is no *panacea* for rustic indigence.

Those who have not studied the present economic condition of the yeoman farmer and agricultural labourer in Norway, or who have not taken into consideration the change that has come over the entire country, and the ambition, as distinguished from previous apathy, which education and communication with an outer world, no longer closed to them, has awakened among the classes with which we are dealing, are inclined to attribute a good part of this emigrating tendency to the influence and the material assistance of those who have gone before. Indisputably, the Norwegian emigrant, by his persevering labour and steady conduct, rarely fails to succeed in Wisconsin and other States, in which he is always a welcome settler; and consequently he soon finds himself able to transmit money for the purpose of enabling his brothers and sisters, and not seldom his father and mother, to join him. No State or other aid is afforded for such purposes to Norwegians, although it is occasionally the case, that the hard cash with which the emigrant leaves his home is derived from the proceeds of a loan raised by the head of his family for the purpose of buying out co-heirs under the *Odels ret*, adding thereby, as we have already shown, to the indebtedness with which the land is burdened. Others, also, maintain that many young men emigrate from Norway

Norway in order to avoid military conscription, which, although milder there in its demands than in most other European countries where that system exists, undoubtedly diminishes the quantity and deteriorates the quality of agricultural labour. The strongest incentive to emigration, however, is the desire to escape from the misery and penury which accompany in Norway, as in every other part of Europe, the condition of a small landowner, cotter, or labourer who is unable to find regular employment on adjoining estates that can be kept going, if nothing more, with the aid of scientific knowledge, machinery and capital.

There is, however, yet another proof of the prevalent material *malaise* in Norway, particularly among its rural classes, and strangely enough it bears the same character as that which has brought the 'three acres and a cow' and Irish land bills, past and expected, into such prominent relief in our country of lacklands, namely political agitation. Whatever may be its merits or demerits on this side of the North Sea, our readers will scarcely be prepared to learn that a corresponding ferment has been engendered of late years on the opposite shores. We are told this by the Prefect of South Trondhjem, one of the most important provinces of a country where, in the days of Mr. Laing, there was a dead-level of contentment, where the widest form of home-rule has been in operation since the early part of the present century, and where the Crown Administration has all that time been more pure, blameless and efficient than in any other country on the Continent of Europe. His significant words are:

'As everywhere else in Norway, particularly in rural districts, politicians (*i.e. agitators*) are here taking more and more hold over the minds of the people. Political unrest increases, and immature and extreme opinions are being advanced more than is desirable. The quiet, temperate, but progressive development to which Norway had previously been accustomed, and with which the great bulk of the nation had been well content, is in danger of being replaced by a progress in fits and starts, accompanied by leaps in the dark.'

No less painful and suggestive is it to find, in the Report from the Prefect of Hedemarken, that 'the Christian earnestness of the people has suffered under the influence of the many misleading writings and tendencies which have in recent times found their way into every stratum of society.' As at home, so in Norway, the question of Church Disestablishment, with all its consequences, is approaching within measurable distance of practical solution.*

* Hereditary nobility is already abolished. Under a law passed in 1821, all titles of nobility become extinct in the persons of those who were born before 1822.

Supported

Supported by official publications, we have now described the present condition of the yeomen farmers of Norway, and from the facts and figures we have marshalled, the following replies may confidently be given to the Socialistic theories and conclusions of Mr. Laing:

1. Notwithstanding, or rather in part owing to, the existence of the Allodial Right [which has proved in its results to be an exaggerated form of primogeniture involving a greater multiplication of encumbrances even than exists under the system of land-tenure in the United Kingdom], an excessive subdivision of the land has occurred and is still proceeding in Norway, to the prejudice of estates which in 1836, and even later, afforded moderate ease and contentment to their owners, and relatively well-remunerated labour to the workman and the cotter.

2. The dead-level of comfortable subsistence, attributed by Mr. Laing to the parcelling-out of land into small estates, has been converted, by the influence of irresistible economic laws, into one of general distress and discontent among the rural classes.

3. The rates of pauperism and emigration prove that the agrarian population has not, as prophesied by Mr. Laing, kept 'within the bounds of possible modern existence.'

4. The taxation of landed property, for local purposes, has greatly increased, particularly under the head of Poor Relief; and

5. The distressed condition of the yeoman farmer in Norway is strongly attested by his heavy and growing indebtedness. He may now, in fact, be classed with the proverbially derided Fife laird, owning 'A wee bit of land, a great lump of debt, and a dookit.'*

Such being the result of our enquiries into the economic condition of the great bulk of the yeomen farmers of Norway, the ideal fabric reared by Mr. Laing at a time when the Norse old-world was still asleep, falls utterly to the ground, and there remains but one of his statements that we can with any advantage submit to the earnest attention of our readers, namely, that '*A single fact brought home from such a country is worth a volume of speculations.*' We go further and say, that facts in relation to the question of land tenure collected in any other part of Europe are of equally inestimable value; and they have already been supplied in great abundance from Belgium, France, Germany, Italy and Switzerland.† Nothing can truly

* *I.e.* dovecot.

† Lady Verney's 'Cottier-owners, Little Takes and Peasant Proprietors,' published last year, is replete with facts drawn from actual life, showing that small peasant-proprietorship is proving ruinous on the Continent, even where the system has grown up naturally.

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be more fatal to the successful solution of such intricate problems than the relief of the agricultural distress of England and Scotland, or the satisfaction of the alleged earth-hunger of the Celtic population of Ireland, than to initiate legislation on the hypothesis that circumstances alter cases, and that our own country can with impunity be withdrawn from the operation of economic laws that have asserted their supremacy throughout the entire Continent of Europe.

As history repeats itself, so are the laws of civilized development both general and inexorable. Even in the extreme case of Russia, it has been proved, in an article we published a few years ago,* that a heavy and ruinous price has been paid for the emancipation of the serfs on a Socialistic and partly Communistic basis, and on the erroneous assumption, that the continued existence of the 'Mir' (the ancient village community even of India) was an institution indigenous to the country itself, and therefore worthy of being perpetuated by legislation. Millions of a rural population, freed from personal servitude, were chained anew to the land by the indebtedness incurred in the expropriation of the lords of the soil. The allotments, averaging ten acres, parcelled out among them in 1861, were estimated to be sufficiently large and productive to provide not only for their support, but also, firstly, for the payment of the 'redemption dues' with which the allotted lands were charged for a limited period of years at an average rate of only 1*s.* 9*d.* per acre, and secondly, for the punctual payment of the moderate poll-tax, which the exigencies of the State required them to contribute. Those expectations began to vanish soon after they had been formed, and at the present time we see the previously rich agricultural plains of Russia, abandoned, as they almost wholly are, to the slovenly husbandry of a rude and greatly demoralized peasantry, deteriorating from year to year in the quality of their produce, and thereby opposing less and less impediment to the successful competition of other corn-growing countries.† The great fall that has taken place in the value of Russian cereals is apparent from the fact that, notwithstanding the depreciation of the paper currency of the country to the extent of about 25 per cent. since the serfs were emancipated (and nearly 37 per cent.

* In No. 302, April 1881.

† It is certainly remarkable to find that Australian tallow, Indian linseed, and German barley are being imported at St. Petersburg, whence those articles were, in the days of large landed properties, extensively exported. The Minister of Finance, following the example of Prince Bismarck, attempts to check this competition with the staple products of the small landed proprietors by imposing protective duties.

from

from the par value of the standard rouble), the corn-grower in Russia actually receives for his produce, in paper money, some 40 per cent. less than he obtained for it when the currency was less debased.

Despair, and the absence of that restraint which education, and the moral elevation inseparable from it, are establishing in other European countries, have driven the rural inhabitants of entire districts, and even provinces, into habits of drunkenness stronger and more general than those which existed before the autocratic creation of 'peasant proprietors' in Russia.

Among the earliest measures adopted in Russia during the present reign was that of a reduction and partial remission of the 'redemption dues,' which, on the 1st of January, 1885, represented the interest and sinking fund on nearly 113 millions sterling,* expended by the Government in the partial expropriation of the now ruined landlords of the country.†

During the year 1884, alone, those reductions and remissions inflicted a loss of 1,135,000*l.* ‡ on the Imperial Treasury. The most recent measure of alleviation has been the total abolition of the poll-tax § (to be completed by the end of the present year); and, consequently, the State-contribution of at least 85 per cent. of the population of Russia is being limited to the excise duty on drink, an item of revenue with which the Imperial Government cannot possibly dispense, since it brings in a sum more than adequate for the maintenance of the imposing military forces of the Empire.

Simultaneously, 'Peasant Land Banks' have been established by the State in order to facilitate the purchase of still more land by the ex-serfs. The Minister of Finance was authorized in 1882 to issue annually for that purpose a sum of 500,000*l.* in bonds, bearing 5½ per cent. interest. But, by the 1st of January, 1886, these banks had already advanced over three millions sterling to 785 Communes, 1576 'partnerships,' and 359 individual peasants, representing an aggregate number of

* Rs. 846,068,368, at the exchange of 32*d.*, current when the great bulk of the expropriations were effected.

† In the Provinces of Russia Proper alone, the landed proprietors (exclusive of the ex-serfs) have mortgaged their estates in various land and other banks to the extent of 30¾ per cent. of their aggregate acreage, the total remaining debt on such lands being about 49 millions sterling at the present reduced value of the rouble, or 65 millions sterling at the rate of exchange adopted in estimating the indebtedness of the peasantry.

‡ At the same rate of exchange.

§ This tax had previously given to the Imperial Treasury a sum of about 5½ millions sterling, at the depreciated rate of exchange. It was assessed at rates that varied in the different Provinces between 2*s.* 7*d.* and 4*s.* 4*d.* per head of the male registered population, or 'per soul.'

112,765 householders. On loans for 24½ years the interest and sinking fund, payable by the borrowers, amount to 8½ per cent., and on those for 34½ years, to 7½ per cent., the lands purchased by such means remaining inalienable until the extinction of the mortgages, except with the consent of the mortgagees, *i.e.* the banks. The effects of this new departure in the direction of providing small landed proprietors with State funds, will no doubt soon be apparent.

Whether, therefore, we examine the experience of a civilized, orderly, home-ruled country like Norway, with a steady, laborious, and, we may almost say, abstemious, population in many respects akin to our own, or that of a State still at an immensely distant stage of social development,—and under a very different form of Government,—the salient results of bolstering up, by means of State loans, or of artificially creating, equally at the cost of the State, a numerous body of small landed proprietors, have been strikingly identical in regard to the ultimate economic condition of the agrarian classes.

Insisting, as we do, on the strength of the facts we have adduced, that, in old Europe, the operation of economic laws affecting land tenure, admits of no exceptions or extenuating circumstances in favour of their violation, it appears impossible, without presumptuous sophistry or political dishonesty, to resist the conclusion, that the infringement of those laws in any part of the United Kingdom could only terminate, infallibly and speedily, in damage to the State, after ruin to the individual.

ART. V.—*A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, Esq.; Secretary, First to the Council of State, and afterwards to the Two Protectors, Oliver and Richard Cromwell.* In Seven Volumes, containing authentic Memorials of the English affairs from the year 1638 to the Restoration of King Charles II. Vol. III. London, 1742.

THE character of Oliver Cromwell might, for our part, have rested undisturbed among the 'old, unhappy, far off things' of history, had it been our intention to fight over again, on the old lines, the contention whether he was a hero or a knave. On the contrary, towards the solution of that question a method, as yet untried, has been adopted. Instead of attempting a review of Cromwell's whole career, to gain an idea of what manner of man he was, a single train of events, in which his hand was visible throughout, has been subjected to some degree of scrutiny. A man's words and deeds, although arising only on one occasion, may supply an effectual test of his real self. There could, for instance, be hardly any doubt regarding the leading bias of his disposition, if a supremely able ruler, that he may procure his safety, consents to—

> 'play one scene
> Of excellent dissembling, and let it look
> Like perfect honour.'

These lines disclose our case. With prescient genius Shakspeare has described the part that Cromwell took in an event which occurred under his Protectorate, the so-called Insurrection of March 1655; and in our examination into the secret history of that occurrence lies the test that we have applied to Cromwell's character.

The revelation that we are attempting is not, however, free from inherent difficulty. In these days of literature made easy, the products of close research are not readily acceptable. To open up a new vista in history, much has to be cut down, much put into new order; and the reader must unavoidably share in the labours of the writer. And though some curiosity may be aroused by the discovery of that which has remained hidden, for over two centuries; still, to gratify that curiosity, many an ingrained idea must be laid aside. Difficult as it may seem to many, Cromwell at the outset must be regarded not as 'our heroic One,' but as a man who sold himself to falsehood, that he might 'ride in gilt coaches, escorted by the flunkeyisms, and most sweet voices.' Nor to appreciate the secret of our character-test, can the assertion of any historian, from Clarendon down

down to Carlyle's last imitator, be credited, that 'a universal rising of Royalists combined with Anabaptists' broke out in March 1655. On the contrary, it must be accepted as a preliminary condition in this investigation that England was, at that time, in a state of immovable tranquillity, and that any insurrectionary movement during the year 1655 sprang from a far-reaching design, which Cromwell practised alike on friends, neutrals, and enemies.

That this was the case has hitherto escaped notice. Every historian, who has taken part in the Cromwelliad, regards that revolt as 'a very tragic reality;' they all agree, that it was 'prevented from breaking into a dangerous flame by vigilance, prompt action, and by necessary severity.' That this event might be regarded in a very different light was an idea far from every one of them. Proof, however, goes before disproof. The historians should have their say first; and our readers must endure, for a few moments, what may be termed the received version of the Insurrection of March 1655.

According to Godwin, 'A general rising was meditated about the beginning of March 1655, by the Royalist party in various parts of England,—Yorkshire, Shropshire, Nottinghamshire, Devon and Wilts,' and also in North Wales. 'Wilmot, about this time created Earl of Rochester, came over to England' to head the enterprise, 'accompanied by Sir J. Wagstaff. Charles II., who had spent the winter at Cologne, now came privately to Middleburg in Holland, that he might be ready to pass over to England, if the condition of affairs authorized such a measure. The activity of Cromwell and his assistants speedily defeated these multiplied intrigues. It does not appear that hostilities anywhere were actually commenced, except in Yorkshire and the West of England.'

As historians persist that on Marston Moor, the scene of the 'hostilities' in Yorkshire, an actual affray occurred,—Carlyle throws in 'a few shots fired';—we must turn to the 'Perfect Proceedings' News Letter, of March 1655, for a truer description of that event:—

'York. The 8th of March instant, there was a meeting appointed by the Malignants in Yorkshire to surprise York City. To that end a party was to come on the west side of the City, where Sir Richard Malliverer, with divers others, was on their March. About 100 horse came with a cart load of arms and ammunition to Hessey (i.e. Marston) Moor. And at the wynd-mill upon the Moor there came some intelligence, that a party, that sh^d^ have come on the other side of the City, was not ready that night. And more company failing, which they expected to meet them that night upon the Moor they

they suddenly and disorderly retreated; some Pistols was scattered and found next morning, and a led horse, with a velvet saddle, left in Skipbrig Lane, which was found next day.'

In Wiltshire, however, the Royalists effected a brief revolt, an incident which the following quotation from Carlyle will readily recal to mind:—

'Sunday, March 11th, 1655, in the City of Salisbury, about midnight, there occurs a thing worth noting. Salisbury was awakened from its slumbers by a real advent of Cavaliers. Sir John Wagstaff, "a jolly knight" of those parts, once a Royalist Colonel: he, with Squire, or Major Penruddock, "a gentleman of fair fortune," Squire, or Major Grove, and about two hundred others, did actually rendezvous in arms about the Big Steeple, that Sunday night, and ring a loud alarm in those parts. It was Assize time; the Judges had arrived the day before. Wagstaff seizes the Judges in their beds, seizes the High Sheriff, and otherwise makes night hideous;—proposes on the morrow to hang the Judges, as a useful warning; but is overruled by Penruddock and the rest. He orders the High Sheriff to proclaim King Charles; High Sheriff will not, not though you hang him: Town-crier will not, not even though you hang him. The Insurrection does not spread in Salisbury, it would seem. The Insurrection quits Salisbury on Monday night, marches with all speed towards Cornwall, hoping for better luck there. Marches;—but Captain Unton Crook marches also in the rear of it; marches swiftly, fiercely; overtakes it at South Molton in Devonshire, "on Wednesday about ten at night," and there, in a few minutes, put an end to it. We took Penruddock, Grove, and long lists of others; Wagstaff unluckily escaped . . . and this Royalist conflagration, which should have blazed all over England, is entirely damped out. Indeed so prompt and complete is the extinction, thankless people begin to say there had never been anything considerable to extinguish. Had they stood in the middle of it,—had they seen the nocturnal rendezvous at Marston Moor, seen what Shrewsbury, what Rufford Abbey, what North Wales in general, would have grown to on the morrow,—in that case, thinks the Lord Protector, not without some indignation, they had known!'—Carlyle's 'Cromwell,' vol. iv. pp. 129, 130.

If Carlyle had been more heedful he might have taken the hint furnished by those 'thankless people.' Men are not usually thankless, if preserved from a real and obvious danger. Carlyle, however, thought that he knew more about those transactions, than the men who might have witnessed them; and so we will accept his somewhat incautious invitation, and our readers, if they choose to do so, shall perceive, perhaps, 'not without some indignation,' what the Lord Protector 'had known' about the Insurrection of March 1655; they shall, to a certain extent at least, regard that event from his point of view. And to

to enable them to do so as promptly as possible, they may be at once informed, that the Protector himself admitted the Earl of Rochester, Sir John Wagstaff, and their associates into England, in order that they might, in his behalf, play the part of the conspirator. That circumstance being appreciated, the Protector's position becomes quite clear. It is obvious that he wished his subjects to believe, in common with his historians, that England was, during the opening months of 1655, 'from end to end of it, ripe for an explosion.'

Taking then for granted, upon Cromwell's own showing, that he wanted an insurrection, the assistance towards that end on which he could rely, and the obstacles that stood in his way, must be considered. The assistance which Cromwell had at hand, lay in the little band of courtiers who hung in penury, and vexation of heart, round Charles II. Wanderers on the Continent, in total ignorance of English opinion, acutely sensible of their own discomfort, raging against their great Tormentor, the King's 'over sea' counsellors were, by irritation and by 'zeal, made so blind,' that they were 'soon persuaded of good success' in any possible attempt to overthrow the Protector.* The chief hindrance to Cromwell's projected insurrection was his palpable prosperity. It was notorious, during the winter and spring of the year 1655, that he had appeased discontent among his soldiery; had quieted, in prison, Harrison, Wildman, and the leaders of the Anabaptists; that the Levellers were reduced to inaction; and that therefore the Royalists were powerless. And for this reason. Every Englishman, even the most 'Wildrake' among the Cavaliers, knew full well, that they, unassisted, could not for a moment stand before Cromwell's armies; and they knew equally well, that if the King landed on our shores, at the head of a foreign army, all England would meet him with passionate resistance. Even at the best, the most confident Royalists knew that a young man, nurtured by a popish mother, and amidst papists, would not be readily accepted as our King.

But one chance, therefore, remained to the Royalists, both at home and abroad: and that was the possibility that Anabaptist fanaticism and army discontent might unite together against the Protector. If that could be reckoned on, and if a rising of the Royalists, all over England, could be timed so as to explode, when the Levellers broke into action, that would offer a chance indeed, especially if some of the mutineers could be won over to the King. That chance was, at

* 'Report of French Ambassador in Holland.' Thurloe, iii. 322.

this

this season, wholly denied to the Royalists. The King's most trusted English advisers, the Council styled 'The Sealed Knot,' repeatedly warned him during January 1655, that 'since no rising of the Army is to be hoped for, any rising of the King's party would only be to their destruction.'*

To a person who desired to stimulate an insurrection against the Protector the course was therefore clear. He must act on the impatient credulity of those who shared in their King's exile. Far from the scene of action, they might be persuaded that the Anabaptists and the discontented soldiers had leagued together, and that the warnings of the 'Sealed Knot' might be set at naught. Charles was thus acted upon. As the wicked King of Israel was lured on to his destruction by the cry of false prophets bidding him to go up and prosper, the King was persuaded to disregard his best counsellors, to believe that 30,000 Royalists were armed and ready to join in an organized revolt, so skilfully planned that it would break out, at one moment, all over England, with the co-operation of the Levellers, and of a portion of Cromwell's army. Charles was also assured, that if he would but fix the day, the insurrection would immediately take place.

The King was hard to persuade; young as he was, his sagacity was not wanting. He long remained incredulous: he did not believe the 'expresses' which reached him 'every day' from England: he felt sure that those zealous emissaries were deceived. More messengers accordingly crossed the water: they were confident that 'the rising would be general, and many places seized upon, and some declare for the King which were in the hands of the army, for they still pretended, and did believe, "that a part of the army would declare against Cromwell, at least, though not for the King."'

Those messengers, however, would promise nothing, if Charles did not, when the Earl of Rochester and his associates started for England, approve the reality of the plot, by stationing himself on the sea coast, that he might 'quickly put himself into the head of the Army, which would be ready to receive him.' And he was warned that this was his last chance, and that 'if he neglected that opportunity,' his followers would desert him, as one hopelessly apathetic. Besides these threats, the persons, who dispatched those messengers from England, resorted to other means to force Charles into the enterprise. They appointed the day for the outbreak: he was not able 'to send orders to contradict it:' so he felt constrained, 'with little noise,'

* 'Clarendon' (Bodleian Papers), iii. 11.

to

to quit Cologne for Middleburg, to await there the summons to England.

Whilst Charles was being thus cajoled, the bright anticipations of his companions were suddenly saddened. In the midst of their preparations, Cromwell arrested several noted Royalists in London: it was obvious that he had discovered 'the design.' But that dark cloud had its silver lining; it was even converted into an augury of success. The conspirators at Cologne were 'cheered by letters' from their colleagues in England, assuring them 'that none of their particular friends at the intended seaports were known.'

Clarendon, and his associates, little knew how much was known by Cromwell. He afterwards repeated in public, almost word for word, 'all those particulars' which these 'expresses' 'communicated in confidence' to the Royal Court 'to let them know in how happy a condition the King's affairs were in England;' he was forewarned of the very day when Charles would 'with little noise' quit Cologne for Middleburg 'ten days before he did stir;' and if so, even Clarendon would have perceived, that the Protector felt quite assured about the safety of his sea-ports.*

That the project proved in the end, as Charles expected at the beginning, a weak and improbable attempt, Clarendon admits, and that they had been befooled; but he maintained, to the end, that those messengers were 'very honest men, and sent by those who were such.' Clarendon's opinion is not so indisputable, but that it may be questioned. The utter failure of the promises that those messengers held out, might have aroused his doubt as to their good faith. Who was it then that instructed those false prophets? So improbable were the expectations which they urged upon Charles, that it is impossible to credit any true Royalist with the creation of those false hopes: to dispel them, the King's wisest English advisers did their utmost. Those encouragements then must have been the counsels of false friends. And who could be, as we shall prove, a warmer, or a falser friend to the enterprise of March 1655, than Cromwell?

Even without direct proof of Cromwell's guilty complicity in that attempt, it is brought home to him by a variety of antecedent circumstances. He knew precisely how to spread the only lure that could ensnare the King; for the counsels of the 'Sealed Knot' were no secret to Cromwell. He was aware that the King had, in consequence, written, 4th Jan. 1655, to

* 'Clarendon,' ed. 1839, 871. 'Clarendon' (Bodleian Papers), Cal. iii. 13. Egerton MSS., Brit. Mus. 2535, fo. 637.

Mr. Roles,

Mr. Roles, 'his loving friend,' and probably also the Protector's friend, in a tone of utter despair.* And who could set against the King a stream of systematic false encouragement, sufficient to dispel his just despair, except Cromwell, who had all the secret agents at home and abroad at his command? or who would undertake so difficult a task as the creation of such an elaborate scheme of deception, but one who was anxious that the outbreak should take place? And we know that such was his wish.

In every way this is apparent. Even though no actual assistance be given, still complete foreknowledge of a coming mischief, unfollowed by corresponding precautions, implies a sanction. And this form of sanction Cromwell gave to the Insurrection. In a tone of triumphant cunning he assured his Parliament, during the ensuing year, that he had possessed 'full intelligence of' the conspiracy; though, with characteristic craft, he concealed the most effectual informant 'of these things,' the clerk who wrote out the despatches in the King's closet; and poor Manning, 'as he was dead,' was credited with the discovery; although his term of espial was not commenced soon enough to supply that 'full intelligence,' of which his employer boasted.†

Cromwell could even have informed his corps of informers, of the course that the coming movement would pursue. Two months before they began to reflect back to him an account of his own design, Cromwell's detection office in Whitehall contained a report from a supposed Leveller, who had passed from Essex to Cornwall, and then from Cornwall to Scotland, that a rumour was afloat, that the republicans in the army who were 'resolved to stand by their first principles, in opposition to the Government,' had banded together, under noted leaders, and had chosen the very places afterwards selected by the Royalists, namely, Salisbury Plain and Marston Moor for the rendezvous where they might show their strength. Other informers reported to Cromwell that the Royalists in London, and in Northumberland, hoped, that if they appeared in arms, they would be able to 'make use of a good part of the army;' and

* We thus found this conjecture: Cromwell held an intercepted letter from the King to Mr. Roles, addressed to him under his alias, Mr. Upton, expressed in terms of entire confidence (Thurl. iii. 75); but Roles was not arrested. And the suspicion inspired by the immunity which Cromwell granted to such a conspicuous Royalist, was confirmed by finding that Thurloe in a letter (dated 6th April, 1655) to Manning the spy, refers to 'Mr. Upton' as their common friend. (Egerton MSS., Brit. Mus. 2542. fo. 166.)

† Masonet. See Note, 'Clarendon Papers' (Bodleian) Cal. iii. 14. Carlyle, iv. 108.

similar

similar evidence warned the Government that a man claiming to be a Royalist had been at work, during February, journeying to and fro between Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, tempting Royalists to join with him in an insurrection, because 'the design was first put on foot by the Levellers, who were to be aiding and assisting the Cavaliers.'*

This information reached Cromwell in ample time for action. A word from him to his agents abroad, a hint to the editors of the News Letters, or a proclamation, would have dispersed those mischievous rumours, and would have reduced Charles to inaction. Although he knew that Charles based his sole hope of success upon an Anabaptist revolt, and a mutiny in the army, Cromwell did nothing of the kind. Not that he failed to secure himself by some ostensible precautions. 'It having pleased God to make some further notable discovery to Us of the Conspiracy, and of the particular Persons engaged therein,' Cromwell arrested some Royalists, shortly before the outbreak, but, as we know on the best authority, he touched none of those 'engaged therein.' He secured London: he moved troops from Ireland to Liverpool, and may thereby have disconcerted the Lancashire Cavaliers; but he did not forewarn the Customs House officers at Dover, or guard that port; just as he, subsequently, somehow failed to station soldiers near those obvious points of danger, Marston Moor and Salisbury Plain.† 'Oliver, Protector,' evidently 'understood his Protectorship moderately well, and what Plots and Hydra-Coils were inseparable from it.'

Cromwell thus assisting us, we have before us the relative positions of all engaged in the Insurrection, during the last weeks of February 1655. Charles was on the Dutch coast awaiting a possible summons to England; to that end he had despatched the expedition, composed of the Earl of Rochester, Sir John Wagstaff, Major Armourer, Mr. O'Neale, and their companions, about fourteen in number; and Cromwell was watching them, and was preparing for their reception at Dover, not soldiers, but the friendly assistance of his servant, Mr. Day, the Clerk of the Passage. In true Cavalier fashion the Earl of Rochester and his comrades approached our shores, with ostentatious contempt of danger. They came, not in a small party, dropping over one by one, selecting different and out-of-the-way spots for landing, but almost in a body, in quick succession, they alighted at Dover. That was the most

* 'Informations of J. Dallington, R. Glover, J. Stradling, E. Turner.' Thurloe, iii. 35, 74, 146, 181, 222.

† Several Proceedings, &c. Thurs., 8th Feb.–15th Feb. 1655. 'Clarendon Papers' (Bodleian Cal.), iii. 16.

public port they could have chosen; and being courtier Cavaliers, long resident abroad, they were, in dress and look, marked men, and most unfitted to play the part they chose, of traders resident in France or Holland. Their selection of Dover was not, however, so ill-advised as it seemed, for they also reckoned on the help of Mr. Day, the Clerk of the Passage.

Thus in appearance, at least, the conspirators did everything they could to get themselves into trouble. And, as might be anticipated, Major Armourer, alias 'Mr. Wright,' and his man 'Morris,' that is to say, Mr. O'Neale, the first of that company to set foot in Dover, were immediately arrested. Armourer was imprisoned in the Castle, and O'Neale in the Sergeant's house. Their detention, however, was of but brief duration. Armourer at once sought for help through Mr. Day's agency; but one greater than the Clerk interposed; and after about three days' captivity, Mr. Wright, together with some other captured suspects, was released by the Dover Port Commissioners 'on receipt of a Commission from H. H.' the Protector.*

That Commission from His Highness was no ordinary proceeding. By it Cromwell disturbed order and discipline in the chief entrance-gate to England, and drove the Port Commissioners into direct collision with the officers of Dover Castle. Captain Wilson, the Deputy-Lieutenant, who had charge over the Castle prisoners, was, as shown by his letters, a straightforward servant of the Protector. Such a serious interference with his duties, as the release of one of his own prisoners, disturbed him; and the more so, as it was authorized by the Protector himself. Accordingly he wrote to Thurloe, greatly troubled, to free himself from any connection with so untoward an event as the escape of Mr. Wright, who, —of all the men that Wilson 'had secured,'—was the very one with whom he was most 'unsatisfied.' Thurloe also felt that it was an awkward affair; and to avert suspicion from his Master and himself, he reverted to a mean trick, the causeless accusation of an innocent man. He reproved Wilson for neglecting to warn Whitehall of the detention of such a noted suspect as Mr. Wright; although Thurloe was in no ignorance of that event, and knew all about the prisoner. For besides the knowledge which he shared with Cromwell, of the near advent of the Earl of Rochester and his associates, Thurloe held a letter signed 'N. Wright,' dated 'Dover Castell, 14th February,' to Sir R. Stone, a supposed friend, who, forwarding it to Thurloe, informed him that Morris therein mentioned was a 'gentleman

* Thurloe, iii. 164.

to

to the Princess Royal;' whilst it was evidently presupposed by Stone, that the Secretary would know who it was 'that writ' the enclosed letter; as, indeed, is proved by Thurloe's indorsement, '*Nicholas Armourer to Sir Robert Stone.*' And again, within seven days after Armourer's release, a similar 'cross-providence' occurred. A Mr. Broughton, evidently another Royalist, was taken out of Captain Wilson's custody, much to his surprise and vexation, and set free by the Mayor of Dover.

The release of one or two prisoners under a Commission from H. H. the Protector does not, however, prove that he purposely admitted into England that gang of conspirators. But even that can be proved. Thurloe and Cromwell knew on the best authority that the Royalists regarded Mr. Day as their ally; for Armourer, in that letter, mentions 'Mr. Robert Day, Clarke of the Passage,' as a man ready to do him service. Yet Cromwell, knowing that Armourer and O'Neale were the precursors of even more dangerous associates, who would also resort to Mr. Day, retained him in his post; and in spite of prompt and repeated warnings from the Continent, that Day was a traitor, he acted as Clerk of the Passage until, during the following July, he had seen safe back across the Channel the conspirators whom he had admitted in March. And as if the more fully to trick the Royalists, Day was permitted by the Protector to intervene actively in their behalf. The Clerk of the Passage obtained, by his personal undertaking for Armourer's good conduct, the requisite pass inward, and certified that he was, in truth, a merchant from Rotterdam.*

It follows from the assistance which the Protector gave to Armourer, that his man 'Morris' was restored to his master, and that the Earl of Rochester, after repeated detention and examination, was set free. And again Cromwell reappears as the patron of the conspiracy. According to information imparted to the King by Cromwell's nephew, Colonel William Cromwell, 'my Lord of Rochester was known to Cromwell to be in England as soon as he landed,' and was met by pretended agents from the army, Rochester's friends 'in show,' but the Protector's 'really,' who, to make the Earl 'have the greater confidence' in the enterprise, gave him false offers of co-operation, and assurances that Cromwell's soldiers were ripe for mutiny.† And facts confirm Colonel Cromwell's words.

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* Thurloe, iii. 137, 180, 190, 198, 224.

† Egerton MSS., Brit. Mus. 2535, fo. 637. This communication appears in an anonymous letter addressed to Nicholas. Mr. Warner, with that ready help that he and his department afford, by a comparison of the handwriting, attributes that letter to Col. Price, who shared in Rochester's expedition.

Immediately after his final escape from the custody of Captain Wilson, the Earl of Rochester 'found Mr. Morton, who carries on their trade there, ready to come, with some account of his business.'* If Morton had been a true Royalist, in momentary fear for himself, and for the success of an insurrection that was to overthrow the Protector, would he have risked a meeting with the Earl at Dover, in a place where he had been twice arrested, instead of awaiting his arrival in the security of London? Such a strange course arouses strong suspicion that Morton was the Protector's emissary referred to by Col. Cromwell; and assuredly a Mr. Morton is mentioned to Thurloe, by one of his continental agents, as a friend, and fellow sham-Royalist, who might assist him in enticing some of the King's retinue into projects, such as the 'murther of H. H. the Protector.'†

Nor was Mr. Morton the only agent busy in doing all he could 'to ripen the design of a general rising.' During January and February, 1655, messengers passed to and fro through the Northern and Western districts of England to prepare the way for the Earl of Rochester and his associates, who spread abroad rumours that the 'Levellers were to be aiding and abetting the Cavaliers,' and that on the 8th of March, a general rising would take place. Two men can be traced who thus prepared Wiltshire for insurrection, one of whom was the chief instigator of Wagstaff's rising at Salisbury.

Both of them were obscure men, not known in that part of England. An unnamed emissary came from Yorkshire, passing through London, to Dorsetshire, taking, on the way, the house, near Lewes, of Col. Bishop, a Leveller, one of the Wildman faction.‡ The other, Mr. Douthwaite, reached Wiltshire from Somersetshire. This circumstance, of itself, aroused suspicion; and he was asked why, if the revolt, as he asserted, was to be throughout all England, he did not choose Somersetshire, instead of Wiltshire, for the scene of action. The reason he gave for that choice had in it a strong dash of unreality. His motive was, he declared, because 'if he did any mischief, or killed anybody,' he preferred to do mischief 'among strangers, where he was not known.' So unsatisfactory was his demeanour, that a recruit, whom he endeavoured to cajole, refused to join the conspiracy, declaring that 'he was confident this was a plot of my Lord Protector's own devising, and that he had some of his own agents in it.' And as, during that winter,

* 'Clarendon Papers' (Bodleian), Cal. iii. 23.
† Thurloe, iii. 573. ‡ Ibid., iv. 344.

the

the Dorsetshire Cavaliers had 'whispered that the plot' then 'so loudly talked on at Court, is nothing but a trick of the great Oliver's,' this idea seems to have been prevalent in the West of England. Some such whisper, undoubtedly, had a marked influence on the Wiltshire revolt. Not a single landowner of importance went out with Wagstaff. Though he had been told off by the King expressly for that service, no Royalist of eminent position answered the King's call. They, also, doubtless suspected Douthwaite, an unknown, low-class stranger, who took upon himself to summon them to arms against the Protector. And Douthwaite was undoubtedly the chief instigator of that attempt, 'the very principal verb' in the affair: a very capable witness, Major Butler, so described him. In itself this was a suspicious circumstance. And another reason may be urged for deeming that Cromwell, and not the King, was served by Douthwaite. Like a shady witness, he proved too much. Antedating the event by at least three weeks, he asserted in February, that Charles had left Cologne for the Dutch coast, 'for an opportunity to sail for England.' This was a startling piece of news, and most arousing to a hearty Royalist: and the King did take that step on the 4th of March. But it is noteworthy that a foreknowledge of the King's movements, which was undoubtedly possessed by Cromwell and Thurloe in London, should have been so speedily communicated to Douthwaite, in the depths of Somersetshire.*

Whilst England was thus being prepared for the coming insurrection, the Earl of Rochester went to London, where, although soldiers were stationed at the ends of the streets, and extra precautions taken against the Royalists, 'he consulted,' as Clarendon observes, 'with great freedom with the King's friends.' Nor were he and his comrades hindered from traversing England, and passing on into Wiltshire and Yorkshire, that they might head the intended rendezvous of the Royalists on Salisbury Plain and Marston Moor; the very places, it should be remembered, that rumour had designated for a gathering of the Levellers. Cromwell was powerless: he dared not touch the men he had passed into England: the object for which he had admitted them must be fulfilled, even to the end.

That the end, which Cromwell desired, followed the lines indicated by his master hand, might be anticipated. But he could not allow the project to become too real; a necessity that rather stood in his way. His power of creating the semblance of an actual insurrection was limited. Of the 'hidden

* Thurloe, iii. 122, 182. Egerton MSS., Brit. Mus., 2535, fo. 627.

works,'

works,' all over England, which he attributed to the Royalists, but one mine actually exploded, one nearly went off, and the rest remained dormant. The tameness of that shadowy meeting on Marston Moor evidently caused Cromwell much vexation. As his dupes refused to exhibit themselves, and as not a soldier was near at hand, paragraphs in the News Letters, 'some pistols scattered' on the heath, and 'a led horse, with a velvet saddle,' were all the proofs that Cromwell could show that aught had happened on Marston Moor, during the night of the 8th of March. Nor could he solemnize the event, as he desired, by the appearance on the scaffold of a single Yorkshireman.

He sent, for that purpose, to York as Judges, Baron Thorpe, Mr. Justice Newdigate, and Mr. Serjeant Hutton; but they refused to obey his bidding. They declined to try upon a capital charge the men that had been arrested by the Protector's informers, not in arms nor on horseback, nor even on the highway, but in their own houses. The judges were doubtful 'whether in point of law,' a possible midnight ride could be declared by them 'to be treason.' It was in vain that Colonel Lilbourne used 'diligence' to 'pick up such as are right,' to serve on the jury. The judges even left York altogether, objecting that due notice, under which they could try that 'great affair,' had not been given.

Pressure was renewed upon Newdigate and Hutton; they were despatched back to York, to undertake the trial of the Marston Moor prisoners. Cromwell's law officer, however, found them at Doncaster, on their return to London, and in a very contrary state of mind. They again refused to act; and they based their refusal on an objection, which affected not those prisoners alone, but all Cromwell's prisoners. They asserted, evidently reckoning on Baron Thorpe's concurrence, that they could not, as judges, put in force the Ordinance, by which Cromwell had adapted the Statute Law of England to meet the crime of high treason against himself, because it was of no validity! They thus anticipated, in the most unpleasant way, Mr. Coney's refusal to pay taxes imposed, not by an Act of Parliament, but by an 'Ordinance.' Cromwell was forced to yield; the Yorkshiremen preserved their lives, but not their liberty or their estates; and, almost immediately, 'Judges Thorpe and Newdigate were put out of their places, for not observing the Protector's pleasure in all his commands.'*

Cromwell's 'pleasure' was, however, served by Mr. Serjeant Glyn and Mr. Recorder Steele, and by the jurymen, 'such as

* Whitelock, 625. Thurloe, iii. 359, 385.

were

were right,' over whom they presided, in the trial of the Salisbury insurgents. Those poor dupes pleaded what may be termed, Baron Thorpe's plea. They argued that their indictment was not founded on an Act of Parliament, and that 'there can be no treason by an Ordinance.' They urged that a sentence pronounced by the Serjeant and the Recorder, who were mere 'pleaders, servants to the Lord Protector,' would be illegal; and they asserted their right to be tried by Baron Thorpe, 'a sworn judge.' The prisoners, who could not be convicted of high treason, were condemned to death as horse stealers. They vainly pleaded, that to requisition a horse for a warlike enterprise was not felony, and that 'the country knew we did not intend to steal,' but acted 'as the soldiers did now at London, and elsewhere, who came against us.'* About fourteen of those poor fellows were put to death, with Grove and Penruddock; and seventy were sold into West Indian slavery. Accordingly Cromwell was able, as Thurloe exulted, to prove 'that the Plot was real,' as 'the persons were real,' who, in consequence, lost their lives, or were condemned to lifelong misery.

Thus Cromwell, by a deliberate course of fraud, compassed the death of men, who might otherwise have lived void of offence against his government. He next proceeded to delude all his subjects by means of the sham conspiracy by which he had ensnared his victims on to the scaffold. This development in Cromwell's course of deception brings us back to the ordinary path of history. Every historical text-book mentions that Cromwell, within a few months after the Insurrection of March 1655, subjected England to the authority, almost unlimited, of twelve Major-Generals. To each one a separate province was allotted, with power to imprison, fine, or sell as slaves, all that he might select. The Major-Generals also were directed by Cromwell to pay themselves, and the soldiers under them, by the levy of a tax of ten per cent. on the incomes of all but the poorest Royalists, which he imposed for that purpose. As historians have believed in the reality of the Insurrection of March 1655, they hold that Cromwell, therefore, 'found himself compelled to divide England into districts, over which he set Major-Generals,' and to inflict upon the Royalists the tax, 'known by the name of the Decimation.' Yet, curiously enough, these hearty believers in Cromwell have ignored that solemn confirmation of their opinion, which he addressed to his subjects, namely, the 'Declaration of his Highness, by the advice of his Council, showing the Reasons of their Proceedings

* Thurloe, iii. 391.

for

for Securing the Peace of the Commonwealth, upon occasion of the late Insurrection and Rebellion,—October 31, 1655.'

Than this document, no more admirable illustration could be given of the manner in which Cromwell carried on his Protectorate. By that 'Declaration' he engrafts into his policy the deception he had practised on the Royalists, and adapts it to the benefit of the whole nation, by a description of the pious uses to which it could be applied. And for our purposes this document is especially convenient, for, whilst it proves what Cromwell wished his people to believe about the Insurrection, it enables us to disprove throughout the statements that he makes. But before we can reach that portion of our disclosure, the operative clauses of the 'Declaration' must be dealt with. It commences with a justificatory recital of the misdeeds of the Royalists. As God, Cromwell argues, 'by His gracious dispensation,' had 'subjected' the Royalists 'to the power of those whom they had designed to enslave and ruin,' 'the Parliament's party' might, Cromwell asserts, have 'extirpated those men, with designs of possessing their Estates and Fortunes.' Their conquerors, however, refrained themselves, 'it having pleased God in His providence, so to order things;' and the Royalists were allowed to live and 'enjoy their freedom, and have equal protection in their persons and estates, with the rest of the Nation.' But what return, the Protector declares, has been made by the Malignants for the lenity thus extended to them? 'The actings of that party' prove that 'neither the dispensations of God, nor kindness of men, would work upon them;' that 'they were implacable in their malice and revenge;' and he cites 'the late Insurrection and Rebellion,' 'as the greatest and most dangerous' of all 'their hidden works of darkness.'

The Protector therefore announces, that as 'he knows by experience, that nothing but the Sword will restrain the late King's party from blood and violence,'—'We do now not only find Ourself satisfied, but obliged in duty, both towards God and this Nation, to proceed upon other grounds than formerly,'—and that, to secure 'the Peace of this Commonwealth, We have been necessitated to erect a new and standing Militia of Horse, in all the Counties of England, under such Pay as might be a fitting encouragement to the officers and soldiers. And We, therefore, have thought fit, to lay the burthen of Maintaining those forces, upon those who have been engaged in the late Wars against the State.' And Cromwell declares, in conclusion, that 'We can with comfort appeal to God, whether this way of proceeding with' the Royalists 'hath been the matter of Our Choice, or that which We have sought occasion for; or whether contrary

contrary to Our own inclinations, We have not been constrained and necessitated hereunto, and without the doing whereof, We should have been wanting to Our Duty to God and these Nations.'

Such words uttered by a man who, with utmost fervour, has claimed for himself, that 'I have learned too much of God, to dally with Him, and to make bold with Him in these things,' ought surely to be believed; and if there be any one who is still unconvinced that Cromwell, of his own 'choice,' enticed the Earl of Rochester and his associates across the Channel, and admitted them into England, that they might constrain and necessitate him to appoint those Major-Generals, 'we can with comfort appeal' to that 'Declaration' and ask such a believer in Cromwell to follow us in a comparison between what he really did, with what he declared he did, 'for securing the Peace of the Commonwealth upon the occasion of the late Insurrection.'

In order that his subjects might appreciate the skill and vigilance, by which the 'contrivements' of the 'cruel and bloody enemy' had been thwarted, Cromwell commenced the account of his execution of his duty as England's Protector by a general description of the projects of the Royalists in March 1655. He asserted that they intended to surprise and seize London, and all the principal ports and cities throughout England, and that they reckoned on the support of more than 30,000 armed men. This description of the projects and resources of the Royalists may be at once, and contemptuously set aside: it was founded on lies supplied by such men as Manning, the spy, or Bamfield, the informer. Cromwell's words were contradicted by the abortive and petty nature of the insurrection, by the obvious refusal of all England to join in the enterprise, and by the conduct of the Protector himself. For he would not have placed England at the mercy of the Earl of Rochester and his companions, had he thought that they could call 30,000 men to arms, or that every important town, from London to York, was in danger. Having thus dealt out fiction by wholesale, and ascribed the overthrow of that 'great and general design' to 'The Lord,' Cromwell proceeds, according to his method, to show how that was accomplished.

Beginning with the rising at Salisbury, he declared that

'the Insurrection in the West was bold and dangerous in itself, and had in all likelihood increased to great Numbers of Horse and Foot by the conjunction of others of their own party, besides such Foreign forces, as in case of their success, and seizing upon some place of Strength, were to have landed in those parts, had they not been prevented by the motion of some troops, and diligence of the officers, in

in apprehending divers of that Party a few days before; and also been closely pursued by some of our Forces, and in the conclusion suppress by a handful of men, through the great goodness of God.'

As Charles had not at his disposal a single ship, or one soldier in the pay of any foreign Power, the possibility of a foreign invasion needs no disproof. And how did Cromwell deal with his enemies at home? Shortly before the rising of the 11th of March, troops were undoubtedly moved about in Wiltshire: their course can be traced from day to day. As the Protector, according to his habit, bases his statements as far as he can, on facts, so far we can agree with him. But as certainly as they were marched about, Cromwell's soldiers were marched not towards, but away from Salisbury.

During the latter part of February, Major Butler, the officer in charge over Wiltshire, wrote to Thurloe, telling him that as Bristol was in 'a peaceable state,' the Major intended to leave that city. He did so: just eleven days before the outbreak he was on the march to his central station, at Marlborough, when a messenger from the Protector summoned him back to Bristol. Butler was, in consequence, detained there, whilst the event took place; nor did he reach Salisbury until the third day after the insurgents had left the town. Cromwell knew what he was about: on the very Sunday when Wagstaff took possession of Salisbury, Cromwell occupied Chichester by horsemen, sent there at daybreak; and he dispatched a warning to Portsmouth, that 'some desperate design was on foot.' But he kept his soldiers away from Salisbury. He took this course, although he knew that Salisbury Plain had been named as a Levellers' rendezvous; and although he had received a report, about three weeks before the 11th of March, from an officer sent to Salisbury on police duty, 'that it would be convenient for some horse to be quartered hereabouts,' because the Royalists in the neighbourhood were restless.*

And Cromwell himself proves why Major Butler was detained at Bristol: for when he did reach the scene of the revolt, though the insurgents had been two days at large in the neighbourhood, and were disbanding, drifting aimlessly towards Devonshire, Butler was withheld from active operations by orders from Whitehall. He was directed to keep at a distance from the insurgents, for fear of a mishap. This is shown by the opening words of Butler's letter of remonstrance to the Protector. 'Now, my Lord,' Butler wrote, 'though I know it would be of sad consequence if we assaulting them should be worsted,' still, he

* Thurloe, iii. 162 172, 177, 182, 219, 243. Rolls Cal. (1655), 73.

pleaded

pleaded with much earnestness that he, under 'the good providence of The Lord' would assuredly be successful. So palpably absurd it was to suppose that his four troops of horsemen could not make short work of that undisciplined, badly armed, and disheartened band of men, that Butler declared, that he could not 'with any confidence stay' here at Salisbury, 'nor look the country in the face, and let them alone.'*

The Protector, however, was resolute. Butler was forced to let the enemy alone; and, after four days' delay, they yielded at South Molton to one troop of horse sent after them from Weymouth. Thus it was Cromwell, and not Butler, as was surmised by a contemporary observer, who kept his troopers 'at a distance in the rear' of the Royalists, 'to give them an opportunity of increasing.' †

With this suspicion afloat, and Major Butler unable 'to look the country in the face,' Cromwell felt that to ascribe the suppression of Wagstaff's attempt mainly to the 'close' pursuit of the enemy 'by some of Our Forces,' would hardly suffice. He accordingly also attributed that happy result 'to the goodness of God,' and to 'the diligence of the officers in apprehending some of the party.' In this statement Cromwell made some approach to the truth. Butler had been diligent; and though he failed to seize Douthwaite, that mysterious 'principal verb,' still, during the last two weeks of February, he did arrest suspects in the West of England, but none within the district round Salisbury.‡ Wagstaff and his comrades were undisturbed, whilst preparing for their attempt. Nor is it an unfounded assumption, if their security is attributed to the same influence which sanctioned Wagstaff's repair to the rendezvous, and which protected him from Major Butler's horsemen.

Having thus dealt with that 'bold and dangerous insurrection in the West,' Cromwell turned northward, and took in hand that rather vague affair at Marston Moor, on which, as he asserted, 'the enemy most relied.' His account of that event was, that the Royalists who met there dispersed, and ran away in confusion, partly because of a failure among the plotters; but also, 'in respect that Our Forces, by their marching up and down in the country, and some of them providentially, at that time, removing their Quarters, near to the place of Rendezvous, gave them no opportunity to reassemble.' Again, Cromwell is, to a certain extent, correct. Divided counsels did keep one of the principal Yorkshire Royalists from the meeting, and he

* Thurloe, iii. 238, 243. † Heath's Chronicle, 367.
‡ Thurloe, iii. 176, 181, 191.

may

may have had followers; and others were stayed, when on the march, by a timely warning that they were on a fool's errand. But the assertion, that the Royalists were dispersed by a providential movement of troops, and by 'Our Forces marching up and down' Yorkshire, is utterly false. And, as before, the witness against Cromwell is one of Cromwell's servants. An officer, responsible for the peace of Yorkshire, reported to his chief in London regarding himself and his comrades, that 'notwithstanding all our frequent alarums from London of the certainty of this plot, carried on with such secrecy on the traitor's part, though we were upon duty, and in close quarters, we had no positive notice of it till the day was past.' And no other soldiers were in that neighbourhood during the night of the 8th of March. The only martial display that the occasion called forth, was the march of two troops of horsemen into York about three or four days subsequently; and the officer in command reported that if more men were wanted, they must be drawn from Durham, Newark, or Hull.*

Thus it was that Cromwell dealt with 'the Insurrection of Yorkshire.' If the Royalists had, in truth, 'reckoned on 8000 in the North,' or if York had been in danger, soldiers, and not 'alarums' would have been sent into Yorkshire. Nor was he mistaken in deeming that the Royalists relied most on that attempt. Hoping to find a large gathering of Levellers in arms against the Protector, many of the principal Yorkshire landowners, of higher rank and more influential than poor Penruddock or any of his comrades, met that night on Marston Moor. And probably it was owing to their social position, that the trick was not fully played out, and that, sorely to Cromwell's disappointment, they saved their lives.

Besides the insurrectionary displays at Salisbury and Marston Moor, it was arranged that on the 8th of March similar symptoms should appear at various other places, to create the idea that 'the Design was great and general.' Cromwell was accordingly able to declare that 'the coming of 300 foot from Berwick' dispersed 'those who had rendezvoused near Morpeth to surprise Newcastle:'—that in North Wales and Shropshire, where they intended to surprise Shrewsbury, 'some of the chief persons being apprehended, the rest fled:'—and that, 'at Rufford Abbey, Notts, was another rendezvous, where about 500 horse met, and had with them a cart load of horse-arms, to arm such as should come to them; but upon a sudden, a great Fear fell upon them,' and they, also, dispersed themselves, and 'cast

* 'Rolls Cal.' (1655), p. 216; Baynes Coll., Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 21,424, fo. 50; Thurloe, iii. 226.

their

their arms into the pond.' Nor did the Protector omit to describe the action of 'other smaller Parties,' also in motion during the night of the 8th of March, who, 'as in the Town of Chester, designed the surprise of the Castle there, but they, failing in their expectations, were discouraged for that time.' 'And thus, by the goodness of God, these hidden works of darkness' were discovered. 'Fear' was 'put into the hearts' of the cruel and bloody enemy, and their great and most dangerous design was 'defeated, and brought to nothing.'

The depositions on which Cromwell based his description of the minor passages of the Insurrection are all mere informers' tales, none rising above the inanity of the story of a tobacco-pipe-maker's attack on Chester Castle, of which more anon; and, from Carlyle's point of view, this sample of Thurloe's papers might assuredly be classed among 'human stupidities.' But Carlyle has overlooked the fact, that to Cromwell these depositions were an important element in his government, and were worked up into his speeches and the 'Declaration' of October 1655. Hence the greater the absurdity of those documents, the greater their historical importance, as showing, not only how the Royalists were duped, and how Cromwell duped his subjects, but also that the tricks of his trepanners were so clumsy that, almost without exception, no Cavaliers of any standing were drawn into the Protector's game.

An apt example of the kind of evidence on which Cromwell based his statements, and also a comical illustration of his propensity to cling to fact in the midst of fraud, is afforded by that alleged 'rendezvous' of Royalists 'to surprise Newcastle.' If his spies are to be believed, presumably with that object, on the 8th of March, 'about 3 score and 10 horsemen armed with swords and pistols' met by night 'at a place called Duddo;' and then vanished, not, however, for fear 'of 300 foot coming from Berwick,' but because the conspirators were warned 'that there was 300 sail of ships come into Newcastle, for fear of whom they durst not fall upon Newcastle at that time.' Much in the same way, and during the same night, a party of Royalist gentlemen and their servants, repaired to the inn on Rufford Abbey Green; and a real cart was driven to the door containing 'horse-arms,' fifty-six pair of pistols, two buff coats, two suits of arms, &c., and was then driven away, and the party broke up. So far the Protector's words are verified by the very full information that Thurloe collected regarding the Rufford Abbey incident; but if to the conspirators therein specifically mentioned, a large addition be made for 'divers unnamed

unnamed gentlemen,' seen 'coming in and going out of the inn-door,' the plotters cannot be rated at much above 20, instead of at Cromwell's 500.

The Protector's concluding statements may be briefly disposed of. Shrewsbury Castle was to have been taken by 'two men in the apparel of gentlewomen,' acting in combination with their comrades, 'in certain alehouses near unto the said castle;' and the determined purpose of these plotters may be tested by the temper of their ringleader, who urged his recruits to appear at the rendezvous, but refused, for his part, to join with them, 'because his wife was not well.'* The Shropshire insurrection was, indeed, of so visionary a nature, that zealous Commissary Reynolds could not manipulate it into any definite shape. Though sent to Shrewsbury that he might develop the existence of 'a general plot of the malignants' in the West of England, he entirely failed. And so annoyed was he at his failure, that he suggests to Thurloe, that it would 'not to be unfit to make' the malignants 'speak forcibly, by tying matches, or some kind of pain, whereby they may be made to discover the plot;' and as he re-urges his craving to inflict torture on his prisoners, the proposal had drawn no disapproval from the Secretary.†

An account of the 'great and signal disappointment, as great as any this age can produce,' which the 'goodness of God' inflicted upon that 'smaller party,' 'who' according to Cromwell, 'designed the surprise of the castle' of Chester, forms an appropriate close to this portion of our narrative. An 'exceeding poor' dupe, Francis Pickering, tells the story, and the duper was a Colonel Worthing. After enticing Pickering into the plot by assurances of a general rising against the Protector, on the night of the 8th of March, Worthing announced that his part in the design 'was principally to surprise the Castle of Chester;' and as related by Pickering, whilst he and the Colonel remained quietly at home.

'Accordingly that night three or four went, sent by Col. Worthing, to seize the Castle: they were all inhabitants of Chester, and one of them is commonly known by the name of Alexander, the tobacco-pipe-maker. These persons brought back word to Col. Worthing that at the place where they intended to raise a ladder to surprise the Castle, they heard a centinel walk and cough. At which

* Thurloe, iii. 210, 222, 228, 241, 253.

† Ibid., iii. 298, 356. In addition to constant terror of 'the Barbadoes,' to which all Cromwell's prisoners were subject, a Royalist in the Tower mentions, in a pencilled letter, that he had been threatened with torture; and that the Protector himself used the menace of the rack rests on the evidence of another prisoner's brother.—'Clarendon Papers,' Bodleian Cal., iii. 82, 87.

report

report Col. Worthing was very much startled! and sent them back again to seize any other convenient place; and they brought back word that they heard centinels walking.' *

No third attempt was made by Mr. Alexander and his friends; and next day, Pickering was told by Worthing 'that he was much troubled, for that he could not contrive how to take said Castle;' and, in due time, Pickering found himself in custody.

In singular contrast to the vague and absurd stories told by 'exceeding poor' and foolish men, such as Mr. Pickering and his fellow-plotters, are the numerous and positive assurances that Cromwell received from his own officers, that all was well with England both before, during, and after the Insurrection of March 1655. Headed by Thurloe, they are all unanimous in reporting, 'that the nation was much more ready to rise against, than for Charles Stuart;' that, in the town of Leeds, 'not thirty men were disaffected to the present Government;' and that 'there was no design on foot' even in 'the most corrupt and rotten places of the Nation,' such as Hampshire, Dorsetshire, Kent, and the Eastern Counties. From Bristol to York all was quiet, or wished to be so, during February, March, and April, 1655.†

Further illustration of this statement is needless. For, if Cromwell had thought otherwise, even though he might in his wisdom have admitted the Earl of Rochester and his associates into England, he certainly would not have allowed them to remain here, apparently as long as they chose, after their enterprise was over. That the Protector gave them this freedom of action is made singularly clear by the 'Thurloe Papers': they contain repeated indications of the 'whereabouts' of the Earl of Rochester, the leader of the revolt. He and Major Armourer did not, after the Marston Moor failure, fly to the coast, or seek separate hiding-places. They journeyed together, with two servants, leisurely through England towards London: and to guard his safety, Rochester would not disturb his bed-time, or his dinner-hour. After the outbreak, people were naturally anxious to pick up what they could, by arresting 'the great ones.' Of these, Rochester was the greatest; and he and Armourer were arrested at Aylesbury. The resident magistrate gave a warrant to the constable, desiring him to keep safely the bodies of the Earl and his three companions, 'in the name of my

* Thurloe, iii. 676.

† Pell Coll. Lansdowne MSS., 752. fo. 275, 282. Baynes Coll. Add. MSS., 21,423, fo. 74. Thurloe, iii. 170, 224, 246, 248, 253, 281, 284. 'Rolls Cal.' 1655, 81, 84, 88, 99, 200.

Lord

Lord Protector.' The warrant was acted upon: the prisoners evidently were 'persons of great quality.' Yet somehow, both magistrate and constable left the Earl and the Major in charge of the innkeeper 'where they lay;' and naturally enough, 'when the constable came in the morning, he found that the innkeeper had let the two chiefs escape,' taking with them 'all their rich apparel.'* Had this been merely a sample of Aylesbury carelessness, the incident need not have been noticed. But the example of the magistrate and constable was followed by Cromwell. Although the escape of Rochester and Armourer was promptly known, and their course was closely tracked, and though Cromwell was informed where they might be found, they 'wrote very comfortably from London;' and they endeavoured 'to lay the foundation of some new design.' And at last, as if he were an ordinary traveller, sending his servants before him, Rochester left England for the Continent, having been a resident here for about five months; and the latter part of his stay in England was a season of extraordinary severity against the Royalists. In like manner, every one of his thirteen comrades returned 'weekly without difficulty' to their King's presence, apparently at their pleasure; whilst Cromwell's continental informers repeated their warnings that 'Day, the Clerk of the Passage,' is 'a rogue,' and that if the Protector had 'been ruled' by them 'all these had not escaped.'†

In this matter, and indeed throughout his connection with the Insurrection of March 1655, Cromwell was not his own master. The conditions, under which he obtained the espial of one of the King's most trusted friends, and a member of the 'Sealed Knot,' formed a complete protection to the Earl of Rochester and his associates. Nor for his own sake could he touch those conspirators. Their seizure would have disclosed the fact, that 'persons in the very bosom of our enemies' gave him 'intelligence;' and hence, if 'he once discovered the grounds, he would destroy the intelligence.'‡ Anyhow, it is evident that Cromwell could with entire safety allow his most determined enemies to remain in England, and lay foundations for new projects against him.

Having seen Cromwell's conspirators safe home again, tribute must be paid to his amazing dexterity. The Prince of Wire-Pullers, he made his puppets perform what part he chose. Some jerked the royal doll Charles, against his liking, from

* Thurloe, iii. 281, 335.

† 'Clarendon Papers,' Bodleian Cal., iii. 27, 34, 36. 'Rolls Cal.' (1655), 193, 245. Thurloe, iii. 358, 530, 561, 659.

‡ Whalley's Statement; Burton, iv. 155.

Cologne

Cologne to Middleburg, and some warned him to keep quiet, and others seemed to fight against the manager of the show, though in reality they fought in his behalf: all played Cromwell's game, whilst they thought they were playing their own; and even the most innocent outsiders were pressed into his service. With comic audacity he assured his audience that the more trivial was the scene at Salisbury, the more they ought to recognize its dramatic force. 'Observe,' he said, 'when this Attempt was made—it was made when nothing but a well-formed Power could hope to put us into disorder. Do you think that such' a company of mean fellows 'would have attacked Us, if they had not been supported by vast unseen forces behind the scenes?'* With what cruel craft, but seeming indifference, the artful old showman treated his manikins! He cut off the heads of some amongst those who responded most vigorously to his touch; whilst others, not less free upon the wire, were carefully packed up, and sent home safe. By seizing and boxing up in the Tower mere bystanders, wholly unconcerned in the sport, he made his 'little tin soldiers' fancy that he did not see their antics. The only hitch in his 'knavish piece of work' arose when, too assured, he placed upon the boards a real live judge, who refused to take the bench in the manager's sham Court of Justice. In every other respect the mystery play was a complete success; everybody was puzzled, players, spectators, and the gentlemen of the press; not one even guessed at the true meaning of the performance; though a few 'men of wicked spirits' would try to peep behind the curtain. But they never found him out; they all danced to Cromwell's tune, but none discovered that the pipe they heard was in their Protector's mouth. Even Ludlow, with all the proverbial opportunities of a bystander, though most anxious to know his great opponent's game, never guessed that he had patched up the Insurrection of March 1655, from the beginning to the end.

And such was Cromwell's power of deception, that though dead, he still deceived; his works did follow him, as he desired, out of sight. He seems to have anticipated that the records of his detective department might remain as a witness against him, and to have cast over the 'Thurloe Papers' a spell, that has hitherto rendered them invisible. For nearly 150 years these evidences of his 'hidden works of darkness' have been before the world; but Cromwell has preserved his secret; he has humbugged every historian as effectually as he hoodwinked his contemporaries. The 'Thurloe Papers' were pub-

* Adapted from the 'Declaration' of Oct. 1655, and Speech. Carlyle, iv. 107.

lished in 1742, well edited and indexed; they contain the documents which Cromwell himself read and handled, the notes of his speeches, the information of his spies, the letters of his enemies and of his clerks. Though called after Thurloe, those papers are, in fact, Cromwell's own. Yet such is the glamour that he has cast over all that have approached him, that they have accepted his words without question, or, if they have read his writings, they have read them according to his inspiration.

Yet there was much even in that Insurrection itself to arouse suspicion. Cromwell, in January 1655, assured his Parliament that he had crushed the various conspiracies which were then on foot against him, all most 'real dangers,' and that he had disarmed and rendered powerless those conspirators; yet within six weeks they had organized a universal revolt, and had secreted stores of arms and ammunition all over England. This universal revolt broke out at Salisbury, 'bold and dangerous'; and it was put down by a single troop of horsemen, after the rebels had paraded, disheartened and deserted, across England. Except on that occasion, the vast design was suppressed without the aid of a single soldier or even a beadle. And, strangely enough, the Protector himself supplied a hint which might have provoked some curiosity about the nature of that 'Rebellion.'

For surely it is odd that 'such a terrible Protector this; no getting of him overset!' should have been compelled to contend with the notorious and obstinate incredulity of the members of his Parliament regarding the late attempt to overset him? Yet Cromwell's speech of September 1656 is pervaded with expressions such as these, regarding the 'bold and dangerous Insurrection' of March 1655,—'I think the world must know and acknowledge, that it was a general design,'—'I doubt if it be believed, that there was any rising,' either in North Wales or at Shrewsbury, or on Marston Moor, 'at the very time when there was an Insurrection at Salisbury'—'therefore, how men of wicked spirits may traduce Us in that matter—I leave it!'* Surely 'sluggish mortals, saved from destruction,' not caused by secret agencies, but from an actual 'Rebellion,' which threatened to bring every one of them into 'blood and confusion,' need not be required to believe in the very existence of so great and conspicuous a danger!

And Cromwell felt that he could not afford to leave that 'matter' untouched. A suspicion was prevalent, during the whole of Cromwell's reign, that plots were manufactured to suit

* Carlyle, iv. 108, 111.

his

his purposes. He knew that full well; he knew also the danger of such a suspicion. The surmises of the 'men of wicked spirits,' were those 'half tales,' that 'be truths.' It had been hoped that such a 'real plot' as 'the late Insurrection,' would give that suspicion a quietus. When it was safely transacted, Thurloe and his associates congratulated each other over that hope.* But it was not fulfilled. Hence arises the tone of angered honesty, which Cromwell so repeatedly assumed when he addressed his Parliament, and Carlyle's indignant protest—'What a position for a hero, to be reduced continually to say he does not lie!'

But what was Cromwell's motive in the fabrication of this Insurrection of March, 1655? It was not, as might be suggested, a device to thwart by a premature explosion, a dangerous conspiracy during a critical moment in the Protectorate. Cromwell himself asserts in his 'Declaration,' that 'this Attempt was made, when nothing but a well-formed Power could hope to put Us into disorder; Scotland and Ireland being perfectly reduced; Differences with most Neighbour Nations composed; our Forces, both by Sea and Land, in order and consistency.' Nay, he artfully converted the very security of his Government into a proof that 'the pretended King' would not have sent over his servants, and that the Royalists would not 'have actually risen' at Salisbury, had the insurrection been other than 'a general design,' based on a vast secret organization. No one in all England possessed more certain knowledge, than did Cromwell, that such was not the case, and that he could not plead in his behalf the poor excuse, that the Nation as a Nation needed a severe lesson, or that it was to save England from civil war that he had sacrificed the lives of those fourteen victims of his deception, and consigned that band of seventy or eighty Englishmen to the horrors of West Indian slavery.

But if Cromwell could not claim that excuse, what then was his motive? Dark as was the light within him, he was not in such utter darkness as to encompass himself about with written, spoken, and acted lies merely to gratify caprice, or that he might indulge in causeless cruelty. His motive was a very simple one. He was forced to obey his servant, the Army. The men whom he had made, and who had made him, demanded a visible share in the power and profit that he enjoyed. Reverting to the autumn of 1654, much had then occurred to disquiet the Army. Cromwell had taken a distinct step towards Kingship, by attempting to persuade Parliament to make the

* Pell Corresp., Lansdowne MSS. Brit. Mus. 752, fo. 275, 289. Hist. Rec. Comn. 6th Report, 438.

Protectorate hereditary. Parliament had made a distinct movement towards a large reduction in the Army and Navy. If rumour be evidence, there was, during November, 'a great division in the army.' And it is certain that, at the close of that month, Cromwell and his military men came to terms. At a meeting held in St. James's Palace, the staff of the army agreed 'to live and die with Cromwell.'* And a train of events, occurring in direct sequence after that meeting, proves that it was at this conjuncture that Cromwell agreed to parcel out his Protectorship among the leading officers of the Army. Parliament was dissolved 22nd January, 1655, on the pretext that under its shadow, conspiracy and discontent had thriven; and Cromwell gave an alarming account of the 'real dangers,' of imminent insurrection and anarchy, that threatened England. That speech was the prologue; then came the tragedy itself, the Insurrection of March, 1655; then came its consequence, the appointment of the Major-Generals. And in the end, the reason why they were appointed, was brought to light by a state of affairs, very identical with that which had raised them to power.

Cromwell had renewed the attempt that he had made in the autumn of 1654, and in his quest after Kingship he had come, during February 1657, almost within sight of the throne. Again the army officers interfered; and again Cromwell was forced to meet them face to face; to receive, on this occasion, their protest against his acceptance of the Crown. He made a compromise as he had done before; but in speech, he was not conciliatory. If the Protectorate had been a failure, he told his former comrades, it was their fault. It was they, and not he who had governed; as for himself, 'they had made him their drudge upon all occasions: to dissolve the Long Parliament,' and 'to call a Parliament or Convention of their naming,' which proved so unsuccessful; and then another Parliament, alike in unsuccess; and he concluded that catalogue of their untoward interferences with his government, by reminding his hearers that they 'thought it was necessary to have Major-Generals;' adding that so they 'might have gone on,' if they had not insisted on his calling the Parliament of 1656, against his will, which had given them 'a foil.'†

That speech is the most exceptional, in some respects the most important, of all Cromwell's speeches. Spoken if not 'in haste,' certainly 'out of the fulness of the heart,' that is caused by anger, it is, though unusually brief, delightfully

* 1 Dec. 1654. Pell Corr., Lans. MSS. Brit. Mus., 752, fo. 215, 220.
† 27 Feb. 1657. Burton, i. 383. Carlyle, iv. 177.

incautious.

incautious. Being addressed to men who could not well be deceived, the speech must be true, at least so far as they are concerned, in every particular; it does not contain a single appeal to God; and of no other among Cromwell's speeches, are the original MS. notes in existence. This speech, of the utmost historic importance, is essentially unheroic in tone and circumstance,—the querulous complaint of a master against servants who had over-mastered him,—an assertion of supremacy made by a man, who felt that he was not really supreme. But the singularity that attends the address to the recalcitrant officers is not yet exhausted. Surprise may well be felt that Carlyle, with this speech before him, ventured on the construction of his false image of Cromwell, the Hero. Judged even as an ordinary ruler, he must have been a very sorry Protector who, according to his own showing, was only a sham supreme magistrate,—the minister, the 'drudge,' of his servants but real masters—who had compelled him to call, and to dissolve Parliaments, and to impose on England those military despots.

Carlyle has endowed his ideal Protector 'with the virtue to create belief,' by the force of self-assertion, which still finds its imitators, by pouring out contempt on all who differ from him, and by implying that, as all other Cromwellian authorities are 'stupidities and falsities,' he alone was wise and true. This was but a risky basis on which to exhibit 'this Oliver' to the world, as the noblest Hero 'among the noblest of Human Heroisms, this English Puritanism of ours,' and as 'not a Man of falsehoods, but a Man of truths.' But reading over these words, and calling to mind the confidence with which Carlyle compels all to join with him in his Cromwell-worship, it is impossible to resist the conviction, that it was with good faith that he would see in Cromwell 'the glimpses,' even the revelation 'of the god-like,' and that he would not attend to aught that disclosed Cromwell 'not' as 'august and divine, but hypocritical, pitiable, detestable.' Even though he claimed a familiar acquaintance with the 'Thurloe Papers,' he must have been ignorant, it is impossible to think otherwise, of the black stories which Cromwell's 'expertest of secretaries' could publish against his master.

And passing from the worshipper to the Idol; surely it is but in accordance with common sense and common charity to hope that, as with Carlyle, so also with his Oliver, the real Cromwell was wholly shrouded from Cromwell's sight. That hope might, indeed, be forbidden by some. It might be argued that, although many a wrong-doing, such as bloodshed, oppression,

or

or even treachery, has been committed by men in the sincere belief that they were doing God service, Cromwell cannot be placed among that group of self-deceivers: that he stands by himself, and on a lower level. It was to save himself, to propitiate a gang of mutinous servants, that Cromwell contrived and wrought out the deception of March 1655, and obtained in the bloodshed that it produced, the essential result that he desired. And then, to give validity to his imposture, to grace it with the Divine sanction, he ascribed his course of acted and uttered lies, and the cruelty and misery they had engendered, to God Himself.

Undoubtedly that statement is true. But yet on the other hand it may be pleaded, that nothing but an intense living conviction, that God was with him in all his ways, could have enabled Cromwell to make 'with comfort' his 'appeal to God, whether' the Insurrection of March 1655 'hath been the matter of Our Choice,' or 'according to Our own inclinations!'

This is but a sorry plea to urge in Cromwell's behalf. The blackness and the fury of the storm, which roared across England during his dying hours, cannot have exceeded the blinding energy of that strong delusion, that ever drove him onward, through his cruel and crooked devices, fully persuaded that 'God was even such a one as' himself. Though all may agree in believing that it was not from the lips, but truly from the heart—not to cheat his hearers, but in a veritable ecstasy—that Cromwell claimed to stand before God, as one who 'had learned too much of God, to dally with Him,' still it must be felt, that such an assertion, coming from such a Protector, reveals a mental condition that baffles the understanding. But as man, when he shrinks from passing judgment on another, ever takes the better part; and as even with the best amongst us, the relation of the soul to God is a question which, of all others, should not be intermeddled with, assuredly we must leave Cromwell, whose being is one of 'the deep things of God,' to His judgment.—'Hell and destruction are before the Lord: how much more then the hearts of the children of men?'

ART. VI.—1. *Oceana, or England and her Colonies.* By James Anthony Froude. London, 1886.
2. *Through the British Empire.* By Baron von Hübner. 2 vols. London, 1886.
3. *The Western Pacific and New Guinea.* By Hugh Hastings Romilly, Deputy Commissioner of the Western Pacific. London, 1886.

IN days when proposals for the dismemberment of the Empire can be put forward by great leaders of public opinion without exciting either indignation or surprise, it may be worth the while of Englishmen to spend a few hours in making themselves acquainted with the volumes which we have cited at the head of this article. Most men are so absorbed in what is going on immediately under their eyes, that they seldom bestow a thought upon the remoter portions of the vast territory which acknowledges allegiance to the Queen. They have but the most vague ideas, or none at all, concerning the thoughts, wishes, and purposes of the large and growing communities which sprung from these islands, and which have hitherto been proud of their English origin. It is true that this pride has not been increasing of late years. The neglect or contempt with which the Colonies have been treated by successive Liberal Administrations did much to estrange the people, especially of Canada and Australasia, and the whole foreign policy of England under Mr. Gladstone's rule served to strengthen the general impression, that our decadence had not only set in, but was advancing with a rapidity which was palpable to all the world except to those who were chiefly concerned in arresting it. Mr. Froude tells us, that one of the shrewdest and most eminent of all the colonists whom he met expressed his amazement at the popularity in this country of Mr. Gladstone,—an amazement which, Mr. Froude adds, is felt 'wherever the English language is spoken,' outside England itself. We can fully confirm this statement. The hold which Mr. Gladstone retains upon the country, after the long series of unparalleled mistakes which a faithful review of his career must for ever associate with his name—the mistakes abroad, the mistakes at home, the crowning and almost incredible mistakes in Ireland; that he should still keep his hold of power and popularity after all this, absolutely passes the understanding of our fellow-subjects abroad, no matter what politics they profess. To them, we appear to be a people controlled by some Circean spell, having cast common-sense and prudence to the winds, and decided to be ruled henceforth by the man who can tickle our ears with the longest speeches

speeches and the smoothest words. Byron was accustomed to say that he looked upon the opinion of America as the verdict of posterity. It is certain that our own kinsfolk beyond the seas are sometimes in a far better position to realize the consequences of what we are doing here than those who are actually playing the game. We are too much wrapped up in self-complacency to allow their opinions to have any weight with us, but they have the satisfaction, such as it is, of seeing all their prognostications verified one after the other, and of knowing that a rude and stern awakening from our dreams is hanging over us.

Of the three books to which we invite attention, Mr. Froude's is least like the average book of travel, and undoubtedly is the most suggestive of thought. Whether we agree with Mr. Froude or whether we do not, it is always a pleasure to read him. The 'shoddy' work which extends to everything in the present day, and which is eating into the very heart of our new literature, has not corrupted the older handicraftsmen among us. Not one record of travel in a hundred deserves to be mentioned in the same breath with 'Oceana;' there are not very many books of the kind in the language which excel it in variety, in vigour of style, in picturesqueness of description, or in vivid glimpses of insight into personal character. Baron Hübner is a more genial, discursive, and garrulous traveller. He tells us everything that comes into his mind, and has a note about everything he saw. We must add that these notes are, generally speaking, of great interest, and often very amusing. He undertook a journey over the greater part of the British Dominions, at a somewhat advanced period of life; for his readers ought to be reminded that he is the last survivor of the Congress of Paris, and that few men have had more valuable experience in the diplomatic service. Before he started, the Baron heard that his project was freely discussed at the Travellers' Club. Some said, 'what a plucky old fellow he is!' His comment upon this shows that he knows something of men as well as of places: 'If any harm befals me, they will say, "what an old fool he was!"' Happily, there was no occasion for pronouncing this judgment upon him. He followed out his prescribed route with wonderful success, and he has presented a graceful and highly interesting narrative of his adventures. His observations may, in many respects, be usefully compared with those of Mr. Froude, though it will not do to carry this comparison much further. We must, however, do the Baron the justice to acknowledge, that he always manifests an earnest desire to be fair and just. As for the third book on our list, it has the advantage of being short and to the point, and the additional advantage of being

being founded upon a personal residence in one of the islands of the Western Pacific. Travels based upon something more substantial than a mere flying visit are not too common, and we are grateful to Mr. Romilly for making a very entertaining addition to the number. We should be equally glad to receive the account of North New Guinea which a Russian gentleman, Mr. Miklaho Maclay, is so well able to furnish. It so chanced that he was landed one night on the north coast of New Guinea, and in the morning the natives found him sitting upon his portmanteau, like a man waiting for a train. They took him for a being of supernatural origin, but by way of making sure, they fired arrows at the stranger, tied him to a tree, and forced spears down his throat. As he survived these injuries, though by a narrow chance, the first impression of the natives was confirmed, and Mr. Maclay was afterwards treated in a manner which seems to have left him little ground for complaint. Thus far, Mr. Maclay, as Mr. Romilly informs us, has declined to commit any account of his experiences to paper; but a resolution of this kind is seldom unalterable when a man has anything new to tell the world.

Mr. Froude, as we have already intimated, intersperses the records of travel with weighty reflections, or with valuable information, no part of which can be prudently ignored by the reader. We do not know, for instance, where in a short compass the arguments for and against Colonial Federation have been so clearly set forth. As a rule, the colonists everywhere view with great aversion the idea of placing themselves under the direct authority of Downing Street, and no one will be surprised at this who recollects the treatment they have almost invariably received from that quarter. On the other hand, they are by no means impatient or eager to proclaim their independence. 'British they are,' says Mr. Froude, 'and British they wish to remain.' It will not be their fault, but ours, if total separation ever becomes a popular cry in Australasia or in Canada. There have been projects of a purely *local* colonial confederation, but they are not regarded with much favour by the leading public men. Mr. Dalley, of Sydney, expressed strongly his disapproval of the scheme, and he also objected to the plan of having the Colonies represented in the Imperial Parliament by Colonial Agents-general. The one thing which seems at present to be universally desired is a better organization of the Navy. 'Let there be one Navy,' Mr. Dalley said, 'under the rule of a single Admiralty—a Navy in which the Colonies should be as much interested as the mother country, which should be theirs as well as ours, and on which they might all

all rely in time of danger.' In these respects, the ideas of modern colonists differ widely from those held in the last century. The great grievance of the American colonists was that they were not represented in the British Parliament. Had that demand been conceded, Mr. Froude is of opinion that 'Franklin and Washington would have been satisfied.' We do not quite agree with him, for the party of Independence, though small at first, was never likely to remain long contented with any compromise. Originally, indeed, as we all remember, the leaders of the Revolution disclaimed any intention of bringing about a separation. Franklin to the last protested his desire to keep the Colonies united to the mother country; but Franklin was not the most sincere or straightforward of men. Undoubtedly, however, the American colonists did not begin the Revolution with the least desire to create a separate nationality, any more than in the great civil war of 1861–65 there was at first, or for a long time, any intention of effecting the abolition of slavery. Both ideas were acquired by the people by slow degrees. Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Virginia, and other States gave emphatic instructions to their delegates in 1774 to 'restore union and harmony between Great Britain and her Colonies,' and the party of independence was thoroughly unpopular down even to the close of the struggle. One of its leading spirits gave emphatic testimony on this point. 'For my own part,' wrote John Adams, 'there was not a moment in the Revolution when I would not have given everything I possessed for a restoration to the state of things before the contest began, provided we could have a sufficient security for its continuance.' This feeling had no small share in misleading George III. on the American question, and in deepening his determination not to let the Colonies go—a fact which was brought out for the first time, we believe, by one of the ablest and most judicious of modern historians—Mr. Lecky. He also was the first to show, in a very striking manner, that the American Revolution was practically the work of a small minority, who, as he remarks—and the remark has no slight application to the other revolution now going on in our midst—'succeeded in committing an undecided and fluctuating majority to courses for which they had little love, and leading them step by step to a position from which it was impossible to recede.'* Nearly one-half of the Revolutionary army consisted of Irish, who have ever since played so important a part in the politics of the United States.

* See Mr. Lecky's 'History of England in the Eighteenth Century,' vol. iii. p. 443, &c.

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In the present day, our colonists do not seek for separation, neither—if Mr. Froude is right—do they ask for representation at Westminster. They 'are passionately attached to their Sovereign,' and they desire that their Governors 'should be worthy always of the great person whom they represent.' They wish to have their trade encouraged, as it might so easily have been a few years ago, if we had possessed foresight enough to adopt a system of differential duties; they wish to have good immigrants, and they see the growing necessity for a strong navy. The information on these subjects which Baron Hübner acquired should be considered in connection with Mr. Froude's statements. It will be found that the two writers substantially agree. Baron Hübner found that the Australian colonists fully comprehend the disadvantage which complete independence would be to them. They are practically independent now, but they are spared the political and social turmoil in which the periodical election of a President would necessarily involve them. 'The Queen,' said one of the Baron's friends, 'sends every five years a Governor, who is not an autocrat like the President of the United States, but the representative of constitutional royalty. In America every four years, business is arrested, public order is disturbed, and passions are let loose to the point sometimes of threatening even public life itself. And why? In order that the nation may elect an absolute master, irremovable by law during his period of office. Here every one understands this, and every one knows how to leave well alone.' We do not quite see how the President of the United States can be described as an 'autocrat' or as an 'absolute master,' but the Australians are right in their conclusion, that the American system would be a sorry substitute for the arrangement which gives them a Governor without inconvenience to themselves, and without any risk of infringement upon their liberties.

In the Cape Colony, the problem presents itself in a different form. In its origin—as everybody ought to know, but does not—it is not an English, but a Dutch Colony, and the Boers have never been disposed to render to English sovereignty more than a passive obedience. The chief facts in their recent history are but too easily recalled. When the Transvaal was annexed by Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the people at first submitted quietly; but the new Commissioner aroused first their fears, and then their anger, by various encroachments which were regarded as invasions of their rights. The Boers took up arms, English troops were despatched from the Cape to suppress the rising, and these troops were beaten at Lang's Neck. General Colley, who then commanded the forces at Natal, hastened forward with more

more troops in the hope of retrieving this disaster, but was himself beaten at Ingogo. He then, without waiting for the reinforcements which were on their way to him, took up a new position, was attacked by the Boers, and defeated in the memorable disaster of Majuba Hill. Mr. Gladstone forthwith surrendered everything, and since that time the Boers have been, as a matter of course, more and more antagonistic to the English power. 'They came to Africa,' says Baron Hübner, 'in 1652, with the intention of remaining there, and they do remain there. The future and Africa belong to them, unless they are expelled by a stronger power, the blacks or the English. They accept the struggle with the blacks, and they avoid all contact with the English.' Mr. Froude takes now, as he has always taken, a very strong view of our own responsibility for all the difficulties which have arisen with the Boers. We have, he says with some bitterness, 'treated them unfairly as well as unwisely, and we never forgive those whom we have injured.' The story is long, and it has been treated more than once, and we believe with strict fairness and impartiality, in these pages. Mr. Froude himself does not deny, that the effect of the surrender after Majuba Hill 'was to diminish infallibly the influence of England in South Africa, and to elate and encourage the growing party whose hope was and is to see it vanish altogether.' The work was not half done. We insisted upon a new Treaty, which was immediately broken by the Boers. Mr. Froude once more recommends us to 'leave the Cape alone'—not to get out of it, but to allow the Boers to manage their affairs in their own way. 'Our interferences,' he tells us, 'have been dictated by the highest motives; but experience has told us, and ought to have taught us, that in what we have done or tried to do, we have aggravated every evil which we most desired to prevent. We have conciliated neither person nor party.'

Baron Hübner arrived at his conclusions by a totally different road from that pursued by Mr. Froude, but the burden of his story is much the same. It is the indecision of the Central Government, the uncertainty in which the Colony is always kept as to what will happen to them next, which causes nearly all the mischief. We have treated the Cape Colony as we have treated Ireland, and with every prospect of bringing about the same results. First 'coercion,' then abject surrender, then coercion again—'a process,' as Mr. Froude justly remarks, 'which drives nations mad, as it drives children, yet is inevitable in every dependency belonging to us which is not entirely servile, so long as it lies at the will and mercy of so uncertain a body as the British Parliament.' Baron Hübner, who stands beyond the influence

influence of our party politics, tells us the same thing in other words. We want a policy, he says, in effect, which shall be permanent in its application, and therefore not affected by changes in Ministries. The fact is that we want such a policy for many parts of our Empire besides South Africa, and we are likely to want it. With Parliaments elected at short and frequent intervals, and depending largely on shifting caprices, there is not likely to be any fixed principle in dealing with political problems arising either at our own doors or thousands of miles away.

There is one question in which all the colonists take a deep interest, and that is the condition and prospects of our trade. The Colonies are now our best customers, and we sincerely hope they will continue to be so, for with them we may possibly get, even yet, something like Free Trade, whereas no chance of securing even an approach to it can be looked for in the rest of the world. The Colonies will always raise at the Custom House the greater part of the money they want for the expenses of internal government, but they may be induced to offer England more favourable terms than other nations receive. In Australia, as elsewhere, it begins to be doubted whether 'England can trust entirely to Free Trade and competition to keep the place she has hitherto held.' If all our Colonies were bound with us in one great commercial federation, we could make sure of Free Trade over a large part of the world's surface. 'We should have purchasers for our goods,' remarks Mr. Froude, 'from whom we should fear no rivalry; we should turn in upon them the tide of our emigrants which now flows away.' But at present, and with the fiscal system of 1846 still regarded as sacred and inviolable, nothing can be done. When we are prepared to acknowledge that the world has moved since 1846, and that we must move with it, there may be a possibility of widening the field of our commerce—unless, indeed, we delay too long. Public opinion in England is beginning to stir upon the subject. The demand for a great and radical change will come, when it does come, from the working men, and they are already showing signs of deep interest in a matter which concerns the very means of their livelihood. They are in advance of Parliament and Ministries on this subject. Mr. Froude is well within bounds in asserting that 'those among us who have disbelieved all along that a great nation can venture its whole fortunes safely on the power of underselling its neighbours in calicoes and iron-work, no longer address a public opinion entirely cold.' What, perhaps, has tended as much as anything else to open our eyes is the discovery, that other nations begin to

to be able to undersell us, not only in foreign markets, but even in our own—here in England, at Sheffield, Birmingham, and Manchester. Carlyle usually defined the Free Trade theory as the system of 'cheap and nasty.' As we have never had Free Trade, and therefore as it has never been properly tested, it is impossible to say what effects it was capable of producing, properly worked out. The great fact which confronts us to-day is that no other nation in the world, and not even our own colonists, will have anything whatever to do with it on any terms. This fact, at least, the English working men are beginning to see and to understand, and results will flow from it at present not anticipated by 'statesmen,' who know little or nothing about the hard matter-of-fact conditions under which trade is carried on, and who are assiduously primed by underlings with statistics which they repeat by rote, and as to the real value or signification of which they are completely and hopelessly in the dark.

According to Baron Hübner, the Australian colonists have not abandoned the hope of forming a customs' union with the mother country, and they are far from regarding the proposals for giving them representation in Parliament with the indifference which Mr. Froude imagines that he detected. No one yet seems to have made even an effort to settle the details of a scheme by which a navy could be kept up for the defence of the Colonies, and an Imperial Zollverein formed between England and her foreign possessions. But the 'advanced men,' according to Baron Hübner, feel convinced that the idea can be carried out, and they are desirous of finding, as a preliminary, direct representation in some form at Westminster. The growth of this idea, says Baron Hübner, 'of a grand confederation, which would completely revolutionize Old England, or rather, which would create a new England by the handiwork and after the pattern of her children in Australia—the growth of this idea among the masses is, to my mind, an indubitable fact.' More improbable things have happened than that England, weakened at home by the selfish ambition of her statesmen, and by the frenzy of party warfare, may be saved by the patriotism of her descendants in other lands. The first opportunity which the colonists have had of evincing their determination to stand by the old country was promptly taken advantage of, and with a heartiness of spirit that we hope is not yet forgotten, quickly as all events, great or small, are nowadays crammed into 'the wallet of oblivion.' The offers of colonial aid during the Egyptian war roused a feeling throughout the Colonies which astonished all Europe, and probably took many of

of the colonists themselves by surprise. 'When English interests were in peril,' Mr. Froude tells us, 'I found the Australians, not cool and indifferent, but *ipsis Anglicis Angliciores*, as if at the circumference the patriotic spirit was more alive than at the centre. There was a general sense that our affairs were being strangely mismanaged.' The men who think and talk like this are not struggling for place and power amid the demoralizing surroundings of modern Parliamentary life. They are able to take a cool and dispassionate view of us and our affairs, and they begin to think that public life has degenerated into a mere scramble for the spoils of office. Their indignation, when Gordon was deserted by the Government which he had tried to serve, was far greater than we seem to have had any experience of amongst ourselves. They looked upon him as 'the last of the race of heroes who had won for England her proud position among the nations; he had been left to neglect and death, and the national glory was sullied.' They volunteered to come over and help us fight our battles. The Colonial Office, then under Lord Derby, was for a few days disposed to turn the cold shoulder to these offers of assistance. But the feeling, which had been aroused in the country by the first announcements in the newspapers, was too deep to be mistaken. It broke through the ice in which the Colonial Office is usually imbedded, and compelled Lord Derby to make a warm and grateful response to the Colonies. In reality, the people there are, as many travellers besides Mr. Froude have remarked, more English than the English themselves in their sensitiveness as regards the national honour. We talk very coolly here of 'standing aside,' of 'having seen our best days,' and of giving up one part of our inheritance after another; but the Englishmen abroad are animated by very different sentiments. The love of the 'old home' is strong in them, even though they may have been born in the Colonies. It shows itself in a thousand different ways. At Ballarat, Mr. Froude seems to have been struck with a garden which might have been attached to an old cottage in Surrey or Devonshire. There were cabbage-roses, pinks, columbines, sweet-williams, laburnums, and honeysuckle—all prized because they were the flowers of Old England. The people everywhere speak the language with remarkable purity. The aspirate is rarely misplaced, unless by a recent immigrant. The misuse of the aspirate is, indeed, a peculiar part of the birthright of an Englishman. No one ever yet heard it from the poorest or most illiterate class in the United States. In Australia, says Mr. Froude, 'no provincialism has yet developed itself. The tone is soft, the language good.'

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The young people looked fresh and healthy, 'not lean and sun-dried, but fair, fleshy, lymphatic.' Mr. Froude could not see any difference between his countrymen at home and those who had settled down in this new and wider field of industry. 'The leaves that grow on one branch of an oak are not more like the leaves that grow upon another, than the Australian swarm is like the hive it sprung from.' Mr. Service, the Prime Minister of Victoria, fully shares the English predilections of his fellow-colonists, but he appears to feel some irritation at the tone so frequently adopted by the Liberal press and party in this country, and emphatically urged in their day by Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright. This tone is founded upon the argument, 'The Colonies are of no use to us; therefore the sooner they take themselves off the better.' If some leaders and members of the Liberal party had their way, we should be without a colony in the world, without India, and with Ireland close to our own doors a hostile and an independent Foreign Power.

With regard to India, it is to Baron Hübner's records of a very remarkable journey that we must turn for the notes of the most recent traveller. The work is not so exhaustive, especially as regards the Native States, as M. Rousselet's 'L'Inde des Rajahs,' but it is eminently readable and lively, and the author gives abundant evidence, that he took with him everywhere an earnest desire to arrive at the truth, and a determination to form his conclusions with strict impartiality. It is evident that in India he soon began to feel the influence of that peculiar spell which the country exercises over most persons of a susceptible or imaginative temperament. 'India,' he says, 'has always fascinated me,' and few who have travelled there will not be ready to make the same confession. It is much to be hoped that the Radicals will be induced to listen to Baron Hübner's testimony concerning the way in which we carry on government in our great Eastern dependency. Nowhere, strange as it may appear, but in our own country is English rule misunderstood or misrepresented. Injustice is systematically done to the purest, most conscientious, and most industrious Civil Service in the whole world; and our countrymen who are spending the best part of their lives in the effort to promote the welfare and prosperity of India, are too often held up to opprobrium as examples of merciless tyrants, whose only object is to grind down the natives into the dust. We seem to be losing many of the characteristics which formerly distinguished us in the world, but there is one which marks us out very plainly from all other nations—the habit of disparaging our own achievements and vilifying our own reputation. We do not find

find the Germans pertinaciously seeking to bring into disrepute the efforts now being made to extend their colonial possessions; the Americans have a motto, upon which they invariably act: 'our country—right or wrong.' This may be carrying a good principle a little too far; but it is better than the course we pursue, of striving with might and main to dishonour our past, and to place our country in the most contemptible light before the rest of mankind. Instead of our having any reason to be ashamed of what we have done in and for India, we have every cause to be proud of it; and, if English people had an adequate knowledge of that work, and were in a position to exercise their common-sense on the question, untrammelled by agitators and demagogues, they would acknowledge gladly that they were heartily proud of it. We believe that the great body of Englishmen in India are honestly endeavouring to do their duty, according to the measure of their abilities, and that, if any event occurred to cause our removal from the country, it would inflict the direst forms of suffering and calamity upon the people. It is important to hear what a foreigner, not unduly prejudiced in our favour, has to say upon these points. First, then, in reference to the men who are engaged in the practical work of government—the Civil Service—Baron Hübner says:—

'I have met everywhere men devoted to their service, working from morning till evening, and finding time, notwithstanding the multiplicity of their daily labours, to occupy themselves with literature and serious studies. India is governed bureaucratically, but this bureaucracy differs in more than one respect from ours in Europe. To the public servant in Europe one day is like another; some great revolution, some European war, is needed to disturb the placid monotony of his existence. In India it is not so. The variety of his duties enlarges and fashions the mind of the Anglo-Indian official; and the dangers to which he is occasionally exposed serve to strengthen and give energy to his character. He learns to take large views and to work at his desk while the ground is trembling beneath his feet. I do not think I am guilty of exaggeration in declaring that there is not a bureaucracy in the world better educated, better trained to business, more thoroughly stamped with the qualities which make a statesman; and, what none will dispute, more pure and upright than that which administers the government of India.'

Of late years, as everybody is aware, a demand has sprung up for 'local self-government' in India—a demand not originating with the natives themselves, but with the sentimentalists and philosophers who are doing their best and their worst to take all the manliness out of the English character. Lord Ripon was the mechanical mouthpiece of this sect, and there can be

no doubt whatever that no Governor-General or Viceroy of India ever did so much harm in so short space of time. He and his school tried their utmost to persuade the natives that what they want is 'Home Rule'—that panacea for all the evils of modern life which is likely to entail so many new burdens and trials upon us. The natives of India never suspected, until Lord Ripon strove to impress it upon them, that Home Rule is indispensable to their happiness. They are perfectly well aware that if our hold upon the country is ever relaxed, there will be nothing but chaos all through the land,—internecine wars, rebellions, and massacres, such as marked the history of India until our rule became well established there. Lord Ripon closed his eyes to all this—a *doctrinaire* at heart, he could see nothing but his own crotchets. The natives, he declared, must have local self-government. But Baron Hübner found that the people did not understand or desire this much vaunted contrivance. The native, he says, 'refuses to be elected by his equals. He wishes to be chosen by his superiors, and his superiors are the English officials, represented in this case by the district officer or magistrate. In the North-Western Provinces, this opposition was so strong that the Supreme Government have been obliged, much against their own views, to give to the Governor of those Provinces the power of constituting the municipalities.' The sentimentalists may try to develop the 'native mind' as they please, but they will never persuade Hindoos or Mussulmans to trust their own countrymen as they trust us. We have a reputation among them for fairness and for justice which no native would ever aim to deserve, although he is not incapable of understanding and admiring it. An East Indian of any race or religion will never speak the truth if he can possibly help himself, but he has a certain respect for the man who can and does. No doubt, the very earnestness, with which we seek to dispense equal justice among all classes, is a stumbling-block in our path, and always has been so. The native likes to deal with a judge who will wink at perjury, and who is not above taking a bribe. Yet the Englishman is everywhere trusted. 'If proof were needed,' says Baron Hübner, 'to show how deeply rooted among the populations is English prestige, I would quote the fact that throughout the peninsula the native prefers, in civil and still more in criminal cases, to be tried by an English judge. It would be impossible, I think, to render a more flattering testimony to British rule.' But these are facts which had no signification for Lord Ripon. He pursued a policy which, designedly or undesignedly, was calculated to bring our rule to an end. 'Lord Ripon's resolution,' some

some one told Baron Hübner, 'means nothing or means this: The Government foresees that the time will come when we must leave India to herself.' Then there was the Ilbert Bill, placing Europeans in the country districts under the jurisdiction of native judges. How could the natives of all classes fail to look upon this as another evidence that the reins of power were dropping from our nerveless hands? The point of the whole matter was thus put by one of the civilians to Baron Hübner:—'The principle, that the jurisdiction over European subjects of the Crown must be reserved for judges and magistrates who are also European subjects, has always been maintained. And it has always been recognized that in this principle lies the only possible effectual guarantee to Europeans living in country districts against the perjury and false witness so common among the rural populations.' The Ilbert Bill proposed to take away these safeguards from the European, and would have left him at the mercy of native judges and native witnesses, whose only idea of justice is to make a few rupees out of its administration.

The school of Radicals represented only too numerously in the present Parliament—unreasoning, ignorant of India, impulsive, narrow and insular — is also represented among the more recent importations of 'competition wallahs.' Baron Hübner met with many of them. 'In their opinion,' he says, 'the ideal of a sound English policy is the dismemberment of the British Empire, and above all the abandonment of India. To save England, it is necessary first to destroy her.' To the shrewd and experienced Austrian diplomatist, these ideas seem to be absolutely ruinous, but the oddity of it is that thousands of persons in England cling to them with a sort of idolatry, as if within them was compressed the sum and substance of all human wisdom. The Radical party to-day lives upon these theories of dismemberment, although it is careful to keep its ultimate aim as much as possible in the background. In India, its adherents are doing an immense amount of harm. Baron Hübner seems to have been struck with amazement at the phenomenon. 'This is, indeed,' he exclaims, 'a curious and perhaps a unique spectacle — an immense administration, managed according to doctrines which are repudiated by the large majority of those who compose it.' The natives who are educated in our schools and colleges emerge from them filled with ideas of Socialism and Atheism. We break down their faith in their own creeds, without succeeding in inducing them to adopt Christianity. They find themselves free to construct a religion of their own, or to do without any religion.

As regards the Government, they are led to believe that it ought not to be where it is, and that India should be ruled by its own people. The native press is full of sedition. Let us hear what Baron Hübner has to say upon this subject, for it is worth attention :—

'Is there any public opinion in India? It is declared that there is none. And yet people agree in saying that the natives who have been educated in the State colleges have become singularly importunate of late years, that they are beginning to adopt a high tone, and that they take especial delight in criticising the acts of the Government, who, unwisely, as it seems to me, encourage if not provoke such criticism. These baboos and their newspapers, I am told, would only become dangerous at a crisis; and by a crisis is understood a disastrous European war. But the life of nations, like that of individuals, is nothing but a series of successes and reverses. Looked at from this point of view, the baboo is not such an insignificant being as he appears to be considered.'

No doubt our Radicals would contend that the Austrian's notion, that it is unwise on the part of the Government to encourage criticism directed against itself, is worthy of a man who has seen the Napoleonic *régime*, and who perhaps admires the 'one man' form of government. But what is the English Radical party itself living under now? Was ever the 'one man form of government' carried out in so relentless a fashion as we see it now in Parliament? Is there not one man in the Government, surrounded by a crowd of nonentities—the one man filling the exact position for which the Americans have invented the significant word 'Boss'? All liberty of thought or freedom of action is gone. The principle insisted upon is 'do whatever our leader tells us; go where he leads; give what he asks—all without murmuring or discontent. The man who murmurs must be drummed out of the ranks.' If we saw the French submitting to this system, no words that we could use would be strong enough to express our contempt for them. As we happen to be doing it ourselves, it must, of course, be good and wise. Granted that it is so, we may fairly ask even the Radicals whether they are quite sure that it is wise to think of giving up India? With what do they propose to replace our government? The testimony of every fair-minded man is that we have accomplished an incalculable amount of excellent work there. Our magnificent highways and railroads, our appliances for irrigation, would alone make our name immortal in the country. The people thrive under our rule; every man is secure in the possession of his property; war no longer devastates the country. We recommend everybody who

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is unaware of these and similar facts to consider well the evidence adduced by Baron Hübner:—

'Materially speaking, India has never been as prosperous as she is now. The appearance of the natives, for the most part well clothed, and of their villages and well-furnished cottages, and of their well-cultivated fields, seems to prove this. In their bearing there is nothing servile; in their behaviour towards their English masters there is a certain freedom of manner, and a general air of self-respect; nothing of that abject deference which strikes and shocks new comers in other Eastern countries. I have no means of comparing the natives of to-day with the natives of former generations, but I have been able to compare the populations who owe direct allegiance to the Empress with the subjects of the feudatory princes. For example, when you cross the frontier of Hyderabad, the climate, the soil, the race, are the same as those you have just quitted, but the difference between the two States is remarkable, and altogether to the advantage of the Presidency of Madras or of Bombay.'

He goes on to say, that no one can deny that the British India of to-day presents a spectacle which has no parallel in the history of the world:

'What do we see? Instead of periodical, if not permanent, wars, profound peace firmly established throughout the whole Empire; instead of the exactions of chiefs always greedy for gold, and not shrinking from any act of cruelty to extort it, moderate taxes, much lower than those imposed by the feudatory princes; arbitrary rule replaced by even-handed justice; the tribunals, once proverbially corrupt, by upright judges whose example is already beginning to make its influence felt on native morality and notions of right; no more Pindarris, no more armed bands of thieves; perfect security in the cities as well as in the country districts, and on all the roads; the former bloodthirsty manners and customs now softened, and, save for certain restrictions imposed in the interests of public morality, a scrupulous regard for religious worship, and traditional usages and customs; materially, an unexampled bound of prosperity, and even the disastrous effects of the periodical famines, which afflict certain parts of the peninsula, more and more diminished by the extension of railways which facilitate the work of relief. And what has wrought all these miracles? The wisdom and the courage of a few directing statesmen, the bravery and the discipline of an army composed of a small number of Englishmen and a large number of natives, led by heroes; and lastly, and I will venture to say principally, the devotion, the intelligence, the courage, the perseverance, and the skill, combined with an integrity proof against all temptation, of a handful of officials and magistrates who govern and administer the Indian Empire.'

Such is the testimony of an Austrian. It ought to bring a flush of shame to the faces of not a few Englishmen.

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We have scarcely alluded to the lighter parts of Baron Hübner's volumes—to the excellent touches of description or sketches of character which enliven his pages, or to the numerous pleasantly-told anecdotes of personal adventure. One of these anecdotes is worth repeating, though the author must pardon us if we tell it in our own way. It is too characteristic of life in New York—too full of valuable hints for future travellers—to be lost sight of.

It appears that on his last morning in New York, the Baron found that his note-book had been taken from his room in the hotel. His servant and his baggage had already gone on to the steamer, and the Baron prepared to follow. First, however, as he still had two hours to spare, he thought he would take a final glimpse of Fifth Avenue. These are the little accidents which generally decide our fate in life—the visit to some friend, the call on a stranger, the unpremeditated walk. As the Baron was passing along, a carriage suddenly stopped, a 'fashionably-dressed gentleman' jumped out, and ran up to the traveller with a cordial salutation. He introduced himself as a guest who had dined, with the Baron, at a dinner given by Lord Augustus Loftus in Sydney. 'I am one of the admirers,' he said, 'of your "Promenade autour du Monde," and I venture to ask you to do me the favour of writing your name in my copy of that book. In return, pray accept a volume of Longfellow's poems, with the author's autograph.' The fashionable stranger had skilfully touched the weak place in an author's heart. Baron Hübner consented to be driven back to his hotel, where his new friend was also residing. On the way, the stranger suddenly bethought himself that the two books were at the house of an acquaintance, 'two steps from the hotel.' He put his head out of the window, gave some fresh directions to the coachman, and the Baron soon found himself being whirled along at a furious rate along streets which he did not recognize. Still, the old traveller had no suspicion of anything wrong. His voyages and adventures certainly seem to have left him in a more than ordinarily unsophisticated condition. At last the carriage stopped, our author was conducted into the dark passage of a small house, and then into a little dirty room, where he found a tall man seated before a table, with his back to a mirror. In that mirror, the Baron saw his dear friend from Sydney gently lock the door, and put the key in his pocket. Then he understood all about it.

Of course the tall man was polite, and after promising to go and fetch the volume of Longfellow, he proposed to the gentleman from Sydney a game at cards. While the two men played their

their sham game, the Baron had time to reflect; he saw that he had been pounced upon very skilfully—in less than two hours the 'Bothnia' would sail, the people at the hotel would think he had gone by her, no one would miss him, no one would search for him. He might be murdered with impunity—with what impunity the Baron would have fully realized if he had known a little more of New York. No city in the world presents greater facilities for getting rid of the evidences of foul play. We have not seen the recent statistics of murders in New York, and doubt whether they have been published; but in the five years between 1870 and 1875, we happen to know that 281 'homicides' were committed there, and that only seven of the murderers were hanged. Twenty-four were sent to prison—nominally for life, although that is a mere form—and more than one-fourth of the criminals were never brought to trial at all. If Baron Hübner had known all this, he would have regarded his two new acquaintances with even greater interest than he did.

How and why they let him go scot-free is to us a mystery. They invited him to take a hand in the game, and he declined. They pretended to play for him; won, and offered him the stakes. He told them he had no money with him, that they would get nothing for their trouble, that the French Consul was to meet him on board the 'Bothnia' to bid him adieu; if he were not there a hue and cry at once would be raised. 'Then,' adds the Baron, 'turning to my friend from Sydney, I said to him, "Open the door."' The ruffians gave in without further trouble. There was an exchange of looks between them, and the tall man said to the other, 'show him out.' We have heard of many strange things happening in New York, but never of one so strange as that. 'When I stepped upon the deck of the "Bothnia," says the Baron, 'a few minutes before departure, I felt that I had had a narrow escape.' Very narrow; we should advise Baron Hübner, if ever again he finds himself in New York, not to tempt his good fortune by taking a drive with strangers who admire his writings.

For the novel and stirring incidents of travel, we must turn to Mr. Romilly's narrative of his experiences in the Western Pacific. He transports us to a comparatively little known region, and it was his good or ill fortune to come into contact with phases of life which must, it is to be hoped, for ever remain unknown to most of us. Few living men, for instance, have been present at a great feast on human flesh, cannibalism being one of the habits of savage life which is found to yield at the first touch of civilization. In New Ireland, however, Mr. Romilly

Romilly happened to be present at a sort of state banquet, given in honour of a victory over the enemy. The enemy himself supplied the materials of the repast. The details of the preparation of the horrible food may be read in Mr. Romilly's pages by all who have a curiosity on the subject. Some few particulars concerning a compound called 'Sak-sak' may here be given :—

'They [the heads of the victims] were then disposed of in various ways, and when I asked what would be done with them, I was told, "They will go to improve the sak-sak." The natives on the East coast of New Ireland prepare a very excellent composition of sago and cocoa-nut, called sak-sak. I used to buy a supply of this every morning, as it would not keep, for my men. Now it appeared that for the next week or so, a third ingredient would be added to the sak-sak, namely, brains. I need hardly say that for the next two days of my stay I did not taste sak-sak, though my men made no secret of doing so. The flesh in the ovens had to be cooked for three days, or till the tough leaves in which it was wrapped were nearly consumed. When taken out of the ovens the method of eating is as follows. The head of the eater is thrown back, somewhat after the fashion of an Italian eating macaroni. The leaf is opened at one end, and the contents are pressed into the mouth till they are finished. As Bill, my interpreter put it, "they cookum that fellow three day; by-and-by cookum finish, that fellow all same grease." For days afterwards, when everything is finished, they abstain from washing, lest the memory of the feast should be too fleeting.'

Mr. Romilly was informed by the natives that human flesh tastes even better than pork. One is satisfied to take their word for it. In the New Hebrides, it appears that the people prefer to eat it dried, or 'jerked.' At present, we are told,

'the cannibals in the world may be numbered by millions. Probably a third of the natives of the country where I am now writing (New Guinea) are cannibals; so are about two-thirds of the occupants of the New Hebrides, and the same proportion of the Solomon Islanders. All the natives of the Santa Cruz group, Admiralties, Hermits, Louisiade, Engineer, D'Entrecasteaux groups are cannibals; and even some well-authenticated cases have occurred among the "black fellows" of Northern Australia. I do not know that the fact of a native being a cannibal makes him a greater savage. Some of the most treacherous savages on this coast are undoubtedly not cannibals, while most of the Louisiade cannibals are a mild-tempered pleasant set of men.'

This testimony can do no harm in England, but it is to be hoped that Mr. Romilly will not repeat it too often among his black friends, or the moral of it might be misunderstood.

The Solomon Islands still form a part of the world of which very

very little is known. They are rarely visited, and travellers who have gone for the purpose of 'taking notes,' have either altered their minds in good season, or never returned. Some years ago, Mr. Benjamin Boyd, a member of the Royal Yacht Squadron, went out in his yacht, the 'Wanderer,' and was captured by the natives. Search was made for him from time to time, and his initials were found carved on trees. A notice was placed on all the goods sold to the natives to this effect: 'B. B., we are looking for you'—but no tidings were ever heard of the missing man. Mr. Romilly was told by the captain of a labour schooner that somewhere on the south coast he had noticed a European skull in a sort of temple; he recognized it as European from its size, and he also observed that one of the teeth was stopped with gold. We take it for granted that the dentists among the Solomon Islanders do not use gold for filling teeth. This, then, was probably the skull of the hapless owner of the 'Wanderer.' The Solomon Islanders now make a practice of killing white men, if it can be done safely, in revenge for the way in which they have been 'kidnapped' for the labour traffic. The diseases introduced by their treacherous white friends have made terrible ravages among them, and their own habits tend still further to reduce their numbers. 'There are several places,' says Mr. Romilly, 'where it is the custom to kill all, or nearly all, of the children soon after they are born.' This is the only region we ever heard of where so frightful and so unnatural a custom exists. Female children are, or used to be, destroyed in many countries; but the indiscriminate slaughter of all children is decidedly uncommon. These islanders have another device which is supported by an argument not entirely devoid of strength. 'In a battle the victorious party, if they can surprise their enemies sufficiently to admit of a wholesale massacre, kill not only the men, but also all the women and children. "We should be fools," say they, "if we did not. This must be revenged some day, if there are any men to do it; but how can they get men if we kill the women and children?"' The same thought has doubtless occurred to modern conquerors elsewhere, though, happily, circumstances have not enabled them to carry it into practical effect. Some other curious details respecting this group of islands are given by Mr. Romilly. The old women, it appears, become adepts in the occult sciences, and the men occasionally find the trade of wizard lucrative. They are chiefly called upon to bring about a change in the weather, and their plan of operations is to gain time. It resembles, in some striking features, the method adopted by the 'inspired statesman' of our own latitudes when he is trying to feel his way

way towards the development of some scheme which he is half afraid of himself, and which the public view with profound suspicion. Surely most of us could find a counterpart to the individual described in the following passage:—

'One old sorcerer of my acquaintance was a most interesting study. If he was asked for fine weather (which, by the way, in the Solomons is the usual request, the rainfall being enormous), he used to temporize in a truly masterly manner. First he would hold out for more payment. This policy he could continue for an indefinite length of time, as he would of course require payment in a form which he knew was difficult or impossible for the natives to comply with. Then, if he thought there was any likelihood of fine weather for a day or two, he would become possessed of a devil, which would leave him at once if the sun made its appearance, but while the bad weather lasted the devil would last too; and finally, if the fine weather was very obstinate and would not come, he would hold out again for more payment. In this manner my old sorcerer was very seldom mistaken in his forecasts, and the influence he exerted over the clerk of the weather must have been most irksome to that functionary.'

This leader of his tribe, we are further informed, had a 'great hold over the imagination of his dupes.' We are more civilized—or *we* think so—than the islanders of the Western Pacific; but human nature is pretty much the same there as here. As for the philosophy of such matters, it is thus summed up by Mr. Romilly: 'I have often wondered what the sorcerer thinks of himself; whether he really believes himself to be a magician, or whether he realizes the fact that he is an arrant old humbug. I think there is a mixture of both feelings.' It would be useless to pursue this enquiry any further.

Another of the unexplored islands of these seas forms a part of the Admiralty group, and is called Jesus Maria. It was visited by the 'Challenger' in 1875, and again by Mr. Romilly on two occasions, the last in 1881, in H.M.S. 'Beagle.' The natives, a fierce and warlike race, crowded round the vessel, eager to sell everything they had, including their babies. Bottles and hoop-iron were eagerly sought for. While engaged in carrying on this simple traffic, the party on board noticed, to their amazement, a white man on shore, who fired off a gun to attract their attention. The next day a boat rowed to the beach, and there stood the white man. He proved to be a Scotchman named David Dow, who was collecting *bêche de mer*, and found his trade prospects so good that he desired to remain where he was. The Admiralty Islanders have some 'very singular customs,' not to be met with anywhere else; but after thus piquing our curiosity, Mr. Romilly ruthlessly balks it by remarking

remarking 'that they are, unfortunately, of a nature which cannot be described here.' We share his regret upon his being obliged to keep the secret; for when a traveller has found out anything absolutely fresh and startling, common humanity should, in these dull and overcast times, induce him to disclose it. But no doubt Mr. Romilly has his reasons for silence, and we must submit to them. The Germans have recently hoisted their flag upon several of these islands, and we may trust them to tell all that they can find out, and more.

In the Laughlan islands—a small group—the Germans are also to be found. Indeed, they are spreading rapidly over the Pacific Isles. As the spirit of adventure is dying out among Englishmen, it appears to be increasing in other nations. The genius for colonization appears to have fled from us to Germany. Certain it is that the Germans are everywhere displaying that daring and enterprise in which we once shone above all other people in the world. They will probably end by becoming masters of the larger part of the Western Pacific. As for the Laughlan Islands, it cannot be said that any one whose lot takes him there need be regarded as an object of pity. The climate is good; food is abundant; life is tolerably easy. True, there are no newspapers and no Parliament; but existence has often been found supportable in the absence of these things. The natives are friendly; and there are no animals anywhere, not even rats. The men are decently clad, and the women wear a very voluminous kilt, sometimes two or three of them, over each other. These garments are made of grass, leaves, or fibre, stained various colours. 'In wearing two or three, care is taken to produce an æsthetic mixture of colours—a little vanity which is met with sometimes at home amongst ladies who like to display petticoats of many colours. It is considered just as essential here to walk well as it is at home, but the two styles are not quite the same. The Laughlan lady, in walking, at each step gives a little twist to the hips, which has the effect of making the kilts fly out right and left, in what is considered a highly fashionable and beautiful manner. Though a somewhat similar effect to this may, I am informed, occasionally be seen in petticoats at home, still I fear that the firm stride of the Laughlan lady could hardly be reproduced in English boots. To see ten or twelve of these ladies walking in the unsociable formation of single file, which they adopt, with their many-coloured kilts flying out on either side, is a very pretty sight.' Evidently, a judicious traveller and observer might do worse than take a tour to the Laughlans.

Two other interesting spots to visit are Thursday Island and Norfolk

Norfolk Island, both British possessions, and the first a place of some importance, as the centre of the Torres Straits pearl-shell fishery. This trade has demoralized the natives, who now seem to spend a great part of their time in getting drunk, the Europeans too often setting the example. 'It is a common thing,' says Mr. Romilly, 'for a diver to go down three-parts drunk. The dress is supposed to have a very sobering effect.' Here is a litle story which will produce a pang of regret in the minds of the jewellers of Bond Street:—

'The best pearl I ever saw was in the possession of a celebrated diver who was a shipmate of mine from Thursday Island to Brisbane. He was offered on board the ship two hundred pounds for it, which could not have been a third of its value. But he refused every offer, as he had just been paid off, and had plenty of money. I felt sure it would go the way of all pearls when his money was finished, and accordingly I informed a Sydney jeweller of it, and where he could see it. When I was in Sydney a few weeks later I made inquiries about it, and the jeweller told me that it was the finest pear-shaped pearl he had ever seen, but that it was unsaleable at its proper value in Australia, and he therefore had made no attempt to buy it.'

But the pearl fishery on these coasts is becoming less lucrative every year, and it is now falling almost entirely into the hands of natives, who can stay under water longer than men of our own race, and seem to be endowed with greater powers of endurance. As for the 'labour trade' of which we all have heard so much, Mr. Romilly gives us to understand that it is dying out. It arose under the stimulus which the American war gave to cotton growing, and to the sudden necessity for procuring assistance for the planters. At first, the natives were found ready enough to volunteer for the service, but the treatment they received was not calculated to encourage the spirit of volunteering. Then all sorts of artifices were tried to deceive them. Sometimes the labour-hunters pretended to be missionaries. 'On the usual question being asked, "Where shippy come?" they would reply, "Missionary." Perhaps they would all pretend to sing a hymn very slowly, while the hatches would be left open, and several tins of biscuits would be put into the hold.' Curiosity would gradually draw the natives aboard, and then the hatches would be clapped on, and the man-stealers made off for Queensland or Fiji. It is to be hoped that Mr. Romilly is right in stating that these practices have ceased, but unless we are mistaken, accounts have appeared in colonial journals, within a very recent period, of organized raids upon these coasts for the purpose of carrying off the natives. It is needless to say, that a sentiment of hostility to all

all white men is likely to remain as the permanent result of this abominable system.

The fact is, that the white men who had the run of these islands down to a few years ago were chiefly the off-scourings of other countries. They found among the savages far fewer vices than they brought with them from the civilized world. Some of them had run away to escape from the vengeance of the laws which they had outraged; others were attracted by the freedom which an entirely new life opened up to them. From them have sprung a brood of half-castes who are the curse of the islands—like many other half-castes, they manage to combine the evil qualities of both races. The chief traders along the Pacific are now becoming much more respectable. Some of them, indeed, appear to emulate the style and condition of the prosperous English merchant. Mr. Romilly knows such a man, living 'within a day's march' of the wildest cannibals in the Pacific, who keeps up an establishment of forty or fifty men, with a French *chef*. 'In a hitherto almost unknown island, he will give you a dinner, every night, which could not be equalled at any private house or club in Australia.' He keeps a yacht for private exploring expeditions, and is to-day the principal 'trader and pioneer in the Pacific.' A narrative of his observations and experiences would be of very unusual interest, but like the Russian settler before referred to, he reserves for his own benefit the knowledge he has acquired. The Germans are pushing us hard, and in many respects they are better fitted for their work than English traders. There seems a fair prospect of a gradual elevation of social as well as of commercial life throughout the Pacific. Already, lawlessness is discouraged. Not so very many years ago, piracy was carried on openly in these seas. Mr. Romilly gives a very interesting and curious account of one of the last pirates, a desperado known as 'Bully Hayes,' once a boatman on the Mississippi. This man began life by robbing his father, and soon afterwards made his appearance on the Pacific coast the proud proprietor of a fifty-ton schooner. 'How he had obtained possession of this schooner,' says Mr. Romilly, 'was a matter of surmise, but he had been seen at Singapore not long before this time, and a fifty-ton schooner had mysteriously disappeared from that port without the knowledge of her captain and owner.' He carried on a bold career of plunder for many years, and only came to grief at last by an accident which he could not have foreseen. He had stolen another vessel, and was making for some of his favourite haunts along the coast, when the cook, who was steering, happened to give him some offence. At that time,

Hayes

Hayes was accustomed to settle all disputes off-hand with his revolver, and in accordance with this plan he ran below to get his 'shooting irons.' Mr. Romilly thus relates the sequel:—

'The cook objected, and, catching up the first piece of wood he saw, got on to the top of the little deck-house over the ladder, and, the moment Hayes showed his head above deck, gave him a blow which killed him on the spot. This cook seems to have been somewhat doubtful as to whether Hayes was even now dead, so he fetched the largest anchor the cutter possessed, and bound the body to it, after which he hove anchor and body overboard, remarking, "For sure Massa Hayes dead this time."'

Mr. Romilly, in the course of his wanderings, made a journey to New Guinea, a portion of which has now been placed under British protection. Little is known of the resources of the country, trading operations having hitherto been almost entirely confined to the south coast. Mr. Romilly's visit was brief, and he was not enabled to add much to our previous stock of information. He does not seem to be aware of the progress which the Germans are making in this island, or of the results of the energetic support which Prince Bismarck invariably extends to his adventurous countrymen.

Here, then, are three works which ought to have the effect of reviving the interest of the English people in their possessions abroad, if they have not sunk into a hopeless state of indifference and apathy on the subject. We do not for a moment believe that the working men are indifferent to the present and future welfare of our Colonies, but they need to be instructed as to the true value of their great inheritance, and therefore it is that we earnestly wish such books as these could be made readily accessible to them. It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of convincing them that it is our duty as a nation to hold fast to all that we have added, from time to time, to the dominions of the Crown. The foreign policy of the country, no less than the domestic policy, must henceforth be directed mainly in accordance with their opinions; and if those opinions are left to be influenced and guided by the hereditary dislike of the Colonies which infects all Radicalism, our position in the world will soon be reduced to one of comparative insignificance. Baron Hübner concludes his volumes with these words: 'Had I to sum up the impressions derived from my travels, I should say, "British rule is firmly seated in India; England has only one enemy to fear—herself."' That is the whole truth of the matter. We have to fear own party divisions, the want of true public spirit among too many of our 'politicians,' the tendency of Radical leaders to teach the doctrine that England ought to shut herself

herself within her own island boundaries, and cast off all outside responsibilities. Sentiments of this kind may be, and are, loudly cheered in the House of Commons, but very few Liberals are daring enough to advocate them in the country. Lancashire knows how valuable India is to her, and the manufacturing districts generally see the growing importance to them, merely from a commercial point of view, of the Australian Colonies. The anti-Colonial policy is growing less and less popular among the people. To discredit it altogether, it is only necessary to distribute, far and wide among the working men, facts and considerations of the kind furnished in the works to which we have endeavoured to call attention.

ART. VII.—*The Apostolic Fathers: S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp.* Revised Texts, with Introductions, Notes, Dissertations, and Translations. By J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Bishop of Durham. London, 1885. 2 vols.

THIS is a great book, dealing principally with a great subject —the 'Ignatian Epistles.' The two volumes contain altogether 1849 pages, 1311 being devoted to St. Ignatius, the remainder to St. Polycarp. It is no exaggeration to say that they are full of the most valuable information, dealing with matters of vital ecclesiastical importance, the whole presented in the most lucid style, and marked by broad, strong scholarship. They are the result of 'a keen interest in the Ignatian controversy conceived long ago' by the Bishop of Durham. 'The subject has been before me,' he writes in his Preface, 'for nearly thirty years, and during this period it has engaged my attention off and on in the intervals of other literary pursuits and official duties.' The conception, execution, and production of the work had therefore been protracted. The volumes as they are issued to-day are not in the form they were originally written. Thus, the 'Appendix Ignatiana' was in type several years before the commentary on the genuine Epistles of Ignatius, and the Introduction and texts of the 'Ignatian Acts of Martyrdom' passed through the press in 1878. In 1879 Cambridge and London surrendered their great teacher to Durham; and there in the intervals, few enough, snatched from official duties, the first volume has been written, and from thence sent forth. It is necessary to bear this in mind; because it will, on the one hand, explain absence of reference to

to some works published since 1878; and on the other hand it increases the value of the Bishop's results, when reached in entire independence of, and yet in entire accordance with, those of other scholars in the same field.

This work testifies to the truth, that it is the mark of true greatness to be modest. The most superficial examination of these volumes exhibits a *Corpus Ignatianum* superior to anything yet published. It is, says Dr. Harnack,* 'without exaggeration the most learned and careful Patristic monograph which has appeared in the nineteenth century.' It exhibits 'a diligence and knowledge of the subject which show that Dr. Lightfoot has made himself master of this department, and placed himself beyond the reach of any rival. . . . There is nothing in it that is not up to date, and the whole treatise forms a well-knit unity.' This is the willing testimony of one of the ablest of the scholars of Germany who have handled the great questions connected with Ignatius; the testimony, moreover, of one who, as we shall see presently, finds himself at variance with the Bishop upon two points especially which, more than any other, materially affect the genuineness of the Epistles and their date. Such, however, is not the Bishop of Durham's thought. As he looks back upon the work to which he has consecrated the prime of his life, he speaks of it in language touching in its modesty:—

'I have striven to make the materials for the text as complete as I could. . . . Of the use which I have made of the critical materials I must leave others to judge. Of the introductions, exegetical notes, and dissertations, I need say nothing, except that I have spared no pains to make them adequate, so far as my knowledge and ability permitted. The translations are intended not only to convey to English readers the sense of the original, but also (where there was any difficulty of construction) to serve as commentaries on the Greek. My anxiety not to evade these difficulties forbad me in many cases to indulge in a freedom which I should have claimed, if a literary standard alone had been kept in view.'

He follows up such words by others, conveying his thanks to those who have helped him in his work, and the generosity of his recognition of their services does but enhance the reserveful simplicity with which he comments upon his own. The 'English reader' and the 'others' whose judgment he desires, will, at least in England, unite in rendering to him a respectful and grateful homage. The subject treated by the Bishop is in a very real sense an Englishman's subject. For three centuries

* Bishop Lightfoot's 'Ignatius and Polycarp,' by Prof. A. Harnack, Ph.D., in 'Expositor' for December, 1885, p. 401.

English

English critics have not only entered the literary arena, in which the great historic and ecclesiastical questions connected with his subject have been discussed, but they have contributed largely to the materials, offensive and defensive, which the combatants have employed. Ussher, Pearson, Churton and Cureton, have been English champions whose merits all have acknowledged. The Bishop of Durham has now entered the lists to support what has been proved sound in their conclusions, to remove what was weak, and do battle for the truth. An impartial English public will appreciate the gravity of this challenge, and may be trusted to grant or withhold the victory he puts forth his best powers to win.

The volumes lend themselves by their construction to an easy statement of their contents, if those contents by their fulness must be of necessity the despair of critic and reviewer. First there is the life of the Saint, then the discussion of the manuscripts and versions which delineate the Saint and his literary remains. These are followed by exhaustive discussions upon all that tells for or against their genuineness, the whole being treated both historically and critically. Such will be found, briefly stated, the mode of discussing the life and works both of St. Ignatius of Antioch and of St. Polycarp of Smyrna; and two results will reward a patient perusal of these volumes. The Bishop has indeed limited these results to the study of the Ignatian Epistles, but—under his guidance—the reader will find what is affirmed of one to be true of both:—

'The Ignatian Epistles are an exceptionally good training-ground for the student of early Christian literature and history. They present in typical and instructive forms the most varied problems, textual, exegetical, doctrinal, and historical. One who has thoroughly grasped these problems will be placed in possession of a master key which will open to him vast storehouses of knowledge.

'But' (continues the Bishop) 'I need not say that their educational value was not the motive which led me to spend so much time over them. The destructive criticism of the last half century is, I think, fast spending its force. In its excessive ambition it has "o'erleapt itself." It has not indeed been without its use. It has led to a thorough examination and sifting of ancient documents. It has exploded not a few errors, and discovered or established not a few truths. For the rest, it has by its directness and persistency stimulated investigation and thought on these subjects to an extent which a less aggressive criticism would have failed to secure. The immediate effect of the attack has been to strew the vicinity of the fortress with heaps of ruins. Some of these were best cleared away without hesitation or regret; but in other cases the rebuilding is a measure demanded by truth and prudence alike. I have been reproached

proached by my friends for allowing myself to be diverted from the more congenial task of commenting on St. Paul's Epistles; but the importance of the position seemed to me to justify the expenditure of much time and labour in "repairing a breach" not indeed in the "House of the Lord" itself, but in the immediately outlying buildings.'

St. Ignatius and St. Polycarp (together with St. Clement of Rome) are the links which connect the Apostolic age proper with the Fathers of the second and third centuries; and this fact has made them and their scanty literature the hope and despair, the pride and the scorn, of opposing factions. In the whirl and confusion of discordant criticisms it is everything to study and to build up by the help of one who has caught the spirit of the master-lives he expounds. There breathes throughout the volumes of the Bishop of Durham the spirit of St. Ignatius's counsel—

'Speak to each man severally after the manner of God. Bear the maladies of all, as a perfect athlete. Where there is much toil, there is much gain. If thou lovest good scholars, this is not thankworthy in thee. Rather bring the more pestilent to submission by gentleness. . . . The season requireth thee, as pilots require winds, or as a storm-tossed mariner a haven, that it may attain unto God. Be sober, as God's athlete. The prize is incorruption and life eternal, concerning which thou also art persuaded.'—(Ep. of St. Ignatius to St. Polycarp, 1, 2.)

Ignatius of Antioch! Men of old loved to find in his name (or its Syriac equivalent, Nurono; *νοῦρα* = *πῦρ*, *fire*) a prescience of the torch of divine love which blazed in him. The fancy may pass, if etymologically unsound; for Ignatius, 'the Inflamed,' was a true child of the fiery East. Contrast him and his letters with St. Clement of Rome and his Epistle to the Corinthians. Nothing is more notable in the Roman 'than the calm equable temper,' the 'sweet reasonableness.' He is essentially a *moderator*. On the other hand, impetuosity, fire, strong-headedness, are impressed on every sentence in the Epistles of Ignatius. He is by his very nature an *impeller* of men. Both are intense, though in different ways. In Clement, the intensity of moderation dominates and guides his conduct. In Ignatius it is the intensity of passion—passion for doing and suffering—which drives him onward. In Clement we listen to the voice of a judge delivering calmly his sentence from his throne; in Ignatius we

'are startled by the ringing cry of the trumpet-call—sharp, stirring, penetrating—sounding for the battle. The fire of the hot East bursts in, like a sun, strong and impassioned; a vivid personality, in flame with

with love, flashes in upon the world, quivering as a sword of the cherubim; a rhetoric in which the rapid, electric thought breaks out of the strained and formless chaos of the *imagination*, as lightning out of the rolling and dark thunder-cloud; a theology, which, by the intense passion of metaphor, forces an almost violent entrance into the secrets of the Most High; a morality which can carry forward into the heights of holiness the madness of faith, the extravagance of zeal, the recklessness of enthusiasm, the audacity of love, dragging them into the service of Christ at the chariot-wheels of God's triumph—such are the characteristics of Ignatius of Antioch.' *

The Roman name of Ignatius (or Egnatius) tells nothing as to his birth or origin. It was not unknown in Syria and Palestine, and was sometimes borne by Jews. But another and a second name—Theophorus—of regular recurrence in the seven genuine Epistles records at least his spiritual birth. Ignatius probably assumed the name of 'the God-bearer' at the time of his conversion or his baptism; the precedent lay before him of a Saul commemorating a critical incident in his career (Acts xiii. 9) by a similar adoption of a name; and that assumed by Ignatius became in its turn an epithet freely applied to the Fathers at the Œcumenical councils. The name gave birth to more than one beautiful legend. Was not Ignatius, according to the Eastern belief, the 'God-borne' (*θεόφορος*), the very child whom the Lord took into His arms (St. Mark ix. 36, 37)? Was he not the 'God-bearer' (*θεοφόρος*), on the fragments of whose heart, according to Western tradition, was found stamped in golden letters the name of Jesus Christ? Whether he were a slave or not must remain uncertain. It is a more probable deduction from his own language that he—the 'untimely birth,'†—the 'one born out of due time' and 'the last' of the faithful, had been rescued from a pagan life, such as Antioch on the Orontes, the home of panders and dancing girls, and 'Daphnici mores' would have applauded.

'His,' says Bishop Lightfoot, 'was one of those "broken" natures out of which God's heroes are made. If not a persecutor of Christ, if not a foe to Christ, as seems probable, he had at least been for a considerable portion of his life an alien from Christ. Like St. Paul, like Augustine, like Francis Xavier, like Luther, like John Bunyan, he could not forget that his had been a dislocated life; and the memory of the catastrophe, which had shattered his former self, filled him with awe and thanksgiving, and fanned the fervour of his devotion to a white heat.'

* 'The Apostolic Fathers,' p. 116. By Canon Scott Holland.

† *ἔκτρωμα*, 'Ep. to the Romans,' 9, with Bp. Lightfoot's note. Compare 1 Corinth. xv. 8.

There is no chronological inconsistency in supposing that Ignatius was a disciple of some Apostle, if nothing can be affirmed as to the date of his accession to the ministry or episcopate. On the supposition that he was martyred, as an old man, about A.D. 110, his birth may be placed about A.D. 40. When 25 years of age, or in A.D. 65, companionship would still have been open to him with St. Peter and St. Paul; or, if his teacher were St. John, his conversion may be brought to A.D. 90, when he would be about 50 years of age. Confessedly all this is conjectural or traditional, as are also any details of episcopal administration. A 'pitchy darkness envelopes the life and work of Ignatius,' till it is 'at length illumined by a vivid but transient flash of light.' The story of Ignatius begins and ends with the story of his death. 'If his martyrdom had not rescued him from obscurity, he would have remained like his predecessor Euodius, a mere name.' His martyrdom has made him 'a distinct and living personality, a true father of the Church, a teacher and example to all time.'

Thrilling though the narrative of this martyrdom must ever be, the barest outline only can be given here. The Martyrologies, if they are to be set aside as not containing authentic history, will fascinate afresh the student who turns to them to find in the notes and discussions light cast upon many a critical and ecclesiastical problem. The genuine Epistles have furnished the Bishop with the materials of a sketch of terror which every one will read with the deepest interest.

For some unknown reason the Church of Antioch was by God's will deprived of its venerable head; and with other 'convicts,' collected from the provinces to be

'Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday,'

Ignatius was led Romeward. His journey lay along a route which in part had been traversed by Xerxes. The procession of the Persian, foremost among his myriads of men for beauty and stature, halting near Sardis to decorate a beautiful plane-tree with golden ornaments, and commit it to the custody of an 'immortal'* is in vivid contrast to the procession of 'criminals,' the Christian leader 'bound amidst ten leopards (or soldiers) who wax worse when kindly treated,' halting also at Sardis, his own decoration the 'bonds' which are to him 'spiritual pearls,' and at Smyrna, writing letters which shall make him immortal.† At Troas, like another St. Paul, he looked upon the shores of the Europe which was in later ages

* Herod. vii. 31, 187. † 'Ep. to the Rom.' 5, 'to the Ephes.' 11, with note.

to

to rise up and call them blessed; and from thence he wrote how prepared, how eager he was to meet the 'fire, the sword, the wild beasts,' how to be 'near to the sword was to be near to God; to be encircled by wild beasts was to be encircled by God.' And then Rome at last!—among those who thirsted for his blood, among those whose very love he dreaded lest it should do him the injury of keeping him from martyrdom. Touching is the appeal he had sent before him to the Church 'filled with the grace of God without wavering and filtered clear from every foreign stain':—

'Let me be given to the wild beasts, for through them I can attain unto God. I am God's wheat, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts that I may be found pure bread of Christ. Entice the wild beasts that they may become my sepulchre and may leave no part of my body behind, so that I may not, when I am fallen asleep, be burdensome to any one.'

Into the colossal pile, erected for the display of the bloodiest of inhuman crimes, he was led; and his own impassioned appeal was answered:

'Come fire and cross, and grapplings with wild beasts! Come cuttings and manglings, wrenching of bones, hacking of limbs, crushings of my whole body! Come cruel tortures of the devil to assail me! Only be it mine to attain unto Jesus Christ!'

Men, with tear-stained faces, looked away from his death to 'form themselves'—as he had bidden them—

'into a chorus in love and sing to the Father in Jesus Christ. God had vouchsafed that the Bishop from Syria should be found in the West, having summoned him from the East. Good was it to set from this world unto God, that he might rise unto Him.'

Love is perhaps wrong in asserting that his remains were brought back to Antioch: it is unerringly right in having raised the Epistle to the Romans—'his pæan prophetic of his coming victory'—to be the martyr's manual of a grateful posterity.

'The glory of Ignatius as a martyr,' writes the Bishop of Durham, 'has commended his lessons as a doctor. His teaching on matters of theological truth and ecclesiastical order was barbed and fledged by the fame of his constancy in that supreme trial of his faith.'

If interest in the heresies he combated may be said to be confined to-day to scholars who study them as a chapter in heresiology, or seek in them a bone of contention, the interest in the points of ecclesiastical order delineated by him was never more

more intense than now. Only last year the testimony of the Ignatian Epistles to the burning question of Apostolical succession was one point in the discussion between Canon Liddon of St. Paul's and Dr. Hatch; this year, the view presented by the Bishop of Durham meets with its ablest antagonist in Dr. Harnack. In very truth the letters of the martyr have been the battlefield of the controversy, which affirms or disallows the threefold ministry of the Church of Christ.

It will be perceived at once how much turns, not first upon the interpretation of the Epistles, but upon the genuineness of the text presenting itself for interpretation. What is this text? Never before have the lovers of textual criticism had the opportunity of examining and answering this question as they have now in the Bishop of Durham's volumes. He first describes at length the Manuscripts and Versions, on which a true text may be reasonably founded, and then gives the text, together with the Versions, accompanied by Introductions and Notes which leave nothing to desire. The labour necessary for massing and bringing together all this information is only equalled by the exactness and orderliness with which it is presented. But the Bishop writes not only for the scholar, but for the man of general culture and intelligence, who can enter with interest into a problem historical and antiquarian, as well as textual and critical. To many the battle of the giants, over the 'long,' the 'middle,' and the 'short,' form or recension of the Ignatian Epistles, will be an intellectual treat, as he watches the fence and scholarship of the various disputants. He will see that in literary as in political controversy the spirit of compromise is to-day in the ascendant, and that 'middle'-men have for once their value.

To explain these terms. By the 'short' form is meant that which consists of *three* Epistles only—to St. Polycarp, to the Ephesians, and to the Romans. This exists only in a Syriac version. By the second, 'the middle form,' are understood these three Epistles, and four more, namely, Epistles to the Smyrnæans, Magnesians, Philadelphians, and Trallians. This form is originally Greek, and is found also in Latin, Armenian, and—in a fragmentary state—in Syriac and Coptic. The third, or 'long' form, contains the seven already enumerated in a more expanded state, together with six others, the recension being in Greek and in a Latin translation.*

Practically the contest as to the truest form has been reduced

* See the useful Table in i. 222, and the excursus on 'Spurious and Interpolated Epistles' in i. 223–266. Cf. also the 'Appendix Ignatiana,' ii. 587, &c.

to

to a duel between the 'short' and the 'middle.' The 'long' form can be shown to be the work of an unknown author, probably of the latter half of the fourth century, and constructed from the genuine Ignatian Epistles by interpolation, alteration and omission. But the 'long' form died hard, and mainly through the thrusts of our own Ussher.

'The history of the Ignatian Epistles,' says the Bishop, 'in Western Europe before and after the revival of letters, is full of interest. In the Middle Ages the spurious and interpolated letters alone have any wide circulation. Gradually, as the light advances, the forgeries recede into the background. Each successive stage diminishes the bulk of the Ignatian literature, which the educated mind accepts as genuine; till at length the true Ignatius alone remains, divested of the accretions which perverted ingenuity has gathered about him.'

In the 'long' recension there is a letter to one Mary of Cassobola. This was made the parent of a 'correspondence between St. John and the Virgin,' bearing the name of Ignatius: and it is not improbably connected with the outburst of Mariolatry in the eleventh and following centuries. But with 'the first streak of intellectual dawn this Ignatian spectre vanished into its kindred darkness.' The forgery was 'consigned to the limbo of foolish and forgotten things.' This pretender set aside, St. Ignatius was represented in Western Europe by the epistles of the 'Long' recension. The Latin text was printed in 1498, and the Greek in 1557. At first no doubt was felt about their genuineness. Gradually, however, unwelcome critics pointed out gross anachronisms and blunders. Men, with unpleasant habits of comparison, noted that Eusebius, the Church historian (c. A.D. 310–25), quoted from only seven epistles, and that the divergence of the 'long' text from that given by early Christian writers * fully warranted the comment of Ussher, that it was difficult to imagine 'eundem legere se Ignatium qui veterum ætate legebatur.' Theological and ecclesiastical prejudice lent bitterness to the rising strife. On the Continent, Reformer and Romanist ranged themselves in opposite camps: the one quoting with delight passages which favoured Roman supremacy, or advocated Episcopacy; the other throwing them over as 'nursery stories' (or 'silly tales,' *nænia*), and denouncing

* Such as Eusebius and Theodoret. Cf. i., pp. 137–40, 161–4. The catena of quotations and references from the second to the ninth century, given in i. 127–221 (cf. the hint on p. 220), is most important for the construction of the text, and as a preliminary to the determination of the priority and authenticity of the Epistles. Harnack's objections to the quotation from Lucian (i. 129) are not shared by Baur or Renan, and are indirectly met by Bishop Lightfoot, i. 331–5.

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'the insufferable impudence of those who equipped themselves with ghosts like these for the purpose of deceiving' (Calvin). After the publication of the edition of Vedelius, a Genevan Professor, in 1623, Anglican writers, such as Whitgift, Hooker, and Andrewes, seem to have accepted without hesitation the twelve (the seven named by Eusebius and five others) contained in that edition; but in England as on the Continent, the absence of so much, which could alone lead men to a right conclusion, prevented the consideration of the question on its true merits:—

'Episcopacy was the burning question of the day; and the sides of the combatants in the Ignatian controversy were already predetermined for them by their attitude towards this question. Every allowance should be made for their following their prepossessions, where the evidence seemed so evenly balanced. On the one hand, external testimony was strongly in favour of the genuineness of certain Ignatian letters; on the other hand, the only Ignatian letters known were burdened with difficulties. At the very eve of Ussher's revelation, a fierce literary war broke out on this very subject of Episcopacy—evoked by the religious and political troubles of the times.'

On the one side were Hall's (Bishop of Exeter) 'Episcopacy by Divine Right asserted' (1639), and 'An Humble Remonstrance' on behalf of Liturgy and Episcopacy (1641); Ussher's 'The original of Bishops and Metropolitans,' and Jeremy Taylor's 'Of the Sacred Order and Offices of Episcopacy' (1642); on the other, the five Presbyterian ministers whose initials composed the monstrous name Smectymnuus,* issued their 'Answer to the Book entituled an Humble Remonstrance' (1641), and Milton, in his short treatise 'Of Prelatical Episcopacy' (1641), fulminated with 'fiery eloquence and reckless invective' against Ussher.

'Had God,' wrote Milton, 'intended that we should have sought any part of useful instruction from Ignatius, doubtless He would not have so ill-provided for our knowledge as to send him to our hands in this broken and disjointed plight; and if He intended no such thing, we do injuriously in thinking to taste better the pure evangelic manna by seasoning our mouths with the tainted scraps and fragments from an unknown table, and searching among the verminous and polluted rags dropped overworn from the toiling shoulders of Time, with these deformedly to quilt and interlace the entire, the spotless, and undecaying robe of Truth. What impiety,' he added,

* Stephen Marshall, Edward Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, William Spurstow.

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'the confronting and paralleling the sacred verity of St. Paul with the offals and sweepings of antiquity, that met as accidentally and absurdly as Epicurus his atoms to patch up a Leucippean Ignatius.'

'Out of his own mouth,' says Bishop Lightfoot, 'he was soon convicted.' The "better provision for knowledge" came full soon. To the critical genius of Ussher belongs the honour of restoring the true Ignatius.' Ussher observed that the quotations from this Father in three English writers, Robert (Grosseteste) of Lincoln (c. 1250), John Tyssington (c. 1381), and William Wodeford (c. 1396), agreed—not with texts hitherto known (the Greek and Latin of the 'long' Recension), but—with the quotations in Eusebius and Theodoret. He concluded that somewhere in the libraries of England he ought to find MSS. of a version corresponding to this earlier text of Ignatius: and he discovered two—(1.) *Caiensis* 395 [L_1], a MS. given to Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, in 1444 by Walter Crome; and (2.) *Montacutianus* [L_2], a parchment from the library of Bishop Montague or Montacute, of Norwich. Of the first a transcript was made for Archbishop Ussher, and is still in the library of Dublin University (D. 3. 11), and is dated 20 June, 1631. It is full of inaccuracies, arising sometimes from indifference to spelling on the part of the transcriber, or to carelessness and inattention, but most frequently from ignorance of the numerous and perplexing contractions. The second has disappeared, probably on the day when Parliament ordered the Archbishop's books to be seized and confiscated (1643). Bishop Lightfoot has in part restored it by drawing attention to the collation of this Montacute MS., which occurs between the lines or in the margin of the Dublin transcript of the Caius MS. Archbishop Ussher's examination of the Latin version, thus discovered, induced in his mind a suspicion that Bishop Grosseteste was himself the translator. A marginal note, for example, betrayed the nationality of its author; 'Incus est instrumentum fabri; dicitur Anglice *anfeld* [anvil].' Who so likely to have had the ability to translate from a Greek version as Robert Grosseteste, one of the very few Greek scholars of his age? Evidence is not wanting that the Ignatian Epistles were imported from Greece, and translated under the Bishop's direction by one or other of the Greek scholars who were with him: and it is significant, in connection with this point, that Tyssington and Wodeford belonged to the Franciscan Convent at Oxford to which Grosseteste left his books.

The result of Ussher's discovery was to determine, that this Latin translation—valuable for critical purposes on account of its

its extreme literalness *—represented the Ignatius known to the Fathers of the fourth and fifth centuries. The Greek text still remained unknown, and Ussher attempted to restore it from the 'long' recension by the aid of his newly discovered Latin version. This he did by bringing the former as nearly as possible into conformity with the latter. Ussher's book appeared in 1644. It was marred by one blot. Eusebius had mentioned seven Epistles, but Ussher—deceived by a mistake on the part of St. Jerome—exscinded the Epistle to Polycarp, and condemned it as spurious. Two years later, Isaac Voss published the Greek of six Epistles from a Florentine MS., the Epistle to the Romans having disappeared from the copy; and this omission was finally rectified in 1689 by Ruinart. From the middle of the seventeenth century disputants ceased to trouble themselves about the 'long' form. Controversy, presently to be noted, raged about the Vossian letters, Daillé (1666) attacking them, Pearson defending them.

It is a great leap to the year 1845, but not till then did a new era dawn upon the questions at issue. It was in that year that Cureton published the 'Antient Syriac Version of the Epistles of St. Ignatius to St. Polycarp, the Ephesians, and the Romans.' This version was discovered in two MSS. at the British Museum, and contained the Epistles named in a shorter form than either of the Greek or Latin texts.† Cureton's contention was that he had discovered the genuine Ignatius, and that the remaining four Epistles of the Vossian collection, as well as the additional portions of these three, were forgeries. Cureton was opposed by Dr. Wordsworth, the late Bishop of Lincoln, then Canon of Westminster, and defended by Bunsen. There followed quickly the *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ* (1846) and *Corpus Ignatianum* (1849), in which Cureton was considered to have not only refuted his adversary, but also to have presented arguments which rallied to his standard Ritschl, Lipsius, Pressensé, Ewald, Milman, and Böhringer. Opposition to Cureton's view was not, however, wanting. The Orientalists, Petermann and Merx, united with the Conservative critical school, represented by Denzinger and Uhlhorn, in preferring the Vossian collection; while the Tübingen school (Baur and

* i. 79. For example, as regards the order of the words in the Greek text, this Latin translation may be treated as an authority. The Greek is rigidly followed without any regard for Latin usage. So also Greek articles are scrupulously reproduced, in violation of Latin idiom. New or unusual Latin words are introduced to correspond as exactly as possible to the original; *e.g.* ingloriatio = ἀκαυχησία; multibona ordinatio = τὸ πολυεύτακτον, &c.

† See i. 72. For the text edited by Dr. W. Wright, see ii. 657, &c.; and for a translation, ii. 670, &c.

Hilgenfeld)

Hilgenfeld) opposed itself to Ignatian letters, short, middle, or long, as utterly subversive of their theories of the growth of the Canon, and of the history of the Early Church. The Bishop of Durham was himself, at that time on Cureton's side, 'led captive' (as he says) 'for a time by the tyranny of this dominant force.' We can but record the change in his opinions, and leave to the reader to follow, in the Bishop's own pages, the reasons which induced him to abandon a method and decline results that would not stand the test of a searching criticism. Independent investigation of the phenomena of the Armenian version and of the Syriac fragments led him to regard the 'short' or Curetonian recension as an abridgment or mutilation, rather than the nucleus, of the 'middle' or Vossian form; and Zahn's monograph, *Ignatius von Antiochien* (1873), never yet answered, dealt a fatal blow at the claims of the Curetonian letters. Since then Lipsius has been convinced by Merx; Renan and Harnack are agreed; and most scholars will come to the conclusion, that through the Bishop of Durham's own serious investigation of the diction and style of the 'short' form, 'the last sparks of its waning life have been extinguished.' The collection was dictated by no doctrinal, Eutychian or Monophysite, motive, nor composed (as Hefele suggested) in support of moral aim or monastic piety. It is simply a 'loose and perfunctory curtailment of the middle form, neither epitome nor extract, but something between the two,' and to be dated about the year A.D. 400 or somewhat earlier.

The ground having been thus cleared from the accretions of the 'long' form and the mutilations of the 'short,' the Bishop of Durham considers in the next place the genuineness of the seven Epistles known to Eusebius, and preserved to us not only in the original Greek, but also in Latin and other translations. It is a bitter reflection, that discussion on this subject was (and—in a less degree—is still) evoked, not so much by critical and textual variations and difficulties, as by the exigencies of party spirit and theological animosity. A dreary, if necessary, page of ecclesiastical history has to be studied, when French Protestant and English Puritan turned passionately against the discovery of Ussher and Voss. It is small comfort to the charitably minded to be told that, had not Daillé attacked *

* 'De scriptis quæ sub Dionysii Areopagitæ et Ignatii Antiocheni nominibus circumferuntur,' &c. (1666). The Bishop of Durham characterizes Daillé's treatment of the Ignatian writings as marked 'by deliberate confusion.' He knows the facts, but makes the Vossian letters bear all the odium attached to the 'long' recension. Pearson's work, 'Vindiciæ Epistolarum S. Ignatii,' appeared six years later in 1672. This reply as compared with the attack was 'as light to darkness.' In England it closed the controversy.

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the Ignatian letters, Pearson would not have stepped forward as their champion.

The consideration of the genuineness of the Seven Epistles falls naturally under the head of external and internal evidence.

The Bishop gives his conclusion on the external evidence in the following words:—

'(1.) No Christian writings of the second century, very few writings of antiquity, whether Christian or pagan, are so well authenticated as the Epistles of Ignatius. If the Epistle of Polycarp be accepted as genuine, the authentication is perfect. (2.) The main ground of objection against the genuineness of the Epistle of Polycarp is its authentication of the Ignatian Epistles. Otherwise there is every reason to believe that it would have passed unquestioned. (3.) The Epistle of Polycarp itself is exceptionally well authenticated by the testimony of his disciple Irenæus. (4.) All attempts to explain the phenomena of the Epistle of Polycarp, as forged or interpolated to give colour to the Ignatian Epistles, have signally failed.'

These four propositions sum up an examination minute and masterful. Not only is the testimony of the Epistle of Polycarp adduced, but also that of Irenæus; that of the Letter of the Smyrnæans, giving the account of the martyrdom of Polycarp; that of Lucian, and that of Origen (middle of third century). After the age of Eusebius (half a century later than Origen) 'no early Christian writing outside the Canon is attested by witnesses so many and so various in the ages of the Councils and subsequently.' Dr. Harnack, however, is opposed to the Bishop's conclusions, and considers that, 'if we do not retain the Epistle of Polycarp, the external evidence on behalf of the Ignatian Epistles is exceedingly weak, and hence is highly favourable to the suspicion that they are spurious.' This is not the place to enter into the dispute. We can but record our opinion, that in the Bishop's pages Dr. Harnack's objections are met by anticipation.

The internal evidence is treated by the Bishop under six heads.

1. The Historical and Geographical Circumstances dealing specially with the condemnation and the journey to Rome. Under this section are collected also the personal notices yielding their testimony to the genuineness of the letters in a manner not less striking, because incidental and allusive, than the testimony of the geographical section. The reader will linger here over the thought of the consolation and refreshment brought to the good Ignatius on his way to martyrdom. We learn to love Crocus and Alce, 'names,' says Ignatius, 'beloved by

by me,' Burrhus and the widow of Epitropus, for the love they bore the Saint; we learn to see in the Bishop of Durham's pages how such names bear undesigned testimony to the Epistles which record them.

2. The Theological Polemics.

3. The Ecclesiastical Conditions. To these we shall return immediately, after a few words on—

4. The Literary Obligations, 5, The Personality of the Writer, and 6, The Style and Diction of the Letters. As regards the Literary Obligations, the Bishop lays down the following maxim: 'A primary test of age in any early Christian writing is the relation which the notices of the words and deeds of Christ and His Apostles bear to the Canonical writings;' and he adds, 'Tried by this test, the Ignatian Epistles proclaim their early date. There is no sign whatever in them of a Canon or authoritative collection of Books of the New Testament.' There are frequent references to the facts of Christ's life, death, and resurrection, and Gospel sayings are given; but there is 'not a single reference to written evangelical records, such as the "Memoirs of the Apostles," which occupy so large a place in Justin Martyr.' The same holds good of the Apostolic Epistles.

'I would ask,' the Bishop concludes, 'any reader who desires to apprehend the full force of these (facts with reference to Ignatius) to read a book or two of Irenæus continually, and mark the contrast in the manner of dealing with the Evangelical narratives and the Apostolic letters. He will probably allow that an interval of two generations or more is not too long a period to account for the difference of treatment.'

The personality of the writer is no doubt unusual. A power of communication with angels,* 'extravagant' humility and self-depreciation;† and a not less 'extravagant' desire for martyrdom (confined, however, to the Epistle to the Romans), are not certainly what a later age commended or found in the Martyrs; but due allowance being made for the temperament of the Saint and the circumstances of the case, 'it is a picture much more explicable as the autotype of a real person than as the invention of a forger.'

Once more, the Style and Diction of the Letters may be, as Daillé and his followers have thought, 'forced and unnatural' in the use of images, 'confused' as to language, and 'bombastic' as to diction. But what then? asks the Bishop:—

* Trall. 5.

† See, for example, Rom. 4. 9; Trall. 3, 13; Ephes. 1, 3, 21.

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'What security did his position as an Apostolic Father give that he should write simply and plainly, that he should avoid solecisms, that his language should never be disfigured by bad taste or faulty rhetoric?'

'It may not,' he continues, 'be considered very good taste to draw out the metaphor of a hauling engine (Ephes. 9)—to compare the Holy Spirit to the rope, the faith of the believers to the windlass, &c. But on what grounds, prior to experience, have we any more right to expect either a faultless taste or a pure diction in a genuine writer at the beginning of the second century, than in a spurious writer at the end of the same?'

Elaborate compounds, Latinisms, reiterations, are no proof of spuriousness.

It is not, however, so much on these as on so-called anachronisms that assailants have attacked the letters. In every instance a supposed success has ended in a reverse. Thus the term 'leopard,' applied to the soldiers who conveyed Ignatius,* was said to have been unknown before the age of Constantine; and it was argued that the forger of these letters had antedated the word by two centuries. Pearson pointed out an example of the word about A.D. 202; but the Bishop of Durham has found it in a rescript of the Emperors Marcus and Commodus (A.D. 177–80), and in an early treatise written by Galen, which carries it back within about half a century of Ignatius. Evidently it was then a familiar term. Another alleged anachronism is the use of the term 'Catholic Church.'† Cureton and others have urged, that a period of full fifty years must have intervened between the time when Ignatius wrote and the first trace we find of the term 'Catholic Church.' This, says Bishop Lightfoot, 'is founded on the confusion of two wholly different things'—Catholic as a technical, and Catholic as a general term. Centuries before the Christian era, the word Catholic (*καθολικός*) is found in the sense of 'universal'; both before and after the age of Ignatius it is common in writers, classical and ecclesiastical. 'In this sense the word might have been used at any time, and by any writer, from the first moment that the Church began to spread, while yet the conception of its unity was present to the mind.' It was only later that the term 'Catholic' acquired a technical meaning—orthodoxy as opposed to heresy, conformity as opposed to dissent. In Smyrn. 8, 'where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church,' the word is used in its sense of 'universal,' as contrasted with the Smyrnæan or local Church over which Polycarp presided. Not only is its use here not indicative of a later

* Rom. 5. † Smyrn. 8.

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date, but this archaic sense emphasizes an early one. After the word 'Catholic' had acquired its later and technical use, it could not have been employed in its earlier meaning without the risk of considerable confusion.

We must refer our readers to a similarly thorough refutation of the charge of anachronism brought against these letters on account of their use of the term 'Christian,' and suggest to them an examination of the interesting proofs of the position next secured,* that certain characteristics of style and diction tell largely in favour of their genuineness.

We turn, after noting the summary of the internal evidences attesting the genuineness of these letters, to the headings omitted (2, 3) on the Theological Polemics and the Ecclesiastical Conditions. That summary is as follows (i. 407):—

'The external testimony to the Ignatian Epistles being so strong, only the most decisive marks of spuriousness in the Epistles themselves, as, for instance, proved anachronism, would justify us in suspecting them as interpolated, or rejecting them as spurious.—But so far is this from being the case, that one after another the anachronisms urged against these letters have vanished in the light of further knowledge.—As regards the argument which Daillé calls "palmary"—the prevalence of episcopacy as a recognized institution—we may say boldly that all the facts point the other way. If the writer of these letters had represented the churches of Asia Minor as under presbyteral government, he would have contradicted all the evidence which, without one dissentient voice, points to episcopacy as the established form of Church government in these districts from the close of the first century.—The circumstances of the condemnation, captivity, and journey of Ignatius, which have been a stumbling-block to some modern critics, did not present any difficulty to those who lived near the time, and therefore knew best what might be expected under the circumstances; and they are sufficiently borne out by example, more or less analogous, to establish their credibility.—The objections to the style and language are beside the purpose.—A like answer holds with regard to any extravagances in sentiment, or opinion, or character.—While the investigation of the contents of these Epistles has yielded this negative result in dissipating the objections, it has at the same time had a high positive value, as revealing indications of a very early date, and therefore presumably of genuineness, in the surrounding circumstances, more especially in the types of false doctrine which it combats, in the ecclesiastical status which it presents, and in the manner in which it deals with the evangelical and apostolic documents.—Moreover, we discover in the personal environments of the assumed writer, and more especially in the notices of his route, many subtle coincidences which we are constrained to regard as undesigned, and which seem altogether

* See i. 400, 405.

beyond

beyond the reach of a forger.—So likewise the peculiarities in style and diction of the Epistles, as also in the representation of the writer's character, are much more capable of explanation in a genuine writing than in a forgery.—While external and internal evidence thus combine to assert the genuineness of these writings, no satisfactory account has been or apparently can be given of them as a forgery of a later date than Ignatius. They would be quite purposeless as such; for they entirely omit all topics which would especially interest any subsequent age.'

The Section upon 'Ecclesiastical Conditions' deals with the ministry of men, the ministry of women, and the liturgy of the Church. Interesting though the two last points are of necessity to any student of Church organization and ritual, we pass them by to consider the 'Ecclesiastical Polemics.' The Bishop of Durham's view of the ministry of men—especially of episcopacy—as furnished by the Seven Epistles is briefly as follows. The name of Ignatius is inseparably connected with the championship of episcopacy. Such extracts as the following sufficiently attest the prominence and authority he assigns to the office: 'We ought to regard the bishop as the Lord Himself'; 'Vindicate' (O Polycarp) 'thine office in things temporal as well as spiritual. Let nothing be done without thy consent, and do thou nothing without the consent of God;' 'Give heed (ye Smyrnæans) to your bishop, that God also may give heed to you;' 'Let no man do anything pertaining to the Church without the bishop.' Further, the extension of the episcopate in the time of Ignatius is quite clear. He is himself the bishop 'belonging to Syria.' He salutes and names the Bishops of Ephesus, of Magnesia, and Tralles. In those parts of Asia Minor and Syria, with which he is brought into contact, the episcopate properly so called is an established and recognized institution. This is in accordance with what the Bishop of Durham traces elsewhere in the history of the origin and development of episcopacy;* but it is not in accordance with Dr. Harnack's view. 'The evidence,' says the Bishop, 'points to episcopacy as the established form of Church government in these districts from the close of the first century.' Not so, says Dr. Harnack:—

'Ignatius' conception of the position and significance of the bishop has its earliest parallel in the original conception of the author of the Apostolic Constitutions (*i.e.* the end of the 3rd cent.); and the Epistles show that the Monarchical Episcopate in Asia

* Consult Bishop Lightfoot's Essay on this subject in his Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians (p. 181, &c.). The 'Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,' published in 1884, is rightly referred to now by the Bishop of Durham as confirming his positions.

Minor

Minor was so firmly rooted, so highly elevated above all other offices, so completely beyond dispute, that on the ground of what we know from other sources of early Church history, no single investigator would assign the statements under consideration to the second, but at the earliest to the third century.'

Let the reader, however, look up the references under the head of 'Apostolical Constitutions' in the Index to vol. i. of the Bishop's work, and we shall be very much surprised if he agree with Dr. Harnack's first conclusion. Will there not be even a lurking apprehension that Dr. Harnack, in arguing from the 'original conception of the author of the Apostolic Constitutions,' is confounding the 'long' and the 'middle' Recensions of the letters? Possibly the anxiety or determination to fix upon the third century rather than the close of the first as the date of the establishment of Episcopacy may have been tolerable in the time of Daillé, but is it tolerable or should it be repeated now when the means of a far more critical study of the question is open to all? In fact, Dr. Harnack is evidently disturbed by the *parti pris* of his position; and he may be said to abandon it immediately for a more negative one: but even so, how can a critic with the authorities placed before him come even to his second and modified conclusion:—'The statements of Ignatius regarding the rank to which the Episcopate has attained, occupy, so far as our knowledge goes, an altogether isolated position in the second century.' Isolated! This can be examined upon evidence. The point is this: Are there, or are there not, witnesses to show that monarchical Episcopacy had been developed in the later years of the Apostolic Age? Irenæus (born c. 130, according to Lipsius) was a scholar of Polycarp, and Polycarp was a scholar of St. John. He delighted to recal the reminiscences of his teacher, as did Polycarp those of St. John. He was a travelled scholar; if born in Asia Minor, he lived at Rome during middle life, and was Bishop of Lyons in Gaul in his later years. He was probably the most learned Christian of his time. 'The appreciation of the position of the man,' urges Bishop Lightfoot, 'is a first requisite to an estimate of his evidence.' And what is his evidence? Just that which is marked by such development as the man, his time, and circumstances, would lead us to expect, when compared with the Ignatius, from whom he is separated by about two generations. To Ignatius, the bishop is the centre of ecclesiastical unity; to Irenæus, the depositary of Apostolic tradition. Irenæus overlooks the identity of 'bishop' and 'presbyter' in the New Testament, and speaks of 'bishops *and*

presbyters from Ephesus and the other cities adjoining' coming to St. Paul at Miletus. It is to him an undisputed fact, that the bishops of his own age traced their succession back in an unbroken line to men appointed to the episcopate by the Apostles themselves. Thus he points out the sequence of the bishops of the Church of Rome 'founded by the blessed Apostles,' St. Peter and St. Paul, up to his own day; and in the case of the Church in Smyrna, he finds in Polycarp not only one 'instructed by Apostles and who had conversed with many who had seen Christ,' but also 'one who was appointed bishop in the Church of Smyrna by Apostles in Asia.'* Similar opinions are reflected in many passages, and they lead up to this conclusion:—

'After every reasonable allowance made for the possibility of mistakes in details, the language (of Irenæus) from a man standing in his position with respect to the previous and contemporary history of the Church leaves no room for doubt as to the early and general diffusion of episcopacy in the regions with which he was acquainted.'

Yet it is by fastening upon alleged 'mistakes in details,' and through counter-conclusions with respect to some of the passages quoted, that Dr. Harnack affirms that 'from the words of Irenæus there is absolutely nothing gained in regard to the origin of the episcopate and its spread during the period between A.D. 90 and 140.' His method is somewhat vexatious. He takes, for example, the list of the Bishops of Rome, and he says 'Irenæus communicates this list, and declares that the Apostles had *ordained* Linus as Bishop of Rome;' and he adds, 'that this is false can be proved, and is not denied even by Lightfoot.' The marvellous part of this statement is, that Irenæus says nothing of the kind. The word 'ordination' does not occur in the passage in question. The sentence is far more faithfully translated by the Bishop of Durham:† Linus 'was entrusted with the office of the bishopric' by the Apostles. Again, what is 'false'? the whole list, or the statement as regards Linus individually? Neither is false when rightly understood, and no denial is therefore forthcoming from the Bishop of Durham, or required for what is not questioned. But Dr. Harnack—not satisfied with having refuted an imaginary foe—next proceeds to ask, 'What reliance then can we have in the statement of Irenæus, that Polycarp was ordained a bishop by the Apostles'? It might be answered, 'Your first premiss was wrong, and until that be mended, further argument is unnecessary.' But examine the question on its own merits—viz.

* Comp. Irenæus, 'Hær.' iii. 3, §§ 3, 4; iii. 14, § 2.
† Essay in 'Philippians,' p. 218.

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that due to 'an appreciation of the position' of Irenæus—and its veracity is beyond question.

The Bishop of Durham supports the language of Irenæus by the testimony of Polycrates, of Ephesus, his contemporary, if junior; but without dwelling upon that and other passages of more general reference, we can come nearer to the time of Ignatius by reference to his contemporary, Polycarp. We assume, with Bishop Lightfoot, that the testimony of Irenæus to Polycarp is of the highest value; but that assumption is no rash one. Every one can verify the value of the testimony by perusing the Bishop's interesting pages on the subject. The relation of Polycarp to the Apostles has been given above. It is to his language about episcopacy that we wish to refer. In Polycarp's letter to the Philippians, the Bishop of Smyrna speaks at length about the duties of presbyters, deacons, widows, &c., but he makes no mention either of the bishop, or—in other parts where it might have been expected—of obedience due to him. This is naturally explained on the supposition that the see was then vacant, or that ecclesiastical organization was not fully developed at Philippi. How rash, however, it would be to affirm the non-existence of episcopacy, or to raise objections to it such as would render incredible the statements of Ignatius, may be inferred from the 'Letter of the Smyrnæans,' which, speaking of 'the glorious martyr Polycarp, who was found an Apostolic and prophetic teacher in our own time, a bishop of the Holy Church which is in Smyrna,' attests at once the respect paid to the office by the writer of the Letter and to the title by which Polycarp himself was usually called.

Other contemporaries of Polycarp's were Clement of Rome and Papias. Do they give no testimony to the development of monarchical episcopacy in the later years of the Apostolic Age? Polycarp, if not acquainted with Clement personally, was yet intimately acquainted with his genuine letter, the first Epistle to the Corinthians. In this letter there is no mention of episcopacy properly so-called. With St. Clement, as in the New Testament, bishop and presbyter are convertible terms. He even drops all mention of his own name though bishop of the Church in Rome. There is not even the 'I' of Polycarp, but a 'we,' which defines that the letter is written in the name of the Church and speaks with the authority of the Church. The name and personality of the individual are absorbed in the Church of which he is the spokesman.* The same phenomena

* Cf. Bishop Lightfoot's edition of 'St. Clement of Rome,' App. p. 252, &c.

are observed in the letter written by Ignatius to the very Church —Rome—in which alone they are noticed as occurring. The Epistle of Ignatius to the Romans—save for the mention of his own rank—contains no indication of the existence of the episcopal office, inculcates no obedience to bishops, and says not a word about a bishop of Rome. A like phenomenon is to be noticed in the next (chronologically speaking) document emanating from the Church of Rome—viz. the Shepherd of Hermas. What does this contrast throughout mean, but that where—as in Asia Minor—false doctrine and schismatical teachers prevailed, there episcopacy was a safeguard; where these were absent—as in Rome—there the episcopate had not yet assumed the same sharp and well-defined monarchical character as in the Eastern churches: and what does this contrast tend to disprove but the opinion of Dr. Harnack?—'Apart from the Epistles of Ignatius we do not possess a single witness to the existence of the monarchical episcopate in the churches of Asia Minor so early as the times of Trajan or Hadrian' (*i.e.* A.D. 98–138).

Turning to the other point—the Theological Polemics—disputed by Dr. Harnack, Bishop Lightfoot has dealt with the subject on its positive and negative sides respectively. The positive side yields results of real importance in attestation of the date of the letters. The heresy combated by Ignatius is a type of Gnostic Judaism, the Gnostic element manifesting itself in a sharp form of Docetism. This marked type of Docetism, far from being a difficulty, is an indication of early date, since the tendency of Docetism was to mitigation, as time went on. The negative side is educed by cross-questioning the writer's silence. There were certain controversies which rent the Church in the middle and latter half of the second century. These were such as, first, the Paschal controversy (the proper day and mode of celebrating the Paschal festival); secondly, the controversy about Montanism, the theatre of which was the very region with which these Epistles are concerned. Yet, not a word, not a hint is there, that the writer felt any interest in, or was disturbed by, anxieties about either. A similar silence points to the same conclusion, when we consider the absence of allusion to the three great heresiarchs, Basilides, Marcion, and Valentinus. Give to the first a period of notoriety conterminous with the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 117–38), yet there is not the slightest allusion in Ignatius to the tenets of the leader or his followers. Place Marcion some years before the middle of the second century. Remember that he was a native of Asia Minor and taught at Rome; that there he was denounced by Polycarp

Polycarp as the 'first-born of Satan;'* and that he enjoyed a world-wide reputation for evil (according to some), for good (according to others). Yet in the Ignatian letters there is not the faintest acquaintance with the man or his teaching. Valentinus also taught at Rome (c. A.D. 140–60), and his strange theories about Æons and Ogdoads, about spiritual, psychical, and material men, or any other fantasy of his speculative mythology, were not thought beneath the criticism of an Irenæus, a Clement of Alexandria, and a Tertullian. Yet no hint is there in the Seven Epistles that these thoughts were familiar to the writer. At one time an exultant Daillé found in his reading of 'Magn.' 8 an attack on Valentinianism, and consequently a welcome anachronism which proved the writer of the letters a forger. The discovery of the true reading has been followed not only by the collapse of the objection, but also by the adhesion to the belief, that the writer's use of certain expressions is a testimony to his existence in a pre-Valentinian epoch, when language had not been abused to heretical ends.

Dr. Harnack has little to say against the Bishop of Durham's conclusions from the negative side of the investigation of these theological polemics; but he has much to say against the Bishop's deductions from the positive aspect of them. Though, says Bishop Lightfoot,

'in the Trallian and Smyrnæan letters the writer deals chiefly with Docetism, while in the Magnesian and Philadelphian letters he seems to be attacking Judaism, yet a nearer examination shows the two to be so closely interwoven that they can only be regarded as different sides of one and the same heresy.'

Not so Dr. Harnack. To him

'the identification of the Judaists and Gnostics in the Ignatian Epistles is quite inadmissible. Ignatius combats the Doketists in the Epistle to the Ephesians, the Trallians, and the Smyrnæans, while in the Epistles to the Magnesians and Philadelphians he warns against the Ebionistic danger. In the last-named Epistle he warns against other tendencies which threatened the unity of the Church.'

In fact, it is this Epistle to the Philadelphians which, in his opinion, has led scholars astray. No one he thinks would have misunderstood 'the fact—that the Judaists in the Epistle to the Magnesians were certainly not Doketists, and the Doketists described in the Epistles to the Ephesians, Trallians, and Smyrnæans were not Judaists—had the Epistles of Ignatius come to us without the Epistle to the Philadelphians.' It would be beyond the province of this Review to enter into an

* Iren. 'Hær.' iii. 3, 4.

examination

examination of the arguments adduced on each side; it would also be an injustice to the disputants to infer that each selects or presses what tells most for his view, but certainly a calm and dispassionate inspection of these arguments will lead most men to think Uhlhorn, Lipsius, and Lightfoot more correct in their unanimous verdict, that but one heresy is attacked in the Ignatian letters, than Hilgenfeld and Harnack in their preference for two distinct heresies—Ebionism and Docetism. This latter conclusion can only be reached by treating the Letters of Ignatius as Hilgenfeld has treated St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians; the former is attained by critical methods defining the Judaism and Gnosticism observable to be but web and woof of one and the same fabric.

The very early date, and the consequent genuineness of these Epistles are thus the legitimate conclusion from the study of the internal as well as external evidences. That date is placed by the Bishop of Durham between A.D. 100–118 in the time of Trajan. Wieseler had placed the date of the martyrdom (upon which depends the date of the letters) as early as A.D. 107, Harnack as late as A.D. 138; and the latter still prefers to place them and the Epistle of Polycarp after the year A.D. 130. The earlier date reached by the Bishop of Durham is to him 'a mere possibility which is highly improbable, because it is not supported by any word in the Epistle, and because it rests only upon a late and very problematic witness (Eusebius).' Dr. Harnack's present view is, in all essentials, the same as that which he previously held. He has had the advantage—which he courteously acknowledges—of examining Bishop Lightfoot's 'painstaking consideration' of his views held in 1878; but nevertheless he considers that the Bishop's method of considering the whole question is 'not the proper' one—that his 'admittedly profound learning has contributed little or nothing to the main question,' and that 'he has not rightly comprehended the problem.' Yet the ordinary reader, who examines Dr. Harnack's re-statement of some of his views, will feel that to ask the Bishop of Durham to re-examine them will be but to ask him to slay afresh the slain. Dr. Harnack still clings, for example, to his view, that Polycarp is attacking the Docetism of Marcion; a view which, if sound, would convince the writer of an anachronism; because in pretending to write between A.D. 100 and 118 he has introduced a heresiarch not then notorious. But this view has been shown by Bishop Lightfoot to be fallacious;* and all that Dr. Harnack can now

* Cf. i. 568, &c.

answer

answer is to repeat his preference for his own interpretation of two passages adduced in the argument.

From the amenities of this battlefield of friendly criticism we turn for a few concluding remarks to the second and shorter life — that of Polycarp — which these monumental volumes discuss.

In point of method and treatment, the consideration of the history and writings of this saint of the early Church follows the same lines, as those followed in the case of St. Ignatius. First, the biography proper. Next, one of those collections of passages and documents which render these volumes so remarkable. In seventy pages the student will find a *corpus* of original extracts, embellished with notes explanatory and critical—Such as Imperial acts and ordinances relating to or affecting Christianity; Acts and notices of martyrdoms; Passages from heathen writers, containing notices of the Christians; Passages from Christian writers illustrating the points at issue —most helpful to him in apprehending not only the history of the persecutions, but also the relations between the Church and the Empire, in the reigns of Hadrian (A.D. 117–38), Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–61), and Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161–80). Then come in successive order the examination of the MSS. and Versions, a collection of quotations and references, the consideration of the genuineness of the 'Epistle of Polycarp' and of the 'Letter to the Smyrnæans,' closed by a discussion upon the date of the Martyrdom.

The Church of Christ owes a great debt to Polycarp: —

'In him one single link connected the earthly life of Christ with the close of the second century, though five or six generations had intervened. St. John, Polycarp, Irenæus—this was the succession which guaranteed the continuity of the evangelical record and of the Apostolic teaching. The long life of St. John, followed by the long life of Polycarp, had secured this result. What the Church towards the close of the second century was—how full was its teaching—how complete its canon — how adequate its organization — how wise its extension—we know well enough from Irenæus' extant work. But the intervening period had been disturbed by feverish speculation and grave anxieties on all sides. Polycarp saw teacher after teacher spring up, each introducing some fresh system, and each professing to teach the true Gospel. Menander, Cerinthus, Carpocrates, Saturninus, Basilides, Cerdon, Valentinus, Marcion—all these flourished during his lifetime, and all taught after he had grown up to manhood. Against all such innovations of doctrine and practice there lay the appeal to Polycarp's personal knowledge. With what feelings he regarded such teachers we may learn not only from his own

own epistle (§ 7), but from the sayings recorded by Irenæus, "O good God, for what times hast Thou kept me, I recognize the first-born of Satan." He was eminently fitted, too, by his personal qualities to fulfil this function, as a depositary of tradition. . . . Polycarp's mind was essentially unoriginative. It had no creative power. His Epistle is largely made up of quotations from the Evangelical and Apostolic writings, from Clement of Rome, from the Epistles of Ignatius. . . . A stedfast, stubborn, adherence to the lessons of his youth and early manhood, an unrelaxing unwavering hold of "the word that was delivered to him from the beginning"—this, so far as we can read the man from his own utterances or from the notices of others, was the characteristic of Polycarp. His religious convictions were seen to be "founded," as Ignatius had said long before (Polyc. 1) "on an immovable rock." He was not dismayed by the plausibilities of false teachers, but "stood firm as an anvil under the hammer's stroke" (*ib.* 3).'

The Church has ever claimed for her Saint not so much the reverence paid to the martyr, or the deference due to the ruler, or the teachableness powerful in the writer, as the attention obligatory to an 'elder.' Why? We may give the reason in the Bishop's words:

'While the oral tradition of the Lord's life and of the Apostolic teaching was still fresh, the believers of succeeding generations not unnaturally appealed to it for confirmation against the many counterfeits of the Gospel which offered themselves for acceptance. The authorities for this tradition were "the Elders." To the testimony of these Elders appeal was made by Papias in the first, and by Irenæus in the second generation after the Apostles. With Papias the Elders were those who themselves had seen the Lord, or had been eye-witnesses of the Apostolic history: with Irenæus the term included likewise persons who, like Papias himself, had been acquainted with these eye-witnesses. And among these Polycarp held the foremost place.'

The existing letter to the Philippians is now recognized as a genuine work of the Saint; and this on the testimony of internal evidence, quite as much as on the direct testimony of Irenæus, his own disciple. The arbitrary method of a Daillé, the interpolation-theory of Ritschl, and the wholesale rejection of the Epistle by Schwegler, Zeller, and Hilgenfeld, have ceased to command attention or demand refutation. The Epistle is too closely confined to the letters and martyrdom of Ignatius to warrant our looking for much refutation in it of existing error; but the spirit and counsel of the 'elder' is truly there warning against false and hypocritical brethren, and impelling his readers to turn unto the word delivered unto them from the beginning.

Never

Never was Christian counsel and sturdy faith more needed than in the period covered by the lifetime of Polycarp. The Bishop of Durham describes it as 'the most tumultuous period in the religious history of the world'; and in connection with the Bishop of Smyrna he notes that 'a chief arena of the struggle between creeds and cults was Asia Minor.' If in the earlier part of the second century (A.D. 112) Pliny, in his celebrated letter to Trajan,* deplored what Polycarp may have witnessed—on the one hand, heathen temples deserted and heathen sacrifices starved as to their victims; on the other, young and old, man and woman, patrician and peasant, bond and free, attracted to and mastered by a 'superstition' which affected alike the city and the village, the nobleman's mansion and the herdsman's hut, yet the splendid successes of Christianity did not blind either saint or philosopher. 'A veritable Pagan propaganda,' as Renan calls it, also set in in the second century; and when Polycarp died, it was at its height. Everywhere was it supported by the reigning emperors. 'The political and truly Roman instincts of Trajan were not more friendly to it than the archæological tastes, the cosmopolitan interests, and the theological levity of Hadrian. From their immediate successors, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, it received even more solid and efficient support.'

Smyrna, the see of Bishop Polycarp, was fully exposed to the influences of this reviving Paganism. The rhetorician, Aristides—true type of the Pagan charlatan who summoned to his aid in subjugating a superstitious people the mysterious and occult powers with which astrology and dreams, auguries and witchcrafts, invested their possessors—was himself a frequent dweller in Smyrna. Often must he have heard of and despised the man branded by the titles, 'the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the puller-down of our gods, who teacheth numbers not to sacrifice nor worship'† which—like the inscription over his crucified Lord—did unconsciously proclaim the very and only truth. Twice did the city of Smyrna, during Polycarp's prime, receive fresh honours and privileges for her devotion to the worship of Imperial deities. The religious guild of the temples of the Augusti celebrated here their festivals with exceptional splendour; the 'theologians' and 'choristers,' who owed their existence and affluence to the magnificence of a Hadrian, not only saluted

* See i. 50, &c.; ii. 532. The Bishop of Durham's collection of facts and references dealing with this subject is an admirable specimen—everywhere repeated—of the exhaustive treatment he applies to single points.

† Letter of the Smyrnæans, § 12.

him

him as their 'god,' their 'saviour and founder,' but by senatorial decree established games—the Olympia Hadrianea—grotesquely pompous in titular magnificence. Naturally this affected the well-being of the infant Church of Christ in Smyrna; but that Church was assailed from another quarter, and by the sharpened weapons, not of a scornful superiority, but of fanatical hatred. The Jews were both numerous and powerful in Smyrna, and two cruel episodes in their late national history accentuated their fury against the Christians wherever they met with them. The first was the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D. 70). The fugitives from Palestine, who found refuge in Smyrna with their fellow-countrymen already settled there, found sympathy also—save from one class, the Christians. Compassion these last could feel for men whose best blood had welled over the courts of the Temple, whose dearest and nearest had perhaps perished in Jerusalem, that 'cage of furious madmen, a city of howling wild beasts and of cannibals—a hell' (Renan); but they knew to be true what a Titus had acknowledged, that 'the hand of God' was in the victory of Rome. They saw in the downfall of the Holy City the retribution of the Heavenly Father for the crucifixion of the Messiah; and sorrow with the sorrow of the weeping patriots of Israel they could not and would not. Their refusal was the signal for a determination to seize every opportunity of revenge; and the second episode, to which we have alluded, is connected with a specially furious outburst of maddened passion against Christians on the part of the Jews. Hadrian, fifty years after the fall of Jerusalem, had resolved upon rearing on its ruins the city of Ælia Capitolina. Then flashed forth the rebellion of the Jew Bar-cochba (A.D. 132–4). The 'Son of the Star,' supported by his standard-bearer, Akiba, the greatest of the Rabbins, measured his strength with Rome. With mouth breathing forth flames,* he inspired his partisans with confidence, and his enemies with terror. Flung back, disappointed, and slain at Bither, the 'Son of a Lie,' as his disappointed countrymen had found him to their cost and re-named him, had yet found opportunities of inflicting terrible tortures and agonizing deaths upon those Christians in Palestine, who had dared to reject his Messianic claims, and refused to blaspheme Christ.† And the spirit of vengeance spread from the Holy Land to the provinces. Twenty years after the death of the rebel leader, the Jews of Smyrna—probably to Polycarp 'a synagogue of Satan,' as in earlier times St. John his master had described

* He had learnt the trick of keeping lighted tow or straw in his mouth. See other instances in Milman's 'History of the Jews,' ii. 429, n. *x*.

† Cf. Justin Martyr in Eusebius, 'Hist.' iv. 8.

them

them (Rev. ii. 9)—found their opportunity. Their vengeance then was only slaked by the blood of the Christian Bishop.

The Saint's martyrdom was the crowning consummation of the Saint's life. With the Bishop of Durham's help we can now collect all that we shall probably ever know of both; and to this we turn in conclusion.

The date of his martyrdom may be accepted as about 155 A.D.* If Polycarp was then 86 years of age, his birth may be placed in A.D. 69 or 70, at a time nearly coincident with the date of the destruction of Jerusalem. That event was the cause which drove St. John to fix his abode ultimately at Ephesus, the traditional home of St. Andrew, and near to the Phrygian Hierapolis, where St. Philip the Apostle died and was buried. The proximity of Smyrna to Ephesus, and the reputation accorded to both in the flattering designation of 'the two eyes' of proconsular Asia, would make intercourse between the cities familiar and frequent. In the Christian advantages consequent upon such intercourse Polycarp had his full share, if it be impossible to assert positively that he was a Smyrnæan by birth, and of Christian parentage. But the legends at the close of the fourth century, as embodied in the story of Pionius, sought and found for his origin a more romantic, if sad, beginning. One night, God's Angel appeared to a widow of Smyrna named Callisto, rich in worldly wealth, but still more rich in good works. 'Go,' he bade her, 'to the Ephesian gate. There you will find two men. They have with them a young lad for sale. Give them their price, and take and keep the child. He is by birth an Eastern.' The child was Polycarp. She did as she was bid. She bought and reared him, and eventually left to him all her substance. The fact implied in the last words, that Polycarp was a comparatively well-to-do man, is the one fact out of the above story supported by more authentic documents. Perhaps also the picture of the man, so pleasing and natural, drawn by Pionius, may present traits faithful to the original:—

'The love of knowledge and the fondness of the Scriptures, which distinguishes the people of the East, bore rich fruit in him. He offered himself a whole offering to God, by prayer and study of the Scriptures, by spareness of diet and simplicity of clothing, by liberal almsgiving. He was bashful and retiring, shunning the busy throngs of men, and consorting only with those who needed his assistance. When he met an aged wood-carrier outside the walls, he would purchase his burden, would carry it himself to the city, and would give it to the widows living near the gate. The Bishop

* i. 422, 629, &c. Mr. Rendell, in the 'Studia Biblica' (Oxf. 1885), has come to the same conclusion by an independent treatment.

Bucolus cherished him as a son, and he in turn requited his love with filial care and devotion.'

But we may catch from real and genuine sources three glimpses of the man: in youth as the disciple of St. John, in middle age as the companion of Ignatius, in closing life as the teacher of Irenæus. Of the circle of disciples who gathered round St. John, Polycarp is indubitably the most famous. He delighted, in his declining years, to tell his younger friends what he had himself heard from eye-witnesses of the Lord's life on earth; and he would dwell especially on his intercourse with the Apostle of Love. There is nothing improbable in the belief, that he was ordained to the episcopate by the venerable Apostle. Among his contemporaries were Clement, Papias, and Ignatius. Polycarp knew, as has been stated, the letter of the great Bishop of Rome, and Papias—his 'companion,' as Irenæus * calls him—became his neighbour at Hierapolis. But it is with Ignatius that the younger man is inseparably linked. They met, probably for the first (and only) time, at Smyrna, when the great Bishop of Antioch was on his way to martyrdom at Rome. Touching in their affectionateness are the remarks which each passes upon each. Polycarp inspires Ignatius with 'love.' The younger man is to the older 'most blessed,' 'clothed with grace,' marked by 'fervid sincerity,' a man 'whose godly mind is grounded on an immoveable rock' (Letter to Polycarp). To Polycarp, Ignatius 'the blessed' is the pattern of men, 'obedient unto the word of righteousness and practising all endurance,' 'encircled in saintly bonds which are the diadems of them that be truly chosen of God and our Lord.' The two men parted, never again to meet on earth, yet to be linked together by 'martyrdom conformable to the Gospel' But ere that 'birthday' arrived, Polycarp had to live for nearly half a century; and potent was his influence upon the men of a younger generation. Melito, Claudius Apollinaris, and Polycrates, famous among the Fathers of Asia, must have known him well; Justin Martyr visited him from Ephesus; but mightiest and dearest of all was his pupil Irenæus, the champion of orthodoxy against Gnosticism.

'When I was still a boy,' wrote Irenæus, '(I was) in company with Polycarp in Asia Minor. . . . I can tell the very place in which the blessed Polycarp used to sit when he discoursed, his goings out and comings in, his manner of life and his personal appearance, his discourses which he gave to the people, and his

* Hær. v. 33, 34.

description

description of his intercourse with John and the rest of those who had seen the Lord.' *

Those were reminiscences and lessons never forgotten by the future Bishop of Lyons. To him, as to 'all the churches of Asia and to the successors of Polycarp' himself, the pupil of St. John was 'a much more trustworthy and safe witness of the truth than Valentinus and Marcion, and all such wrong-minded men.' †

The end came at last. A persecution was raging; how or why we know not. All that can be known is told in the 'Letter of the Smyrnæans.' ‡ The simplicity and pathos of the story, as told by this ancient document, so moved the great Scaliger, that he felt hardly master of himself. We cannot tell the tale of triumph in better words than in those of that exquisite piece of ecclesiastical antiquity. The great annual festival was being held at Smyrna, presided over by the Asiarch and 'high priest' § Philip, a wealthy citizen of the wealthy Tralles, and graced by the presence of the Proconsul Statius Quadratus. The persecutor had asked for blood, and blood had been granted him. Already several victims, Philadelphians, 'so torn by lashes that the mechanism of their flesh was visible even as far as the inward veins and arteries,' had 'endured patiently;' showing to the weeping bystanders such bravery that the explanation became current —'(these) martyrs of Christ being tortured, were absent from the flesh, or rather the Lord was standing by and conversing with them.' Others 'condemned to the wild beasts, endured fearful punishments, being made to lie on sharp shells and buffeted with other forms of manifold tortures, that the devil might, if possible, by the persistence of the punishment bring them to a denial; for he tried many wiles against them.' Men remembered afterwards how 'the right noble Germanicus,' scorning the pity the Proconsul would have extended to his youth, 'used violence, and dragged the wild beast towards him.' Such bravery, 'the bravery of the God-fearing and God-beloved people of the Christians,' only whetted the pagan thirst for blood. There rang out the shout, 'Away

* Euseb. 'Hist. Eccl.' v. 20.

† Iren. 'Hær.' iii. 3.

‡ The genuineness of the main document (at least) is unaffected by recent attacks. The impugning process of Schürer, Lipsius, and Keim has been successfully resisted by Renan, Hilgenfeld (in part), and the Bishop of Durham (i. 588, &c.).

§ The subjects of the Asiarchate, of the identity of Asiarch and high-priest, have suggested to the Bishop of Durham another of those exhaustive discussions which will win for him the gratitude of students (see ii. 987, &c.).

with

with the atheists!* Let search be made for Polycarp!' He had gone against his will into the country, probably to one of his own farms; and he was found without much difficulty. He placed before his captors food and drink, and asked but a single boon of them—'one hour that he might pray unmolested.' Those mounted soldiers, 'wondering why there should be such eagerness for the apprehension of an old man like him,' gave their consent. 'He stood up and prayed; and being full of the grace of God, for two hours he could not hold his peace, so that they who heard him were amazed, and many repented that they had come against such a venerable old man.' They brought him to the city, seated on an ass. Steadily did he refuse the real and sincere endeavours of compassionate heathen to 'save himself.' 'What harm,' they asked, 'is there in saying, Cæsar is Lord, and offering incense?' He would only answer, 'I am not going to do what you counsel me.' As he entered the stadium, the human roar, fiercer and more cruel than that of wild beasts, rose above every other sound. Polycarp did not heed it; a voice came to him from heaven, 'Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man;' and, nerved by what other Christians had also heard, he stood at last before Statius. Words, at first pitiful, greeted him: 'Have respect to thine age!—Swear by the genius of Cæsar! Say, "Away with the atheists."' The Saint caught up the last word. He 'looked with solemn countenance upon that vast multitude of lawless heathen; and groaning and looking up to heaven, he said 'Away with the atheists.' Was he then yielding? The Proconsul had misunderstood him, but he pressed him hard and said, 'Swear the oath, and I will release thee. Revile the Christ!' Polycarp looked him in the face, and gave him the answer which can never die. 'Fourscore and six years have I been His servant, and He hath done me no wrong. How then can I blaspheme my King Who saved me?' The words of pity changed into threats. 'I have wild beasts here,' said Statius, 'and I will throw thee to them except thou change thy mind.' 'Call them,' was the unflinching answer. 'If thou despisest the wild beasts, I will cause thee to be consumed by fire.' Polycarp remembered a dream of three days before in which he had seen his pillow burning with fire, and which he had interpreted to those with him as signifying that he should be burnt alive. He answered now, 'Thou threatenest that fire which burneth for a season and after a little while is quenched. For thou art ignorant of the

* The name given by the heathen to the Christians, whom they counted godless because they had neither image nor visible representation of the Deity. See ii. 160, note to line 1.

fire

fire of the future judgment and eternal punishment, which is reserved for the ungodly:' and then he added—in his impatience to be 'made a partaker with Christ'—'But why delayest thou? Come, do what thou wilt.' Saying this, 'he was inspired with courage and joy, and his countenance was filled with grace.'

The herald's proclamation was soon heard announcing three times, 'Polycarp hath confessed himself to be a Christian;' and again the human yell broke forth from Gentile and Jew, this time fashioning itself into distinct speech: 'This is the teacher of Asia, the father of the Christians, the puller down of our gods, who teacheth numbers not to sacrifice nor worship. . . . Let the lion loose upon him!' 'That is impossible' was the answer of the Asiarch, 'for the sports have closed.' They shouted out 'with one accord, "Burn him alive!" Quicker than words could tell, the crowds collected timber and faggots from workshops and baths, and the Jews especially assisted in this with zeal, as was their wont.' They placed around him the 'instruments prepared for the pile,' and were going to nail him to the stake. He interposed with his last request of men, 'Leave me as I am. He that hath granted me to endure the fire, will grant me also to remain at the pile unmoved, without the security you seek from nails.' They 'tied him to the stake.' He stood up 'like a noble ram out of a great flock for an offering, a burnt-sacrifice made ready and acceptable to God;' and looking up to heaven, made his last request of God in one of the noblest prayers preserved in ancient or modern literature. His Amen said, 'the firemen lighted the fire. The mighty flame flashed forth,' and men saw then, what in later days they saw repeated at the martyrdom of a Savonarola and of a Hooper,* the fire, 'like the sail of a vessel filled with wind, surrounding as with a wall the body of the martyr. It was there in the midst, not like flesh burning, but like gold and silver refined in a furnace.' Could he not die?

'Lawless men, seeing that his body could not be consumed by the fire, ordered an executioner to go up to him and stab him with a dagger. And when he had done this, there came forth a quantity of blood,† so that it extinguished the fire; and all the multitude marvelled that there should be so great a difference between the unbelievers and the elect.'

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* See i. 599 nn. 1, 2.

† On the celebrated reading, 'there came forth a dove and a quantity of blood, see ii. 974, note to l. 3. It is to be explained by the belief, that the soul departed from the body at death in the form of a bird; the dove most readily suggesting itself as the emblem of a Christian soul.

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The Christians hoped to have taken away the 'poor body,' but 'the jealous and envious Evil One, the adversary of the family of the righteous,' instigated the Jews to urge upon the magistrate not to give up his body, 'lest they (the Christians) should abandon the crucified One and begin to worship this man, . . . not knowing' (add the narrators) 'how impossible it would be for them to forsake at any time the Christ Who suffered for the salvation of the whole world of those who are saved—suffered, though sinless, for sinners—not to worship any other.' The body was placed again on the pile and consumed. Then 'the bones, more valuable than precious stones and finer than refined gold,' were taken up and laid in a suitable place.

So died a Polycarp as had died an Ignatius, both martyred, and both memorable for 'nobleness, patient endurance, and loyalty to their Master.' The motto of their deaths was the motto of their lives, condensed into the saying of the martyr of Antioch to the martyr of Smyrna:—

'ὅπου πλείων κόπος, πολὺ κέρδος.

'The greater the pain, the greater the gain.'

We know nothing certain of the tombs which tradition or affection have pointed out as the last resting-place of the calcined remains of either Saint, but we need no longer such perishable monuments. The English-speaking and English-reading race have in the volumes of the Bishop of Durham a fitting shrine for those literary remains which survive destruction. Scholarship and piety, study and prayer, have here combined to shed light upon the writings, and to raise a monument to the lives, of those champions of early Christianity, who in their day wrought a good work, and still speak, though dead.

ART. VIII.—1. *An Address delivered to the Students of Edinburgh University on Nov.* 3, 1885. By the Earl of Iddesleigh, Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh.

2. *Hearing, Reading and Thinking: an address to the Students attending the Lectures of the London Society for the Extension of University Teaching.* By the Rt. Hon. G. J. Goschen, M.P.

3. *The Choice of Books and other Literary Pieces.* By Frederic Harrison. London, 1886.

THE subject of Books and Reading is *in the air* at the present time; Lord Iddesleigh raised the question last November, by his admirable discourse on Desultory Reading, delivered at Edinburgh. Sir John Lubbock was not slow to follow the lead, in his lecture at the Working Men's College; and lastly, we have Mr. Goschen's more abstract and despondent remarks on Hearing, Reading, and Thinking. The discussion has been carried forward from Newspaper to Journal, and from Journal to Magazine, and has attracted representatives of the most heterogeneous elements into the ever widening circle. Sir John Lubbock wound up by enumerating a *hundred* of the books—

'most frequently mentioned with approval by those who have referred directly or indirectly to the pleasure of reading, and I have ventured to include some, which though less frequently mentioned, are especial favourites of my own. I have abstained for obvious reasons from mentioning works by living authors' ('Self Help,' however, is admitted into Sir John's revised list), 'though from many of them, Tennyson, Ruskin, and others, I have myself derived the keenest enjoyment; and have omitted works on Science, with one or two exceptions, because the subject is so progressive. I feel that the attempt is over bold, and I must beg for indulgence; but indeed one object I have had in view is to stimulate others, more competent far than I am, to give us the advantage of their opinions. If we had such lists drawn up by a few good guides, they would be most useful.'

The challenge thus thrown down was quickly taken up by the Editor of the 'Pall Mall Gazette,' who forthwith sent out a Circular to certain eminent men of the day, inviting them 'to jot down such a list—not necessarily containing a hundred volumes—as would help the present generation to choose their reading more wisely.' Whether the majority of the 'guides' thus appealed to have responded to the call, we are not informed; the replies of several have been published; and our thanks are due to those who have been instrumental in opening up a dis-

cussion of great variety and universal interest; though we must confess to some regret that the initiative was not given in a different form. Why the number should be fixed at one hundred; why works of Science should be excluded; why Biography and Travels should enjoy so meagre a representation on Sir John Lubbock's list, are questions to which no satisfactory answer has been given.

Who is it, we would ask in the first place, for whom this list is primarily intended? Not the man whose love of books is firmly established, for he will have chosen for himself his own walk among the innumerable highways and byepaths of literature; nor he whose tastes are just forming, for the field is too wide, and he would hardly prefer the Analects of Confucius, the Shahnameh, and the Sheking, to 'Marco Polo's Travels,' Lockhart's 'Life of Scott,' and 'Æsop's Fables.' No list, however, that could be drawn up would escape criticism, and our desire is not so much to suggest in what manner the present list might be amended, as to indicate how, in our opinion, it might have been made to serve some practical purpose.

'Books have brought some men to knowledge and some to madness. As fulness sometimes hurteth the stomach more than hunger, so fareth it with arts: and as of meats, so likewise of books, the use ought to be limited according to the quality of him that useth them.' Thus wrote Petrarch, and the comparison between the bodily and mental digestion, if trite, is very far from being a mere superficial analogy.

Those who are blessed with a judicious friend, quite competent to make a diagnosis of their literary capacity and prescribe a diet, are indeed fortunate—'sua si bona norint.' Such prescriptions have been long since made, and handed down to us. That written out by Doctor Johnson, for his friend the Rev. Mr. Astle of Ashbourne, is brief enough, and savours of the drastic remedies fashionable in the last century.* If on glancing over the Doctor's list our readers are inclined to assume that the Rev. Mr. Astle was possessed of a very healthy digestion, we would remind them that solid joints and heavy folios were more in vogue at that time than in these days of French cookery and periodical literature.

In later times Comte also, among others, has furnished a catalogue, or syllabus of books for general reading; but even his faithful follower Mr. Harrison admits, half apologetically, that it 'has no special relation to current views of education, to English literature, much less to the literature of the day. It

* Croker's 'Boswell,' pp. 767, 8vo. ed.

was

was drawn up thirty years ago by a French philosopher, who passed his life in Paris, and who had read no new book for twenty years.'

'What shall I read?' There are few questions more frequently asked than this; few, perhaps, to which a thoughtless answer is more frequently given. Coming from one of that large class to which Lord Iddesleigh has given the name of 'indolent readers,' it might be assumed to be lightly asked, and might be as lightly answered by the recommendation of some three-volume novel, or the more fashionable shilling's-worth of gruesome mystery; but if the enquirer be a young book-lover, a worthy answer is far to seek. The diagnosis and opinion of the physician do not present greater difficulties, and in many cases are not attended by more momentous results. To turn a juvenile adrift in Sir John Lubbock's list would be to prescribe an exclusive diet of richly seasoned dishes and rare wines to a convalescent patient—to feed him on strong meats, on caviare and truffles, and to omit the simple, wholesome, homely fare on which, in his condition, health and efficient progress must in the main depend.

How often has the young enquirer been imbued with a distaste for solid literature by being compelled to read 'masterpieces' long before he was able to appreciate their value, or even to comprehend their history! The system at many of our schools is much to blame in this respect. There are, we believe, comparatively few boys who acquire, until they seek it for themselves, even the roughest general outline of the world's history, to which their various episodic studies may be applied, so that each may fall into its proper place and order. 'Periods' and 'Epochs' are studied minutely and painfully, without any knowledge of the grand structure of which they form but a single fragment; and history is too often divorced from geography. A schoolboy is set to work on a play of Aristophanes before he has made acquaintance with the social and political movements of which Pericles and Cleon were the representatives. He reads his Bible and his Homer, his Virgil and Horace, his Cæsar and Livy, but probably with the vaguest ideas of their relations to one another, or their respective positions in the world's chronology. Or it may be that the whole of one term is devoted to one or two books of 'the Iliad' and 'the Odyssey,' 'the Æneid' or 'the Odes,' which are ground out line by line and word by word, all the interest and flavour of the complete work being inevitably and hopelessly dissipated in the process. Even 'the college prizeman and the college tutor cannot read a chorus in the Trilogy but what his mind

instinctively wanders on optatives, choriambi, and that happy conjecture of Smelfungus in the antistrophe.'* But certain books having to be got up for an examination by the cramming process, the receptacle of all this erudition only looks forward to the time when he may throw his Classics behind the fire for ever. No book with the least pretension to permanent value can be read purely by and for itself; inevitably it must draw on the reader—if he be in any sense worthy of the name—from point to point beyond its own immediate sphere, until he finds his interest expanding and his tastes forming under a natural and rapid process of evolution. Can any intelligent person read his Homer or his 'Æneid,' his Boswell, his 'Old Mortality,' or 'The Voyage of the Beagle' without asking himself who are these strange characters, and where are these strange lands that seem so familiar to us?

He who stands on a hill and surveys a wide landscape, easily recognizes the leading features of the country—the river and the homestead, the church and the corn-field—they need no guide, they tell their own tale. In like manner the great landmarks of the literature of the past are well defined and unmistakable to him who has eyes to see and a mind to comprehend. The traveller may choose his line, and as he goes his way he will not fail to find guides who will give him the directions which passing doubts and difficulties may render necessary. The world's great books stand out as the old stone walls of some great feudal fortress—prominent and indestructible. Their original uses have been superseded by the world's advance; but time and change add greatly to their interest. He, however, who finds himself entangled in the dense jungle of books that are not 'masterpieces,' and are so plentiful in modern literature, is in a sorry plight; his way lies through this jungle, be it long or short, and he cannot escape it altogether. He has heard of the quiet groves of the Academy, and of the heights of Parnassus, but he is rarely able to catch a glimpse of them. He is whirled along, and loses his foothold in the eddying torrent of periodical literature; or he is entangled in the briars of controversy, and, torn and vexed, is apt to lose his way. Here then it is that he particularly needs a guide, and here it is that Sir John Lubbock bids good-bye to him, and leaves him to his own resources.

The student, thus perplexed, may be surprised to learn from Mr. Ruskin that 'any bank clerk could write a history as good as Grote's,' and that Gibbon only chronicled 'putrescence and corruption;'

* 'The Choice of Books,' p. 37.

corruption;' he may be deeply interested in the information that Professor Bryce prefers Pindar to Hesiod, that the Lord Chief Justice knows nothing of Chinese or Sanskrit, and that Miss Braddon has spent 'great part of a busy life reading the "Quarterly and Edinburgh Reviews."' But all this does not help him in his bewildering journey among the 10,000 books which are annually flooding the world of English-speaking readers—a mass of which we fear that the quality advances in inverse ratio to the quantity.

Sir John Lubbock's list, as it stands, suggests a gathering of illustrious Generals and officers, without any men. They are very distinguished and admirable in appearance and qualifications, but would be doubly so if seen at the head of the army which they lead and represent. Had Sir John commenced by marshalling his hundred books in groups, either of subjects to be studied or of readers to be provided for, and then called upon the 'guides' to fill up the gaps, and supply the rank and file of his army, he would have earned the thanks of all book-lovers.

In the selection of books two considerations must alternately be paramount. One of these would have reference to the subjects to be studied, the other would have reference to the readers to be provided for. We are aware of the long controversies and technical difficulties involved in this question of Classification, which has stirred the hearts of Librarians from time immemorial, but for our present purpose the elaboration of an exhaustive scientific system is unnecessary; a statement of the rough headings and divisions, under which the books for general readers should be grouped, presents no insurmountable obstacles. Various minor considerations may subsequently assert themselves; as, for example, whether the books are required with the ultimate object of the formation of a library, and 'the cultivation of literature is an object which cannot be accomplished without the acquisition of a library of a greater or less extent,' or for the mere purpose of amusement. To draw up such a catalogue as we propose would exceed the capacity of any single individual; each section should be the work of one or more persons specially versed in the subject.

We are, of course, dealing rather with those who are aspiring to be book lovers than with those who, having already attained to that distinction, can trust to the guidance of their own inclinations. These aspirants must seek first an able and judicious guide for each department of study. One guide may be fully competent to make a list of works in history or biography, but may lack experience in philosophy or in art; while,

while, on the other hand, the regimen prescribed for the country curate would hardly be appropriate for the mechanic or the soldier.

But, first, we must endeavour to define, by a rough process of elimination, the book lover, whether mature or in embryo. He is not the mere 'glutton of the lending library,' who bolts the contents of the monthly box without discrimination and without reflection, his main object being to while away an idle day or to gain a superficial reputation at the next dinner party at which he may be present; nor is he the collector of gaudy bindings; nor one who has never possessed nor desired to possess a library of his own, who has never read a book more than once, and has never committed to memory a single passage. He is not the man, in short, who fails to realize that 'the utility of reading depends not on the swallow but on the digestion.'

From the American Westerner who buys an Encyclopædia in parts, and finds in it all that he requires of instruction and amusement, to the princely founders of libraries—the Spencers and Parkers, the De Thous, the Sunderlands, and the Beckfords—is a wide interval, and includes all sorts and conditions of men, diverse from one another in everything but their love of books.

Sir John Lubbock, by his eminence in the world of science and the world of commerce, is admirably qualified to draw up a list of works on science and trade. But these he has unfortunately excluded from his consideration. Such lists would be invaluable to the thousands who, from intellectual, or more purely mercenary motives, are now seeking for light. Had Sir John classified his list on some simple and discriminating plan, such as we have suggested, we might, as a result of the discussion, have obtained a summary of works on art by Mr. Ruskin, or a soldier's library by Lord Wolseley. Others, whose replies have been published, would have furnished special lists; and a still wider circle would, no doubt, have seen their way to rendering much help and service. We should, moreover, have been spared some rather irrelevant and wayward criticisms to which the discussion has given rise.

Two or three of the 'guides' have, with more or less success, adopted for themselves a definite system. Mr. William Morris has given us a list, the perusal of which may perchance arouse serious misgivings in the heart of the general reader, who cannot 'even *with* great difficulty read Old German,' and who has not yet been educated up to the point of regarding Virgil and Juvenal as 'sham classics.' The 'Admiral's' list is good, if somewhat too technical; and we would plead for the admission of

of Southey's 'Life of Nelson,' even, if need be, to the exclusion of the 'Annual Register' in 110 volumes. The Head Master of Harrow 'tried to think how he should answer a boy's question if he were to ask, at any point of his school life, what books it were best worth while to read before the end (let me say) of his thirtieth year;' and we venture to regard Mr. Welldon's list as the best of all in point of conciseness and practical value.

The last to enter the lists, though not under the auspices of the 'Pall Mall Gazette,' is Mr. Frederic Harrison, who comes armed with a volume entitled 'The Choice of Books,' though four-fifths of the contents have strayed far away into such remote pastures as 'The Opening of the Courts of Justice,' 'A Plea for the Tower of London,' and 'The Æsthete.' With the small residue of the book, which has remained faithful to the titlepage, we have little fault to find. Mr. Harrison, as might be expected, regards everything through the spectacles of Auguste Comte—'hinc omne principium, huc refer exitum.' Comte's 'Syllabus,' to which we have already referred, was the basis of at least one of his essays, and is the subject of his closing remarks.

For our present purpose, the first article, 'How to Read,' is undoubtedly the most valuable and practical. It deals in a straightforward and vigorous manner with many of the snares and difficulties by which the reader is beset, and sweeps away much of the sentimental, sickly, criticism which is unfortunately prevalent at the present time. We think, however, that Mr. Harrison is inclined to raise the standard of taste too high for the mass of general readers.

'Putting aside the iced air of the difficult mountain tops of epic, tragedy, or psalm, there are some simple pieces which may serve as an unerring test of a healthy or a vicious taste for imaginative work. If the "Cid," the "Vita Nuova," the "Canterbury Tales," Shakspeare's "Sonnets," and "Lycidas" pall on a man; if he care not for Malory's "Morte d'Arthur" and the "Red Cross Knight"; if he thinks "Crusoe" and the "Vicar" books for the young; if he thrill not with the "Ode to the West Wind" and the "Ode to a Grecian Urn"; if he have no stomach for "Christabelle," or the lines written on "The Wye above Tintern," he should fall on his knees and pray for a cleanlier and quieter spirit.'

Now we believe that there is many a humble aspirant to literary taste on whom the above paragraph will produce an effect similar to that of 'iced air and mountain tops' by taking his breath away. Literary palates are mercifully endowed with tastes and appreciations as varied as mere bodily palates, and

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we must protest against any such Procrustean method of ascertaining whether a man's 'spirit be cleanly and quiet,' or, which is terrible to contemplate, the reverse. On another page Mr. Harrison himself loudly deprecates and disclaims any narrow or sectarian view; he is nothing if not Catholic in his tastes. 'I protest that I am devoted to no school in particular: I condemn no school; I reject none. I am for the school of all the great men; and I am against the school of the smaller men.'

All taste must be founded on knowledge, and between the hard, dry teaching of the Board School or the Examination Room on the one hand, and the ætherial atmosphere of Desultory Reading and the purest literary discernment on the other, there lies an intermediate region, a 'penumbral zone,' which differs from the first in that it is entered voluntarily, and from the second in that it is attainable by all who care to enter it. The way through this region, though pleasant, is laborious; system, accuracy, and discipline are essential to him who would traverse it. To be a desultory reader, in the sense defined by Lord Iddesleigh, a man must first have been a student; and not to every student is given the temperament, capacity, and opportunity, to become a desultory reader—still less can every student aspire to that refined literary taste, which Mr. Harrison possesses in so large a measure, and which, in its characteristics, he describes so well.

So far as modern literature is concerned, it may be said, that the Reviewers are, by their skill and experience, qualified to direct, and ever ready to aid the wayfarer; and in theory this is true. But, putting aside the few leading journals and periodicals, daily and weekly—of which we would only speak with the greatest respect—we fear that the reviewer's art is at a low ebb in these days. Often the side breezes of controversy, of private jealousy, or of personal interest, intervene to divert straightforward criticism; still more often does absolute incompetence render these guides worthless. A score of books may be seen, huddled together in an unbroken column of so-called criticism, with no other bond of union than their publication in course of the same week. The interested author, wading through this disconnected mass, suddenly stumbles on a few words extracted—possibly perverted—from his own preface, to which a line of commonplace commendation is affixed; and he then suddenly encounters a subject as far removed from his own as the 'Republic' of Plato is distant from 'Called Back.'

Among all these discordant voices, who shall help us to detect

detect the true ring? Thrice happy are those privileged few who enjoy the loving care and supervision of some wise mentor to guide their choice and to watch their progress; but for the multitude, to whom such a privilege is denied, a good classified list, not excluding recent works, carefully sifted and added to by the most prominent men of the day, would be of inestimable value.

In the first place, a connected chain of histories, from the earliest times to the present day, with a selected list of contemporary memoirs and biographies, would throw a guiding gleam of light on thousands who are wandering, dark and aimless, in a labyrinth of 'masterpieces.' In this enquiry system is essential. Of desultory comments, charming and instructive in themselves and valuable in the formation of taste, we have abundant store. Who that has read Emerson's 'Essay on Books,' or Charles Lamb's 'Detached Thoughts on Books and Reading,' or Isaac Disraeli's 'Curiosities of Literature' and 'Literary Character,' or Byron's brilliant and impulsive criticisms on books and authors, can be without some kindling of enthusiasm and of desire to know more fully the great works thus passed in critical review? But the essential characteristics of such commentaries as these are snares to the student. The temptation to pass from one subject to another is inseparable from treatment of this kind, and so becomes a hindrance to more earnest application.

Dibdin's 'Library Companion' in some respects fulfils the requirements we have mentioned; but apart from the fact, that the information it contains is now in a great measure obsolete, too much space is devoted to the description and value of choice and rare editions. It is a book-buyer's rather than a reader's guide. Perkins's 'The Best Reading' is too bald a catalogue, and requires a vast amount of sifting, and the addition of a few words of running comment to render it serviceable. It lacks, in short, the characteristics of a *catalogue raisonnée.*

The Historical List which we have proposed should be prefaced by a chronological table, indicating the epochs into which the World's History divides itself, and the periods covered by each of the works recommended. This would give the student a bird's-eye view of the field which he is about to explore, and enable him, at any moment in his exploration, to take his reckonings and verify his position.

Careful distinction should be made between Chroniclers and Historians, between those who have provided the materials and those who have designed and reared the complete structure. Sometimes these chroniclers have furnished merely rough and unhewn

unhewn stones, useful in themselves, but with no pretence to artistic finish or individuality of character; and these have been absorbed into the building. Other chronicles, again, are perfected in form, and are not merely integral, essential portions of the complicated structure, but become a source of endless pleasure from the merit of their workmanship. Thucydides and Clarendon are universally read, while Hecatæus has all but vanished; and Thomas May's 'History of the Long Parliament,' though pronounced by Lord Chatham to be a 'much honester and more instructive book of the same period than Lord Clarendon's,' is relegated to the shelves of the specialist or the bookworm.

Histories are scarcely less ephemeral than books of science; and the object of the list we are advocating is not to provide an exhaustive catalogue, a task which in these days would overtax the capacity of half-a-dozen Dr. Johnsons, but to select those works which will give the best continuous narrative of the period under discussion, and represent the most recent scholarship; omitting those which have been absorbed or superseded.

Mitford and Gillies have given place to Thirlwall and Grote; and even the star of Hallam, outshining De Lolme, is beginning to wane before the searching light which, by the publication of State Papers and other archives, is being brought to bear on the History of England and of Modern Europe. But such materials, though ruthlessly relegating much of what we have hitherto regarded as the 'Pearls of History' to the category of 'Mock Pearls,' cannot immediately be made available for the ordinary student, or become absorbed into the popular histories of the day. We can ill spare from our list the names of those writers, who, from Livy to Lord Macaulay, have added a fascination to the study of history; though in their works most beautiful Mock Pearls abound. But the student should be warned against implicit reliance on their records.

To Clarendon has been ascribed the honour of being the first Englishman who wrote History, as we regard it; his predecessors having been in the main mere chroniclers or annalists. Clarendon elaborated the picture of which these annalists had merely supplied the materials; and the eighteenth century saw the development of this new method in the brilliant triad of contemporaries, Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon. Our own age has witnessed a further advance in the school of philosophical historians, who, without aiming at any connected narrative of events, present to us the profound lessons which history teaches; pointing out the far-reaching causes which have influenced and are influencing

encing events occurring in widely distant countries; causes and events which to the superficial observer seem totally disconnected. This philosophical category would form one of the most interesting, and in these days, when political empiricism shows a growing tendency to supplant statesmanlike research, not the least important portion of our historical list. If to this main stem of History there be added the due complement of branches and leaves—memoirs and biographies—the Plutarchs and Pepyses, the Walpoles and St. Simons, the Crokers and Grevilles of each generation—we shall have a tree of knowledge which would yield to none in point of interest and utility.

We have dwelt at some length on this part of the subject, first, because of its almost unlimited extent; and secondly, because, owing to this extent, there is such difficulty in making a genuine and trustworthy selection. There is, besides, an apparently constant antagonism in history between the qualities of strict accuracy and literary brilliancy. The two are not incompatible, but the striving after literary merit is as great a snare to the writer as its attainment by the writer is, in too many cases, to the student.

Of voyages and travels, 'I would also have good store, especially the earlier, when the world was fresh and unhackneyed, and men saw things invisible to the modern eye. They are fast-sailing ships to waft away from present troubles to the Fortunate Islands.'* Grouped under each quarter of the globe, we should have selections of the works of those travellers, who, from Herodotus to Mr. Stanley, and from Marco Polo or Captain Cook down to Miss Bird, have made us who stay at home familiar with the remotest corners of the earth. Much of the romance of travel has of necessity perished in these matter-of-fact days; but as the writing of history has developed from a mere chronicle of events into a scientific and philosophical method, so the art of travelling is now assuming a political form under pressure of the gigantic problems which are exercising the mind of the civilized world; and a section of political travels, of which Mr. Froude and Baron von Hübner have recently given us examples, should not be omitted.

Without pretending to enumerate all the departments which our catalogue should comprise—and most of them are too obvious to require enumeration—we would suggest a good selection of the best translations and editions of the Greek and Roman Classics. In mentioning translations we, of course, disclaim any recommendation of the common 'crib,' but refer to those scholarly

* Mr. Lowell's Address at the dedication of the Free Public Library, Chelsea, Massachusetts.

works

works which have brought the classical masterpieces to the very doors of the general public; such, for example, as Rawlinson's 'Herodotus,' or Prof. Jowett's 'Plato and Thucydides;' as Lord Derby's 'Iliad,' Gifford's 'Juvenal,' or Conington's 'Virgil:' nor is the crib more widely removed from such works as these, than, in the matter of editions, is Anthon's 'Virgil,' for example, from Munro's 'Lucretius.' In the opinion of Mr. Harrison, this 'is the age of accurate translation. The present generation has produced a complete library of versions of the great Classics, chiefly in prose, partly in verse, more faithful, true, and scholarly than anything ever produced before.' Mr. Harrison's own essay on the 'Poets of the Old World' goes far to supply one at least of the branches of this section. Last, but by no means least, do we plead for a guide to 'Children's Books.' We run some risk in these days of competitive examinations and 'higher education,' of placing instruction too prominently in the front, to the exclusion of pure amusement; forgetting that it is through the imagination that the interest of a child is most readily aroused, and that, unless the interest be aroused, our educational labours will be worthless. A child can live in an atmosphere of genial fiction, and appreciate it, without the danger which lurks in a misrepresentation of what passes around him in his daily experience. It is exaggeration, not fiction, that is liable to injure the mind of a child.

On the vital question, 'how to read,' the student has received matter for careful and deliberate consideration, alike from Lord Iddesleigh and Mr. Goschen, from Mr. Harrison and Mr. Lowell. The burden of their advice is the same, though the forms differ; they all unite in deprecating and deploring the hurry, the want of application, the want of restraint which prevail in the present day. The hurrying reader, on the one hand, and the indolent reader, on the other, are the types to be avoided with the most scrupulous care. We suffer from an excess of opportunities, and require to be constantly reminded that 'it is impossible to give any method to our reading till we get nerve enough to reject.'

If we look through the long list of English literary celebrities, we cannot but be struck by the large proportion of those who have received little or no regular education in their early days, and whose opportunities of study have been of the scantiest. Ben Jonson working as a bricklayer with his book in his pocket: Wm. Cobbett reading his hard-earned 'Tale of a Tub' under the haystack, or mastering his grammar when he was a private soldier on the pay of 6*d.* a day; when 'the edge of my berth or that of my guard-bed was my seat to study in; my knapsack

knapsack was my bookcase; a bit of board lying on my lap was my writing table, and the task did not demand anything like a year of my life:' Gifford, as a cobbler's apprentice, working out his problems on scraps of waste leather; or Bunyan, confined for twelve years in Bedford jail with only his Bible and 'Foxe's Book of Martyrs,' are but a few among scores of instances which will immediately suggest themselves.

There are many persons who are possessed with a strange and unaccountable conviction, that to read a book and to write a book are processes which require little, if any, previous training or preparation. The one error is sufficiently obvious to all who pay any attention to the great mass of cheap literature which is pouring from our printing-presses; the other is less easy of detection. 'The first lesson in reading is that which teaches us to distinguish between literature and merely printed matter,' is the admirable maxim laid down by Mr. Lowell, and this is one of the essential points in which the personal influence of an experienced friend is of inestimable value. As the latent beauties of some great masterpiece of art unfold themselves to our eye under the guidance of a Kugler or a Ruskin, and we are thus enabled to detect their presence or their absence in the works of other hands and other schools, so in the masterpieces of literature the realization of the points, wherein the chief merits of each lie, places us in a position to form a standard—to possess a talisman, which shall enable us unerringly to detect the true from the false. Mrs. Knowles said of Dr. Johnson, 'He knows how to read better than any one; he gets at the substance of a book directly; he tears the heart out of it.' This faculty, which was exhibited in a marvellous degree also in Southey and Macaulay, is as rare as it is enviable; but there are not a few who erroneously suppose themselves to be possessed of it. The hurried, careless, method of reading is one of the chief dangers a student should guard against. In studying a work of biography, for example — but above all in studying the classics—the first requisite, and one which is, as we have said, sadly overlooked in public school teaching, is the acquisition of a simple, general outline of the period to which the work relates. In the fashionable phrase of the day, the books so read are frequently not in correspondence with their environment. To him whose views of Roman history are but a shapeless mist, if not an absolute void, Virgil and Horace are sealed books; nor can any one who is ignorant of Scotland and her traditions penetrate beyond the husk of 'Waverley' or 'Old Mortality.' To the young beginner a few judicious words of explanation at the commencement of a book may serve to awaken

awaken that interest without which reading is useless, and to make darkness light; and, similarly, a few words of discussion, when the book is completed, will have the effect of consolidating the floating ideas to which the perusal has given rise. The habit of casting aside a book as soon as the last page is read, without pondering over its contents and recalling the argument and refreshing the memory where it has failed, or allowing the 'frenzied current of the eye to be stopped for many moments of calm reflection or thought,' is apt to render worthless all the previous effort. Lord Erskine, we are told, was in the habit of making long extracts from Burke, and Lord Eldon is said to have copied out 'Coke upon Littleton' twice with his own hand. 'Writing an analysis,' says Archbishop Whately,* 'or table of contents, or index, or notes, is very important for the study, properly so called, of any subject. And so also is the practice of previously conversing or writing on the subject you are about to study.' Reading can produce a beneficial result only in proportion to the extent and accuracy of information previously stored in the mind of the reader. Such information is like the roots of some flourishing oak; every fresh fact is, as it were, a new fibre confirming and strengthening the growth of the tree, and attracting nourishment from new soil.

'The moment you have a definite aim, attention is quickened, the mother of memory; and all that you acquire groups and arranges itself in an order that is lucid, because everywhere and always it is in intelligent relation to a central object of constant and growing interest.'† Bearing this in mind, we would urge the student to investigate every unfamiliar allusion which may occur in the course of his reading or conversation. A fact or subject thus sought out fixes itself more firmly in the memory than most of those which are merely passed in the ordinary course of reading.

The use of odd moments should not be overlooked. 'Blockheads,' wrote Sir Walter Scott, 'can never find out how folks cleverer than themselves came by their information. They never know what is done at dressing-time, meal-time even, or in how few minutes they can get at the sense of many pages.' It is not possible always to have a book at hand, but any one who will take the trouble to copy out, from time to time, passages which have attracted his attention, and carry them about with him to learn by heart at odd moments, may perhaps be astonished to find how much may be acquired in this manner.

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* Notes to Bacon's 'Essays.' † Mr. Lowell.

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There are some books which by their nature lend themselves to a snatchy method of perusal, and a few minutes may often be well employed in reading an ode of Horace, or the disjointed conversations of Dr. Johnson, but such moments should as a rule be devoted to books which are already more or less familiar. The habit of frivolously taking up, and as frivolously casting aside, a book is, however, one which should be guarded against with the utmost care. It was a strict rule in the family of Goethe the elder, that any book once commenced should be read through to the end. Dr. Johnson, on the other hand, considered a rule of this kind 'strange advice; you may as well resolve that whatever men you happen to get acquainted with, you are to keep them for life.'

A snare, which did not exist in the time of Goethe or of Dr. Johnson, presents itself in these days to the reader, in the ever-increasing mass of periodical literature. But the busy man, who has not time to turn aside from his own work to the thorough investigation of the topic of the hour, may sometimes, in the pages of a magazine, find the case stated tersely by distinguished advocates on both sides; and he may thus at least discern the main positions of assailant and assailed. An exhaustive and genuine review of a book is occasionally afforded by periodical literature, more rarely perhaps than is generally believed; but such essays, to have any value, should be read only after the work to which they relate, a condition that is, we fear, seldom fulfilled.

The 'desultory reader' has now been defined and elevated. We can hardly be mistaken in considering that by reason of Lord Iddesleigh's admirable remarks the expression has acquired a new signification; at least a large number of those who may have fondly imagined themselves to be desultory readers have now been effectually eliminated from the category.

We live in days of 'specialism,' and the book-making specialist of our generation probably yields to none of his predecessors in the literary roll in respect of industry, skill, and accuracy; but his subject, as a rule, is his business, his breadwinner. The desultory reader regards literature as his pastime and recreation. Happy is he who has the time, the opportunity, and the education, to become a desultory reader, in Lord Iddesleigh's sense of the word.

But admitting that Desultory Dilettanteism may under certain favourable conditions be both a profitable and a fascinating attainment, and claiming as we do a very high value for good guidance in the choice of books, we must not lose sight of the fact, that the basis on which the main practical question of the

the selection and proper use of books rests, is not what is good in general, or in special literature, but what is fitted for each individual man. And to discover this the man himself, or his immediate ancestor, the youth, or boy, must be examined. The foundation of success in any sphere of life is physical and mental, nervous and moral aptitude; and those who have to direct, or to decide for, or to advise the young respecting their career in life, should make the personal condition of their protégés their careful study. From the ascertained condition the capacity of each may be discerned, and his future capabilities may be, to some extent, foreseen. These capabilities are the indicators of the course of reading first required; by them the youth's career should chiefly be selected and decided on. Unfortunately in most cases careful forethought is neglected. Qualities that actually make the man are, in a decision that affects his hopes and happiness for life, too often overlooked; and some mere transient incident, esteemed perhaps a stroke of fortune, is accepted, without any hesitating thought about the suitability of its results, as a sufficient introduction to the business of the world. The consequence of this neglect is obvious enough. In every social and commercial sphere we find men drudging on in hopeless slavery, or ruined by the natural revolt of sensibilities that could not be controlled, against the influence of circumstances wholly inappropriate, and for which these sensibilities, most useful in their proper sphere, were not of course designed.

A young man's very desultory reading will perhaps be one of the most useful means for finding what his life's career should be. Knowing himself, or being known, as has been said, by those directing him, and by his own discursive reading having learnt what work for his peculiar abilities is open for him in the world, he probably will judge quite readily what line of study he should at first pursue, and following out this clue, at first by the aid of judicious external guidance, he will, with ever-increasing self-reliance and discrimination, proceed to fulfil the requirements of education and the inclination of his own mental disposition. This method of development is the natural order by which intellectual growth, by means of books, or any other means, proceeds. To make a choice of certain hundred books for any man's perusal, in his youth or afterwards, is but a feat of cleverness, arousing curiosity or wonder, but evolving nothing—ending in the choice. A man may be possessed of any number of good books; and possibly a thousand books might be selected, all of which would be by general consent called excellent, and worth possessing; and perhaps he would be none the

the better for them all. Young men do not require a hundred books at once. Indeed the fewer well-selected books a youth has to begin with, the more safe he is against excessive loss of time. His most important question is not, what shall I read? but, what need I read? The student's care should be to read as little, and to think as much as possible. Thus, he will find what thing it is that he at any time immediately requires to know, and he will make this pressing need the object of his next acquirement in books. This method tends to education; it develops mental power, and makes a cultivated man. A hundred books procured and read without appropriate sympathy, and interest, and thought, will merely make an animated book-case of the man.

Not only should the student's books be few, but as he reads he should be constantly upon his guard. Most readers read to be informed or to be entertained; and books of information are absorbed as if all printed statements must of course be true, or even if not true must, as a record, be worth knowing. This omnivorous, careless style of reading is a grievous waste of life and energy. Were books read with critical, enquiring thought, the time misspent in reading would be wholesomely reduced, and readers would increase in mental power in due proportion to their increased information.

In books of entertainment, and especially of fiction, corresponding carefulness is necessary. There are books among the best which are, in various degrees and ways, of evil influence, and should be read with caution and reserve. To yield one's self to the enjoyment of an entertaining book may be as foolish as to give one's self into the hands of an untried agreeable companion. Ability to please is to these incautious subjects of it a most dangerous influence; and books as well as men when most attractive should be treated warily. In Rabelais and Swift, in Fielding and Smollett, coarse manners must be reprobated. In George Eliot's novels, with exceptions, and in 'Jane Eyre,' there is a subtle taint that is unwholesome to the unguarded reader. Thackeray too frequently compels us to associate with evil company; and, while admiring the writer's skill, the reader should keep well outside of almost every group in Thackeray's novels.

Distinct alike from the progressive student and the discriminating reader, is an abundant class who, without individuality, are mere omnivorous devotees of books, chiefly reading the lighter literature of the day. These people, through excess and self-indulgence, become feeble-minded, intellectually dissipated, and incapable of serious study. In every rank of life the book-

devouring vice abounds; but chiefly among women, girls, and boys; men finding in the newspapers their daily pabulum. This thoughtless, fragmentary, reading has debilitated the contemporary mental fibre of the nation; and has so absorbed the time, we cannot say the attention, of the immense majority of the reading public, that many of them are ignorant even of the existence of the standard works of literature. The late discussion, therefore, about books has been of use; it has made known to the great community of people, who now can read, the fact, that there are certain books, a hundred more or less, far more worth reading than the popular and periodical literature of the day. If this discovery could be impressed upon the public mind with practical effect, the result would be a beneficial change in their condition. The abundant tattle and affected interest about names and things of mean and transient notoriety, and the discursive dinner-table gossip of the world would then perhaps subside; and English conversation would become a constant and a beneficial intellectual enjoyment.

ART. IX.—1. *Popular Government. Four Essays.* By Sir Henry Sumner Maine. Second Edition. London, 1886.
2. *Democracy in America.* By Alexis de Tocqueville. Translated by Henry Reeve. New Edition. London, 1862.
3. *On the State of Society in France before the Revolution of* 1789. Translated by Henry Reeve. Second Edition. London, 1873.
4. *Correspondence and Conversations of Alexis de Tocqueville with Nassau W. Senior*, 1834–59. London, 1872.
5. *On the Government of Dependencies.* By Sir George Cornewall Lewis. London, 1841.
6. *On the Influence of Authority in Matters of Opinion.* By the Same. London, 1849.
7. *A Dialogue on the best Form of Government.* By the Same. London, 1863.
8. *The English Constitution.* By Walter Bagehot. Revised Edition. London, 1883.

OF the latest Work on the Characteristics of Democracy we are precluded from speaking, as Sir Henry Maine's valuable Essays first appeared in the pages of this Review. But we desire on the present occasion to call attention to some writers on the subject, who are almost unknown to a younger generation, or known only by occasional references made to them

them by those who were well acquainted with the writers and their works. And among these half-forgotten names few perhaps will recur more frequently in the recollections of the best-informed men of from forty-five to sixty, or more surprise those who have entered on life since their owners left it, than those of Alexis de Tocqueville, Nassau William Senior, and Walter Bagehot. Among the statesmen of the last generation, few who will fill so small a space in history are so often or so reverently quoted by those who remember Lord Palmerston's Government, the Crimean War, and the Indian Mutiny, as Sir George Cornewall Lewis. Most men under forty will hear with surprise that in the City, at least, he was deemed a sounder and safer financier than Mr. Gladstone; honoured as the Chancellor of the Exchequer who first redeemed the financial reputation of the Whigs from the discredit that had clung to the party of retrenchment and reform for a whole generation. Of the small minority who know him as the founder of the English school of historical sceptics, how many have heard of his multifarious literary and political works, or his shrewd, genial, two-edged, criticisms on public and social life? It seems too probable that our grandchildren will retain nothing of his save the characteristic saying, that 'life would be very tolerable but for its pleasures;' and *that*, probably, will be assigned to some more famous and far less wise *causeur* or phrasemaker, losing half its force in the transfer. Even Mill is known to the passing and the rising generation by different works and diverse characteristics. To the one he is little more than the greatest, most original, and most heretical of English economists; a standard author on logic and metaphysics. The other prefers to remember him by his later and lesser writings; those sexagenarian and posthumous Essays, in which the riper wisdom of a mind, very slow to learn the lessons of practical life, was gathered, and the wilder errors of his earlier theories modified or corrected. Much of that which is really best in his thought and teaching, set forth in these last writings, bears a close analogy to the views of Tocqueville, Senior, and Bagehot, and shows that a tardy, hardly-acquired, unwillingly accepted, knowledge of men and women, of the real and ineradicable tendencies of human nature, brought the giant of the closet into nearer accord with the practical philosophy of a man like Sir George Cornewall Lewis, wise, calm, and judicial, by natural temper, wiser yet by the closet-study which had analysed the experiences of the literary, business, and political, world, of administration, Parliament, and the Cabinet.

One common and very striking feature characterizes the

political thought of all these men—all of them Liberals in more than mere nominal profession or party connection. All regarded the triumph of Democracy as near and inevitable, and all, from different points of view, regarded it with a mixture of resignation and distrust, strangely significant in men of such different views, of such diverse character, mental training, and personal experience. None of them were fatalists, much less pessimists; none inclined *à priori* to that political superstition which recognizes, in the tendencies of a thing so uncertain and changeful as the spirit of the age, the hand of Providence, or the indication of 'manifest destiny.' All were men of more than average independence of temper, an independence which, in one or two, approached nearly to that which practical politicians call impracticability. None of them were disposed to be silent when the many-headed Cæsar had spoken. Mill's most striking, and—to the credit of Democracy be it spoken—most popular characteristic, was a stern and almost paradoxical defiance alike of personal consequences and of public opinion. On the verge of his entrance into public life he affronted the working-classes by telling them, with more than Carlylese directness and exaggeration, that they were 'mostly liars.' If ever there were a man sure to protest to the last against false doctrines and mischievous tendencies, to protest the more fiercely the more certain their victory seemed, it was John Stuart Mill.

Tocqueville, conscious of no common political and administrative capacity—a statesman whose strong popular sympathies, practical wisdom, contempt of popular catchwords, knowledge of and respect for concrete facts; above all, whose signal freedom from the characteristic weaknesses and vices of French statesmanship, rendered him the fittest of all men to direct the destiny of France, whose counsels and guidance would have saved her from all her worst mistakes and most signal disasters—was content to spend a lifetime first in opposition, afterwards in absolute exile from public life, rather than go 'the way that was not his way for an inch.' An Orleanist, an enthusiastic lover of Parliamentary institutions, he would not stoop with Guizot and Thiers to serve a King whose power was founded on corruption. A minister of the President, he held aloof as sternly from the despotism of the Empire as from the factions of the Republican Assembly. He never designed to conceal or soften the expressions of the most unpopular sentiments or convictions.

Sir George Cornewall Lewis was an eminently English statesman, fully aware of the necessity of mutual concession—more willing than most to be guided as a Minister by the tradition of his office, to leave the administration for which he must

must answer in Parliament to the practical experience of his permanent subordinates—but one whom, assuredly, no one ever accused of undue pliancy, or excessive deference to party or popular feeling.

Mr. Bagehot alone of the three was a man likely, *cæteris paribus*, to prefer the winning side; to believe that the belief of the many was likely to be right; looking, however, to the opinion of the many educated and thoughtful rather than of the many ignorant and over-occupied. Yet all agree at once in treating the coming rule of numbers almost as a law of nature, which it were folly to criticize and madness to resist; and in anticipating its advent with doubt and distrust, with deep and sometimes gloomy apprehension. Their constant, thoughtful concurrence in both convictions, their equal assurance that pure Democracy was dangerous and that it was inevitable, deserves a profound significance from their utterly distinct points of view; from the utter unlikeness of their tempers, their experience, and their natural bias.

Sir George Cornewall Lewis, as a Liberal politician, was decidedly distrustful of electoral reform, and accepted it only as a party necessity. His personal delight in the exposure of popular errors, his insistence on the value of authority, and the immense extent of the sphere in which the thought and conduct of the many are necessarily controlled by the authority of the few, the spirit of such books as his 'Essay on the Government of Dependencies' are those of a mind wholly adverse to democratic theories, and intensely mistrustful of popular judgments. He was not fascinated by what he describes as 'the splendid *vision* of a community bound together by the ties of fraternity, liberty, and equality, exempt from hereditary privilege, giving all things to merit, and presided over by a government in which all the national interests are faithfully represented.' He put these words into the mouth of the advocate of Democracy in his 'Dialogue on the best form of Government,' which he published shortly before his death. In this work his own views are expressed in the person of Crito.

'Even if I were to decide in favour of one of these forms, and against the two others, I should not find myself nearer the solution of the practical problem. A nation does not change the form of its government with the same facility that a man changes his coat. A nation in general only changes the form of its government by means of a violent revolution. . . . The history of forcible attempts to improve governments is not cheering. Looking back upon the course of revolutionary movements, and upon the character of their consequences, the practical conclusion which I draw is, that it is the part

part of wisdom and prudence to acquiesce in any form of government, which is tolerably well administered, and affords tolerable security to person and property. I would not, indeed, yield to apathetic despair or acquiesce in the persuasion that a merely tolerable government is incapable of improvement. I would form an individual model, suitable to the character, disposition, wants, and circumstances of the country, and I would make all exertions, whether by action or by writing, within the limits of the existing law, for ameliorating its existing condition, and bringing it nearer to the model selected for imitation; but I should consider the problem of the best form of government as purely ideal, and as unconnected with practice; and should abstain from taking a ticket in the lottery of revolution, unless there was a well-founded expectation that it would come out a prize.'

The conservatism of Lewis was that of a profoundly sceptical instinct, of practical cautious incredulity. Bagehot's was the conservatism of middle-class English thought and experience. Tocqueville's was that of wide observation and bitter disappointment. Mill was a Conservative only so far as conservatism was forced upon a mind essentially radical and even revolutionary, imbued with a profound faith in abstract principles leading far beyond universal suffrage to, if not across the verge of communism, by the danger which he foresaw to individual liberty and unfettered intellectual freedom from the ascendency of mere numbers. Upon this point he agreed closely with Tocqueville, though upon nearly every other their views were as opposite as their character and experience; and their teaching has been fully confirmed by the actual working of the most successful, the most tolerant, and the most fortunately situated democracy that the world has ever seen.

The tendency of Democracy to naked despotism is obvious enough in the recent history of France; but sanguine democrats ascribe the special experience of France to the intense centralization inherited, as Tocqueville shows, by the Republic, the Constitutional Monarchy and the Empire from the *Ancien Régime;* the absence of any local school of practical discussion, mutual tolerance, and co-operation; the bitterness of factions fighting not for administrative or legislative control, but for fundamentally incompatible forms of Government,—to anything rather than the unfitness of the French nation for Teutonic liberties. Conservative pessimists and democratic optimists can only find a common ground, a test which both will accept, in the experience of the United States. Whatever vices are found in American democracy must be inherent in democracy itself; and it must be granted that, looking on the surface of public

public life, the larger facts of national history, and the material condition of the people, there is no evidence, obvious to the hasty observer, of interference with personal freedom, of any demoralizing or weakening influence on individual character exercised by political or social equality. It is outside of the proper field of politics, in facts invisible to distant observers, and not visible at a glance to thoughtful travellers, that we must seek for proof of the bearing of democratic institutions and ideas upon personal and social liberty, upon the maintenance of individual and collective rights.

Upon such a point the remarks of a leisurely, thoughtful, cultivated writer, like Richard Grant White, a man who had enjoyed exceptional opportunities of comparing the effect upon daily life of English aristocracy and American democracy, are more instructive than the elaborate treatises of political theorists or the generalizations of historians. The testimony of such writers bears out the inference which careful students might draw from English history, that the influence of a local and landed aristocracy is far more favourable, than that even of a landed democracy, to the jealous and resolute assertion of legal rights, to a strenuous and successful resistance to the encroachments of power, social or political, upon the property, the comfort, the liberty, and the privileges, of individuals or communities. The moral of Mr. Grant White's sketches of English and American life is, that the English peasant or tradesman is far safer from practical oppression or injustice than the American farmer or citizen; that an Englishman, whatever his rank, is far more free to speak his mind, and far more likely to have a mind worth speaking, than one of the same position in France, or even in Massachusetts. The lively interest in, the diffused knowledge of, politics and public matters, found among educated, and even half-educated men and women throughout the upper and middle classes of England, evidently impressed Mr. White by the contrast it presented to the indifference of American 'Society' to State and Federal politics. He notes particularly the higher tone, the wider knowledge, the freedom from petty class and personal concerns, the broader range of thought, the familiarity with subjects of general human interest, which characterize the conversation of an English dinner-table or drawing-room, as compared with that of American clubs and parlours. He speaks, with the bitterness of a man often and deeply bored, of the limited range of American table-talk, the prominence of the 'shop,' the professional interests of each chance assemblage; the price of stocks and railway shares, and the chances and changes of Wall Street; the inferior tone of thought

thought among men and women alike, in the best or at least the wealthiest society of New York and Philadelphia. In this he is incidentally confirmed by so observant and candid a social critic as Laurence Oliphant. There is an American society of higher cultivation and loftier interests; but that society, except in Boston, is necessarily scattered and somewhat exclusive; and, standing wholly aloof from politics, lacks the knowledge of history, of legislation, of social and economic interests, of current opinion, of foreign affairs—which is in itself a sort of liberal, if necessarily superficial, education. American ladies, and even gentlemen, hardly know who are the Senators for their State, much less who is the representative of their district; care nothing for, and know little of, the debates in Congress, still less in the State Legislature, deeply as these may affect the well-being of the community, the laws under which they and their children are to live.

But this lack of interest in public affairs has a deeper and far more reaching consequence. Everybody's business is nobody's business. In a community really democratic there are no natural leaders; none bound by rank, station, and recognized primacy, to originate resistance; none too strong to be crushed by the animosity of a Fiske or a Gould, or grievously wronged by a corrupt corporation like that of New York, a dishonest political organization like Tammany Hall, or a powerful Tramway or Railway Company. The consequence is, that not only the individual citizen, but a whole community submits to high-handed oppression, to administrative and judicial corruption, to impudent usurpation and flagrant illegalities, such as the greatest of English corporations would never dream of attempting. Perhaps the most oppressive and insolent exactions, to which living Englishmen have as yet submitted, are those of the Water Companies of London; but the offenders have repeatedly been resisted and brought to justice; and it is in London alone, the one English city which lacks natural leaders and protectors, which is too large for any citizen or body of citizens—save that great City Corporation which English Radicalism has marked for destruction—to speak and act in its name, that the Water Companies would have been endured for five years. Even in London, no such high-handed interference with the rights of property and the comfort of families, as the Elevated Railways of New York, with their uncompensated destruction of individual privacy and comfort throughout many of the wealthiest streets of the first city in the Union, would have been obviously and utterly impossible.

The tolerance of Democracy for what seem to English ideas the

the grossest form of oppression—oppression systematic and legal, arbitrary power and class privilege, formally embodied in the law and made a fundamental principle of government—is illustrated by that clause of the Code Napoléon, which exempts the whole bureaucracy of France from civil or criminal liability. No official can be prosecuted, no redress sought at law for the abuse of powers the most extensive, affecting every man's daily life—powers which enable their holder to harass and almost ruin individuals and communities at his pleasure—save by permission of the Council of State, a body of officials inclined of course to believe and to shield its subordinates. This law has been sustained by each successive Government that has seized the reins of centralized power; nor are we aware that any serious effort has been made to repeal it.

The tyranny of a democracy is, as Mill insists, the most formidable, searching, and irresistible of all. Under an autocracy or oligarchy, public opinion is the protector of the injured, and imposes limits on arbitrary power. Assassination is the resort of the victim driven to frenzy by individual oppression, and tempers the sternest despotism; but Demos wields opinion and defies the dagger. By general confession life is far less free, individual taste, caprice or eccentricity is kept under far sharper restraint by fashion and feeling, in America than in aristocratic England. At every epoch of American history, the freedom of opinion has been curtailed at certain points within strict if ill-defined limits. The patriots of Virginia proclaimed in 1775 that any who dared 'by speech or writing to maintain' Royalist or Constitutional views should be treated as an enemy of his country. A similar ban was put some fifty years ago upon the Abolitionists of Illinois and Connecticut. A time came when it was almost equally dangerous to maintain the constitutional doctrines which the Abolitionists had assailed. Nowadays, of actual persecution there is little, because there is little need; because the repression acts, save with the most independent, original and contradictious tempers, upon thought rather than expression. No human intellect or character can resist the universal, insensible, unconscious, pressure of the atmosphere which surrounds it from the cradle. Upon certain political, social, and ethical dogmas, wherever national pride and democratic prejudice are touched, it is scarcely an exaggeration to say, that the 'unanimous opinion' of the North and West has demoralized or extinguished thought itself.

Demos is not only tyrant but Pope. He feels, and his courtiers venture openly to claim for him, not only the royalty which can do no wrong, but the infallibility which can define right

right and wrong themselves. He resents, we are told upon democratic authority, all pretension to special knowledge.

'No observer of American politics' (Mr. Godkin admits in his reply to Sir Henry Maine) 'can deny that, with regard to matters which can become the subject of legislation, the American voter listens with extreme impatience to anything which has the air of instruction; but the reason is to be found not in his dislike of instruction so much as his dislike in the political field of anything which savours of superiority. The passion for equality is one of the very strongest influences in American politics. This is so fully recognized now by politicians, that self-depreciation, even in the matter of knowledge, has become one of the ways of commending one's self to the multitude, which even the foremost men of both parties do not disdain. In talking on such subjects as the currency, with a view of enlightening the people, skilful orators are very careful to repudiate all pretence of knowing anything more about the matter than their hearers. The speech is made to wear as far as possible the appearance of being simply a reproduction of things with which the audience is just as familiar as the speaker. Nothing is more fatal to a stump orator than an air of superior wisdom on any subject. He has, if he means to persuade, to keep carefully, in outward seeming at all events, on the same intellectual level as those whom he is addressing. Orators of a demagogic turn, of course, push this caution to its extreme, and often affect ignorance, and boast of the smallness of the educational opportunities enjoyed by them in their youth, and of the extreme difficulty they had in acquiring even the little they know. There is nothing, in fact, people are less willing to tolerate in a man, who seeks office at their hands, than any sign that he does not consider himself as belonging to the same class as the bulk of the voters—that either birth, or fortune, or education has taken him out of sympathy with them, or caused him, in any sense, to look down on them.'

Historians treat the vote of the present generation as decisive, morally as well as practically, on the issues of the past. The people has, by chance or caprice, passed judgment upon questions, in discussing which consummate statesmen with intimate practical knowledge of their bearings profoundly differed; and that judgment concludes the controversy, determines the right or wrong, the wisdom or folly, of men like J. Q. Adams, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and John C. Calhoun. We have seen too much of this abject superstition in recent English historical essays, as well as in political polemics. It is needless to point out the debasing effect upon all discussion of such anticipatory appeal to the arbitrary decision of Pope or posterity. No man can reason vigorously, frankly, forcibly, and fully, who feels that he, or the heirs of his thought, may be forced not merely to accept defeat, but to cry '*peccavi*.' The maxim '*securus judicat*

judicat orbis terrarum' has no place in historical criticism; and if it had, one nation is not the world, nor the next generation a posterity on whose experience and impartiality reliance might be placed.

M. de Tocqueville is known to the world chiefly by two great works. His 'Democracy in America' was the production of his early manhood. In New England he saw democracy at its best and brightest; saw nothing of that deterioration which the decay of the old Puritan severity, the infusion of a strong foreign element, the corruption and the passions of the Civil War, have confessedly caused. The colonial traditions and principles were still in modified force; simple habits of life, a general prevalence of competence, the absence of ostentatious wealth and luxury, left women content to be mothers and housekeepers; a position of which, as trustworthy witnesses allege, modern luxury, culture, and love of leisure, have rendered them impatient; while the impossibility of devolving their domestic duties upon servants makes the family a burden, and maternity no longer the deepest instinct and strongest hope of womanhood. He saw no beginning of that manifold change of morals and manners which the survivors of an elder generation now regard with deep dismay. His portrait of Democracy, as seen in New England, is decidedly rose-coloured. He saw enough in the Middle and Southern States of the working of democracy under different social conditions, to tinge that picture with the hues of doubt, if not yet with the sombre colours of deep apprehension.

How apt to be partial is the widest and closest political observation is shown by the very partial lessons derived from the experience of the New World. Few observe how signally the history of Central and South America contradicts the inferences so confidently drawn from the United States—or rather from the New England of yesterday, and the present condition of California and the States bounded by the Lakes and the Ohio, the Mississippi and the Alleghanies. Among the States of Spanish and Portuguese speech and civilization—it would be too much to say blood—the failure of democracy has been complete, glaring, and ruinous. Social and political anarchy, utter insecurity of life and property, incessant revolution and murderous war, have been its only fruits. The happy accident of hereditary princes, exceptionally wise, able, and forbearing, has barely saved Brazil. The one prosperous, solvent, orderly State between the Rio Grande and Cape Horn is the aristocratic republic of Chili. So large, striking, and impressive a fact can hardly have escaped a thinker like Tocqueville, whose French birth and experience protected him in

in great measure from the insular ignorance, rather than arrogance, which leads the ablest English writers to base their political philosophy exclusively upon Anglo-Saxon experience and examples: yet it is strange to find so striking a lesson so lightly touched by the wisest, widest, most reflective, and best-informed, among the political teachers of his age.

In the *Ancien Régime* we see the seeds of all that is worst and most dangerous in the modern French polity: the hothouse which fostered into a growth, unknown elsewhere, that passion of envy, which Tocqueville regards as the radical vice, the paramount impulse, the fundamental principle, of Democracy. The peculiar reasons for this dominant sentiment of hatred and jealousy in the democracy of France will be found in his own writings. Much as there was to admire in the old nobility of France, the people saw it only in an aspect calculated to excite unmingled hatred and contempt. It had ceased to govern, to render any service in return for privileges, exemptions, and exactions so odious, vexatious, and oppressive that no service could atone for them. Even these were forgiven to the resident aristocracy of La Vendée. But absentees supported by such exactions, an Order known to the people not even by neglected duties and ill-directed interference, but solely by demands and extortions unconnected with any remaining or remembered functions, a class whose wealth and luxury were supported not by rents or other returns paid by the tillers of the soil to its original owners, holders, or 'lords,' but by rates, tithes, fines, heriots, monopolies (to use the nearest English equivalents) levied for their benefit, and levied in the worst possible way—what feelings could these excite among a people consciously fainting beneath the load of taxes, *corvées*, restrictions and imposts, fees and stamps, of which only a part ever reached the empty Treasury of the State? Is it strange that so monstrous a fabric, when those on whose living bodies it was built rose in revolt, should have fallen with a great ruin, and have crushed all whom it had sheltered? 'The guilt of an Order cannot palliate the massacre of its Innocents.' True; but human nature being what it is, the unreasoning burst of fury which strove to stamp out every trace of old institutions, to exterminate the race of the unconscious oppressors, was less strange than the fidelity of the Vendéans.

And yet that massacre is in itself suggestive. The wholesale butcheries of the Terror are accountable; even the attempt of Robespierre, St. Just, and Barère to suppress revolt and discontent by *noyades* and *mitraillades*, if fiendish, is intelligible. It had a political aim. It satisfied a definite if diabolical desire.

desire. But the executions of veteran philosophers, of grey-haired parish-priests, of harmless nuns — the deliberate cold-blooded cruelty which punished with death the resentment, the imprudence, often the mere birth, of orphaned lads; the prayers or the tears of schoolgirls who might well have urged the piteous plea of Sejanus' infant daughter—these recal the indiscriminate ferocity of wild beasts, the atrocities occasionally committed by destructive maniacs in an excess of fury, or the infectious frenzies of lycanthropy and similar forms of epidemic madness, rather than such human cruelty as prompted the massacre of Drogheda, the butchery of Melos, or the destruction of Carthage. What could schoolboys have done worthy of the guillotine, even in the eyes of the Jacobin Club? Girls, like children, can try the temper and patience of manhood, and among rough men or in rough times get roughly punished; but when, save in 1793, did men ever think of killing them? There was but one fault besides their birth—a fault almost inseparable from their birth—which the boy-ensigns and pages, the convent-bred demoiselles, shared with their parents; that inalienable, instinctive, inborn grace, that sense, air, and bearing of superiority, which we find acknowledged alike by the noble and the *bourgeois*, the *von Adel* and the *bürger*, acknowledged by those who regret or resent as distinctly as by those who would uphold it. The unpardonable sin of the *noblesse*, the inheritance of which they could not be deprived but with their lives, the secret sting that maddened the Jacobin to slay not merely the beardless heirs but the innocent and helpless daughters of the captured château, may perhaps be hinted in a question and answer like the following, between Senior and De Tocqueville, after the third Revolution had proved its impotence to efface the footmarks of nature:—

'I said that I was told that the distinction between noble and *roturier* existed in its full force in real life.

'"Yes," said Tocqueville, "it does, meaning by noble, *gentilhomme;* and it is a great misfortune, since it keeps up distinctions and animosities of caste; but it is incurable—at least, it has not been cured, or perhaps much palliated, by our sixty years of revolution. It is a sort of Freemasonry. When I talk to a *gentilhomme*, though we have not two ideas in common, though all his opinions, wishes, and thoughts are opposed to mine, yet I feel at once that we belong to the same family, that we speak the same language, that we understand one another. I may like a bourgeois better, but he is a stranger." I mentioned the remark to me of a very sensible Prussian, *bürger* himself, that it was unwise to send out as ambassador any not noble. I said that it did not matter in England, where the distinction is unknown. "Yes," he replied, "unknown with you; but you may be sure that when any of our *bürger* ministers meets one who is

von

von Adel, he does not negociate with him on equal terms; he is always wishing to sneak under the table." '

In these conversations, preserved in a separate series of Senior's Journals, we have the best, latest, and wisest, of De Tocqueville's thoughts; none the less valuable, and to English readers all the more intelligible and impressive, that we have them in undress; put into the terse, pithy, concentrated style of summarized oral conversation by the recorder, instead of being elaborately tricked out in all the formal grace of French literary diction by one of the most fastidious of French writers. Senior, who habitually wrote down in his Journals the conversation of the great, wise, and thoughtful—the leaders of political action or literary criticism, the statesmen and thinkers—with whom in the course of a leisurely life of social observation he was brought into intimate intercourse, had a gift of getting from each man the best he had to give. His friends knew that their table-talk was recorded, often themselves read and corrected the record, and therefore gave him what they were willing to give not to the contemporary world, but to posterity; those opinions upon the current facts of the day by which they were willing to be judged hereafter. No opinions upon the tendencies and consequences, the prospects and passions, the strength and weakness of democracy, could well be more valuable than those which the painter of Democracy in America,—after the experience of many years in the public life of France, in the Representative Chamber of the Orleans Monarchy, and in the Legislature of the Republic,—delivered, for the benefit of readers far removed by time and distance, during the latter months of the rickety infancy of that ill-starred Government and the first period of the Second Empire. Tocqueville spoke from a point of vantage, such as few other men have attained, upon a theme which he had studied profoundly in youth, and upon which Fate had ever since been writing elaborate commentaries. He spoke with a mind naturally calm, candid, and judicial, enriched by a deeper knowledge than any other Continental writer enjoyed of the working of popular institutions in England and America, matured by the experience of a lifetime; spoke while the most critical experiments in democratic Constitutionalism and democratic Cæsarism were being worked out before his eyes.

Founding a so-called Constitutional Monarchy upon a corruption as gross as that of Walpole, Louis Philippe had rendered his power absolute at the price of sapping its foundation; and Tocqueville had predicted the Revolution long before accident precipitated it—predicted it as an inevitable result of the corruption he denounced, and indicated the forces of silent discontent

tent which were sure to overthrow it. In 1848, and still more in 1871, the people of France at large turned instinctively to those natural leaders whom at all other times they had so persistently ostracized. Alarmed in the first case by an unexpected and undesired triumph of the Parisian populace — in the second, chastened by a great national disaster, without definite views or objects of their own—they deliberately trusted their interests to the larger landowners, whose interests must coincide with theirs: to the men of hereditary culture, of thoughtful habits, and wider experience, in whom they recognized a natural capacity to deal with problems that bewildered themselves, with events that had taken them utterly unawares. But, save at such times, and under the sobering influence of such lessons, equality, and not liberty, is the root of French Democracy. To equality, liberty is readily and unhesitatingly sacrificed.

'"*Égalité*," said Tocqueville, "is an expression of envy. It means in the real heart of every Republican, 'No one shall be better off than I am;' and while this is preferred to good government, good government is impossible. In fact, no party desires good government. The first object of the reactionary party is to keep down the Republicans; the second, if it be the second, object of each branch of that party, is to keep down the two others. The object of the Republicans is, as they admit, *égalité*—but as for liberty, or security, or education, or the other ends of government, no one cares for them."'

It was the passion for Equality that made the Second Empire possible. The city *prolétariat* would endure anything but a privilege of class, a constitutional monarchy associated in their experience with an artificial peerage and a narrow uniform franchise; the *bourgeoisie*, terrified by socialism—that is, confiscation—would accept any Government strong enough to put and keep down the Reds, the Anarchists, who under the Republic had kept Paris always within a week—had brought her more than once within twenty-four hours—of sack and pillage. The peasantry hated privilege and Socialism with an equal and impartial hatred. The First Empire had given them much of what they most prized in their actual condition, and was credited with all. Its one hateful association was incessant and at last disastrous war, anticipated conscriptions, and foreign invasion. The Second Empire, with its promise of peace, was the embodiment of their ideal. It promised work to the operative, opportunities of fortune to the restless, and safe investment to the prudent among the middle-class. Its protectorate of the Pope secured the clergy and the women; and it mattered nothing that, crushing under foot the freedom at once of the press and the tribune, it incurred the bitter hatred of the intellectual

tellectual classes in a country where pure intellect is more ambitious and more immediately powerful than in any other. It stood firm and unshaken while it kept its promise of peace and prosperity—the firmer that it embodied so distinctly the errors and illusions of the many, and not the less popular that it showed so profound and cynical a contempt for the intelligence of the few. Its Budgets alone would have been fatal to a Government resting on and responsible to Opinion, for the rapid growth of the Debt in a time of peace and plenty would have terrified men accustomed to sift the 'capital' and 'revenue' accounts of great Companies, and to calculate the resources of Empires as a peasant the yield of his farm. But the millions were content; the worse the credit of the State, the higher the interest on their savings; the embellishment of Paris and other great public works were a practical acknowledgment of the *droit au travail;* and the calculations of those, who criticized the fearful waste (*coulage*) of such a system, proved to demonstration that a spendthrift State must come to the end of a spendthrift *rentier*—with what consequences the Commune of 1871 bare witness—found no attention; spoke in a tongue not understood by the people. The masses were not even alarmed by the warnings of veteran statesmen, consummate financiers, and *doctrinaires* of every school. Only in those great crises when all that is left to wisdom is a choice of calamities, as in 1848 and 1871, does Demos abdicate; recognize for a moment that all men are not born, much less trained to remain, free *and equal*, and entreat the pilots by hereditaty profession to see the ship of State through the breakers.

In the criticism, and especially in the best, most thoughtful, and least obvious criticism, provoked by the long foreseen electoral settlement of last year, the direct and indirect influence of Mr. Bagehot's writings was constantly to be traced. On this subject he had looked back and looked forward farther than most political reasoners. Household suffrage seemed to him the inevitable consequence, the logical development, of the reform of 1832. It was at that point, as he considered, that the right and wrong path had diverged; that chance and destiny, rather than choice, determined at the moment the adoption of that which led necessarily and logically to sheer Democracy. The practice of the old system had become thoroughly vicious, but the underlying principle was sound and safe. All classes, all interests, were represented; but accident had given, not to wealth or birth, but to a particular kind of wealth, a certain set of families, an enormously disproportionate representation. The landed interest was wronged in the utterly inadequate representation

sentation of the counties. Ireland was misrepresented; and the Scotch people could not be said to be represented at all. But every class, every great interest, had its spokesmen; exercised a direct and independent influence in the national councils. Rotten or pocket boroughs were not only nurseries of professional statesmanship, but a back door through which interests, whose direct representation was impossible, found access to Parliament. The West Indian interest, the East India Company, and the statesmen trained in its service, with their special knowledge and zealous care for the welfare of our Oriental empire, could secure a hearing for views to which no English constituency would listen. Under such a system our Australian Colonies, the great Dominion of Canada, the English minority which sustains the Imperial cause in South Africa, would never have complained, as now, that their voice was unheard, their feelings unreflected, in an assembly which is no longer merely the Parliament of Great Britain, but the Senate of an Empire greater than that of Rome.

The working classes were represented through those numerous constituencies in which the scot and lot franchise prevailed. It was imperative that the abuses of the system should be redressed; that the new communities which had grown up since the Restoration should be directly represented; that the borough proprietors and the great families should be deprived of their excessive weight in Parliament; that the middle class should acquire a power more adequate to its new social and political importance; that Scotland, again, should be really and directly represented. But in Mr. Bagehot's view universal and varied representation was of more consequence than arithmetical proportion. No class, no interest, represented in the House of Commons, was likely to be grossly wronged, none could be neglected or unheard. No class intelligent enough to understand its own grievances, to have distinct ideas and desires of its own, would have failed, under a reform retaining the principle of the old system, to command attention and secure redress. Had Pitt been able to carry out his well-known and thoroughly sincere scheme of practical reform, or had Canning and his followers sided with the Whigs upon this as upon almost every other question, reform might have anticipated revolution. It was the weakness, rather than the will, of the Whigs that compelled them to go not only farther and faster, but in another direction, than their actual opinions and traditional inclinations would have carried them. They were compelled to present a scheme broad, simple, and extreme enough, to attract irresistible support.

When once uniformity of franchise and proportionate representation were made the basis of the electoral system, the extension of the former, the more and more accurate adjustment of the latter, became a mere question of time. The poorest class of householders in towns in 1886 are probably as intelligent and competent as were the ten-pounders of 1832. The masses might have been satisfied with the gradual enlargement of their old representation; having been once disfranchised by wholesale, it was certain that they would ere long demand and ultimately secure that wholesale enfranchisement, by which every other class must necessarily be swamped. Minority representation, electoral districts, and single seats, are at best lame and unsatisfactory methods of engrafting on pure democracy securities and checks, which were essential and natural parts of the old representation of classes and interests. When once every borough below a certain numerical standard had been extinguished, and all below another deprived of their second member, the upward extension of the principle became a logical and historical necessity. So again much, perhaps most, of what has been written upon the contrast between the American and English constitutions—the two great types of popular government, Parliamentary and Presidential, the direct and indirect election of the actual Executive, terms fixed by law or dependent upon Parliamentary favour—was anticipated in the best chapters of Mr. Bagehot's 'English Constitution.'

Few writers so terse, compact, and clear, have been so completely free from the temptation of deliberate phrase making as Mr. Bagehot; yet few professional phrase-makers have left in the minds of their readers so many telling, forcible, and suggestive phrases; sentences in which a novel or striking thought, an impressive view of new or old truth, a principle apt to be forgotten or imperfectly appreciated, is vivified and incarnated in a few emphatic words. It would be difficult to quote any passage of ten times the length half so suggestive of the exceptional conditions that have secured to England peace and stability during the last two centuries of storm and shipwreck, revolution, and reaction abroad, any phrase so expressive of the distinctive character of the nation and its Government, as the two aptly chosen epithets employed by Mr. Bagehot—the 'dignified parts' of the English Constitution and the 'deferential tendency' of the English people. In both instances he has, as we think, overstated his point. The dignified parts of the Constitution are more real and living, are more intimately associated with the practical work of Government, than he was disposed to allow. Popular deference is paid more to

to truth and less to fiction than he supposed. It is eminently characteristic of the cautious English temper, the distrust of sharp contrasts and clever paradoxes engrained in his nature, that (so far as we remember) he never adopts the familiar saying of Thiers, that a constitutional Prince *règne et ne gouverne pas*. But his actual conception of the English monarchy approaches far too near to that misleading and mischievous fallacy.

It is a little strange that so devoted a disciple of Darwin, a writer who applied the principle of Evolution with so much skill, insight, and success, to the life of nations and the course of politics, should have allowed so little weight to the natural selection which operates so powerfully upon the character of hereditary Princes and aristocracies. It is far from obvious why so close and careful an observer should have drawn his illustrations of the working of constitutional monarchy so exclusively from the past, and especially from the examples of George III. and William IV., ignoring so completely the experience of the present reign; the deep, lasting, and for the most part wholesome, influence exercised in European politics by men like Leopold I., Prince Albert, and the present Emperor of Germany. Prince Bismarck owes to Royal favour and trust the foundation of his power, the strength which enabled him in the teeth of a short-sighted Liberal opposition to create that Prussian army, to carry out that ruthless but eminently successful policy of blood and steel, which excluded Austria from her place in the Confederation, put an end to the old dualism, and achieved the union of Germany. Italy owes everything to Cavour; but she owed Cavour to Victor Emmanuel. The selection of Russian, Austrian, and German ministers, the consistency of their policy, the power or rather authority, most judiciously used by the Crown at more than one critical period of recent English history, completely refute Mr. Bagehot's theoretical and historical doctrine, that a Parliament must be wiser than an average sovereign. He forgets that a Prince is exempt from the influence of party, whose disastrous action in the great crisis of the national fortunes has been brought home of late with painful force to all thoughtful Englishmen.

Nor has he escaped that influence in his criticism of George III. It would be easy to show that the modern theory of Parliamentary Government, the theory accepted by his immediate predecessors and now firmly established, was one on which no scrupulous and conscientious Prince in the position of George III. could possibly have acted. The King found throughout the earlier years of his reign, until the younger Pitt

obtained an actual potent and controlling influence in the Houses and in the closet, that the influence which secured a Parliamentary majority was not his ministers' but his own. The dismissal of the elder Pitt and Newcastle broke at once the strongest coalition of aristocratic and popular influence, the mightiest league between intellect sustained by national confidence, borough-mongering wealth, and family interest, that ever dominated the unreformed Parliament. It was in the King's power to give the control of the House to whom he would—to Chatham, Grafton, Rockingham, or North. The one thoroughly unconstitutional use of the Royal influence, with which the King can fairly be charged, was employed to defeat the most unconstitutional and indefensible measure ever brought forward by a corrupt and unprincipled coalition—the India Bill, which endeavoured to secure for Fox and North personally the power and patronage of our Oriental Empire. The King could not shift the responsibility of administration upon ministers who owed office and Parliamentary support to himself. The American war was not his work. The Stamp Act was brought in during his first illness by the minister he most hated. The Tea Duty was the madness of Townshend; and the step, which gave the signal for revolt, was really a remission of two-thirds of that duty. True that the King was the last man to agree to the disruption of the empire, the abandonment of thousands of American loyal subjects, to lower the flag of England before her coalesced European enemies; but in that perseverance, surely not unkingly, he had one enthusiastic supporter; and those who censure the King pass the same censure on the dying speech of Lord Chatham. The one fatal error of a long and conscientious reign should be laid to the account less of George III. than of those who betrayed Pitt's counsels and played upon the conscientious vagaries of a half-crazed brain.

Mr. Bagehot dwells exclusively upon the unfavourable incidents of a royal education. He overlooks the direct and indirect influences which are brought to bear from the very cradle upon an hereditary Prince—the sense of responsibility, the consciousness of a great position, the familiarity with the gravest interests, a youth passed under the tuition of the ablest masters, and above all that constant intercourse with the finest intellects of the age, which secure for a future King a moral and intellectual training unequalled in its excellence. The effect of that training we see in our own Royal family, unfortunate as they have been in the withdrawal at the most critical period of a father's control and guidance. Of the Queen's daughters it is needless to speak. Her sons are, by general admission, soldiers and

and sailors of more than average professional ability. The Crown Prince of Germany, the late King of Spain, the present heir of the House of France, Leopold II. of Belgium, and King Humbert of Italy, are generally credited with high ability; and more than one of them would take rank among the first statesmen of his kingdom. A Prince of fair abilities, with such a training and such knowledge of the men with whom he is necessarily brought into contact, has every means of knowing, at least as well as Parliament, who are the most competent and most trustworthy statesmen to whom he can commit the fortunes of his Kingdom. His continuous experience of politics, legislation, and government, his access, especially with regard to foreign affairs, to wider and more impartial sources of information, lend to his counsels an authority which no prudent or thoughtful statesman will disregard. He looks at affairs from a higher point of view, with a wider survey as a rule, and also with a calmer and more unbiassed judgment.

Mr. Bagehot dwells at length on what may be called the fictitious value of Constitutional Monarchy; and this he was evidently inclined to exaggerate. The English people, he thought, are, as a rule, too ignorant to understand what the Queen's Government really is—how completely it is carried on in the Royal name by Parliamentary Ministers. For them the law is really incarnate in the Sovereign; in yielding obedience to magistrates and policemen, to common law and Parliamentary statutes, in forbearing or resisting riot, they obey or uphold the Royal authority. Were they aware that at each general election they choose their real and effective rulers for an indefinite period, they would be confused, alarmed, and bewildered, to a degree which would render them incapable of a real and intelligent choice. The people—the lower orders—may have been, when Mr. Bagehot wrote, and probably are now, somewhat wiser and better informed as to the real character of the Government—the actual responsibility for particular measures—than their critic supposed. But it is beyond doubt that the Queen's name is a great power. The law is too mere an abstraction, the names of Ministers represent too much party feeling, excite too much antagonism, to command the prompt obedience, the loyal reverence, the enthusiastic support which is rendered to the name of the Sovereign. In France and America a very different feeling prevails.

Mr. Senior, than whom no Englishman of his day was more intimate with a number of French statesmen of different parties, views and character—than whom there was, perhaps, no cooler, closer, or more constant observer of French politics—remarks that

that Frenchmen are always weak and timid in upholding, daring, resolute, and even fierce in resisting the powers that be. Confidence, enthusiasm, conviction, seem in every case of insurrection and dangerous riot to be on the side of the mob. The revolution of 1848 afforded very striking examples of this contrast. The overthrow of Louis Philippe, deeply as the King himself was disliked and despised, narrow as was the electorate, unpopular as was the Ministry, was the act of a small minority. The Republic was imposed upon France by a knot of reckless journalists and semi-communistic dreamers, backed by the dreaded populace of Paris, against the will of the peasantry who formed four-fifths of the voters, and of the educated or semi-educated classes, amounting to one half of the remaining fifth. Again and again was the Provisional Government—though backed by all who had anything to lose, by all who dreaded anarchy—on the point of overthrow, and saved only by Lamartine's eloquence from the conspiracy of a few thousand desperadoes, and the stormy passions of a mob that hardly knew what it wanted. The Assembly itself was invaded and terrorized for several hours: the lives of the leaders, to whom all France looked up with reverence, were in imminent peril at the hands of a faction numerically insignificant. Only in the terrible days of June did the National Guard, after four months of distress and incessant panic, of daily and hourly fear of sack and pillage, act with energy and decision; and even then the struggle between the army, supported by the National Guard and the Anarchist faction of the barricades, was long balanced and doubtful: yet the party of order in Paris itself constituted an overwhelming majority.

In America, New England perhaps excepted, the mob and the people, the party of lawless force and law-abiding principle, meet on more equal terms. No one dreams of disputing, in the last resort, the authority of the Sovereign, but that Sovereign is invisible and inaccessible. It must be remembered, moreover, that more than one of the hundred popular risings, that the Union has seen during its hundred years' existence, were risings, not against the law, but for the law against the laxity of its administrators. This very fact makes it the more clear how uncertain and ineffective is the authority of abstract law and an impersonal Sovereign. The legal authorities, State or Federal, are not necessarily representative of the power by which they are elected. In California, after a period of anarchy, the respectable classes rose with the tacit support of the people against the State Government which the people had elected; deposed it almost without an effort, and established in its place the

the arbitrary rule of a self-appointed Vigilance Committee, whose members no one knew. That lawless Government hanged as many rowdies, pilferers, highway robbers, and card sharpers as it thought fit; banished hundreds under penalty of death—a penalty sure to be enforced—re-established order, and laid down its power without having encountered the shadow of legal or popular resistance. We have seen an actual insurrection of the better elements of society provoked by the escape of murderers and other criminals through the hands of lax or corrupt juries, and of an administration whose use of the prerogative of mercy was imputed to partisanship or to bribery. But in a great majority of instances, riots that have reached the proportions of insurrection have been simply anarchical or rebellious. It is not so long since the railway employés of Pennsylvania, striking work upon an every-day quarrel between employer and employed, took possession of the iron highways of the State, intercepted communication, seized the great railway arsenal of Pittsburg, and fought a pitched battle against the militia, as obstinate and almost as sanguinary as the minor combats of the Civil War. While we write, another strike of the same class has suspended the traffic of the great Western railway line. In three States the militia have been called out to protect property and liberty, the rights of capital, the freedom of labour, the interest of the public, against a class insurrection; the public authorities have been forcibly resisted, and lives have been lost in a skirmish with fire-arms between the *posse* of the Sheriff and the insurgent Knights of Labour. Every American mob feels itself invested with something of the majesty of the sovereign people. Every body of English rioters—political, social, or simply lawless—knows and feels itself guilty of resistance to the Sovereign. The truncheon of the police, the uniform of the soldier, unquestionably represents the legal will of the Sovereign; and before that will the largest and most excited multitude gives way at once.

Mr. Bagehot overlooks the *certainty* which personal sovereignty gives: the absence of a moment's possible doubt on which side is that supreme arbiter, sure to be backed by nine-tenths of the physical forces of society. He underrates, if he does not altogether ignore, the much wider and deeper influence of the Royal name; its power over passion as well as over ignorance. The omnipotence of Parliament, even when, in the belief of half the nation, a Parliamentary majority represents a minority of the people, is due less to traditional respect for the House of Commons, or superstitious reverence for a majority vote, such as prevails in America, than to the fact, that

that resistance means rebellion, visible, unmistakable disobedience to the Queen. It is therefore deeply to be regretted, not for any sentimental reason, but for the sake of order and the protection of life and property, that the democratic changes in our Constitution are gradually undermining the habit of submission to the Queen's Majesty which still characterizes, to a great extent, the English people. The Services still feel proud to consider that they serve, in their own phrase—not the State but—'the Queen.' That sentiment of loyalty, which Mr. Bagehot ascribes to the ignorant alone, is as strong in the upper or middle as in the lower orders; has a far wider, deeper influence than he allows, than it was consistent with the whole scope of his work on the English constitution to recognize.

One of the most remarkable and interesting points in Tocqueville's conversations, as recorded by Mr. Senior, is the value which he and other interlocutors ascribe to the English Poor Law. Mr. Senior had seen its essential principle, the right of subsistence, worked out farther—to extremer and more dangerous consequences—than perhaps any other political or social experiment, before the practical common sense of England interfered. Under the old Poor Law, at least in the rural districts, the income of a household was regulated by its number. Every head of a family was entitled to an allowance, increasing with its increase, and wholly independent of his earnings. Nominal wages had been actually forced down *below* the starvation point. The law had demoralized industry by placing the idlest ditcher on a level of comfort with the best ploughman, and threatened to swallow up property in the support of poverty. Tocqueville and his friends had seen the danger from another point of view. The most popular and most formidable of the dogmas of that Socialism, which had infected so deeply the *prolétariat* of Paris and other French cities, was in another and yet more insidious and destructive form the doctrine of the Poor Law. The right of subsistence was admitted by the establishment of the *ateliers nationaux*, and asserted by the insurgents of June 1848, under the nobler and more dignified guise of the *droit au travail*. The State was bound, according to that doctrine, not to keep the idle alive, but to furnish the industrious with work suited to their skill at market rate of wages; a rate which had no right to fall below the average standard of an artizan's need, or rather of his habits.

A principle which contradicts the laws of nature is obviously false; and the right to subsistence—if claimed not for all who do, but for all who may, exist in a given country—yet more clearly the *droit au travail* of which this is the practical meaning—involves the

the demand, that agricultural production shall keep pace with population. But, save for checks all ultimately reducible to the fear of want, checks which it is the essential object of a Poor Law to relax, population would rapidly, in any old country, overtake subsistence. That, were the population of England or France to multiply at an American rate, it would soon lack standing room, is mathematically demonstrable. A poor law then must be attended by checks on population as effective as those of Nature herself; and from their artificial character necessarily more offensive, revolting, and difficult to enforce. None the less, Englishmen familiar as Senior with the ruinous operation of the old Poor Law, Frenchmen confronted like Tocqueville by the terrible theory of the *droit au travail*, the alarming experience of the *ateliers nationaux*, were inclined to regard that admission of the right to subsistence—limited to those actually born—which is the fundamental principle of the present Poor Law, as a most valuable, if not an indispensable, guarantee of social security; a signal instance of that practical English wisdom, which refuses to push admitted principles, sound or false, to consequences undeniably logical, but practically dangerous.

It might be thought that in a Christian, and especially a Roman Catholic country, the danger of starvation could never be very practical—that men, and still more women and children, bearing in their forms and faces the stamp of actual want, of pinching hunger, would never be denied. But Senior's experiences of the Irish famine pointed to a different conclusion. Death by famine is at last rapid, sudden, and unexpected. On the road to Kenmare, from which many Irish emigrants were despatched to America, corpses were daily found with collapsed stomachs *and money in their pockets*. Hoping to reach the port, keeping their money to pay their passage, death had overtaken them unawares; and this in the face of organized measures of relief, the largest and most liberal that public or private charity has ever provided. In cases of prolonged and extreme distress, but for the Poor Law, hundreds would die of want almost unawares, before want had overcome their reluctance to beg. And if actual starvation were rare, yet in the absence of a recognized right to food and shelter, the fear of starvation must be ever present. This spectral horror, Tocqueville evidently thought, haunted the imagination of the French operative; and had much to do with the popularity of Socialism in a country of diffused property and general thrift, and with the ferocity of Socialistic or Red Republican insurrections. Charity, however liberal, is an uncertain and—to their credit be it spoken—to the majority of French operatives, a repulsive and degrading resource. It cannot

cannot exorcise the hideous spectre of actual famine, which, though remote, seems ever to threaten them, their wives and their children; and which, in times of distress and depression, looms terribly near, distinct, and horrible. No wonder that men haunted by such a spectre should be driven to gloomy envy, sullen hate, and outbreaks of ferocity worse than those provoked by actual suffering. No wonder that any schemes, however frantic and however unrighteous, should have charms for a class whose reason is disturbed by the perpetual vision of that ultimate but undeniably possible horror. We have seen in France within the last few weeks moral portents which can hardly be ascribed to any other final cause—an atrocious murder committed by workmen, and, what is infinitely worse, extenuated and almost approved by responsible legislators. It is probable that the Belgian riots approach as near as any witnessed in Europe during the last two centuries to a revolt of actual want. Belgium has secured an artificial manufacturing prominence—a disproportionate trade—to hard toil and low wages. The latter had lately been forced down to the *minimum*, as profits had been well-nigh extinguished, by a general depression of business. In fear of actual want, the populace rose, wasted farms, destroyed factories, plundered and levied blackmail—in a word, tried to inflict on others the misery that had maddened themselves. The word has been given to the most quiet and law-abiding people in Europe *to defend themselves*: a step far more significant of stern intentions than the sharpest military repression. Yet the Government is forced to accompany its preventive measures with an expenditure of 20*s*. per head of the population on public works—equivalent to an English rate-in-aid of twenty millions! Could there be a more conclusive proof that the dread of hunger is a real and terrible power for evil among Continental nations; that their choice lies, in a word, between a recognition of the right to subsistence—a Poor Law with severe labour tests and restrictions—and periodical, spasmodic measures of relief enforced by insurrection? Or can there be a doubt, that the latter is infinitely the more dangerous and demoralizing alternative: that only the adoption of a Poor law can prevent the lessons of 1886 from shaking the very foundations of order, property and civil government in countries situate as are France and Belgium?

It seems strange that French Democracy should not have long since insisted on laying for ever the spectre of starvation by a Poor Law more liberal than that of England. It must be remembered, however, that the democracy of France is a propertied and landed democracy, heavily burdened with taxes and interest on mortgages,

mortgages, pinched by necessity, and pinching itself by thrift. No class is so hard to want, so ruthless to idleness, as a peasantry which wins for itself a bare subsistence by constant toil, and provides for the future by constant self-denial.

The temper of a progressive and prosperous democracy is very different. Many, perhaps most of the American States, are without a Poor Law. Slavery dispensed with it, and the race antagonism consequent on the manner and circumstances of emancipation has rendered a thorough revision of social relations—a systematic attempt to meet the new and very exceptional conditions of Southern society in its present form—hitherto impossible. Yet, by the confession of one of their bitterest enemies, no people are so tender, so generous, so lavish of active sympathy towards the sick, the bereaved, and the unfortunate. In States which, probably from an instinct under their circumstances just and wise, refuse to recognize the right to subsistence by a legal provision for the poor, whereby the idle and vicious would chiefly benefit, nevertheless paupers by the visitation of God—the aged and infirm, the blind, the deaf, and dumb, lunatics and idiots—are amply provided by public and private charity with all that can alleviate their lot; or teach them, as far as possible, the means of self-dependence. American charity towards the victims of great natural catastrophes, far more common there than here—communities burned out by a forest fire, or ruined by a flood—and yet more the personal sacrifices made, the readiness with which men and women devote their leisure, thought, and energy to the supervision of public institutions, the efficient distribution of public subscriptions, the succour and nursing of a community stricken by pestilence, are above praise. A careful study of Transatlantic examples might put our own boasted lavishness of charity to shame.

Even in England, organized private charity, wisely directed, might surely contrive to effect a discrimination between those who are paupers by vice, unthrift, and idleness, and those whom God has stricken for no fault that humanity is entitled to pass judgment upon; between the fitting inmates of the workhouse, and those—helpless from age, infirmity, accident, and disease—to whom the associations of the workhouse are humiliating, painful and demoralizing. Nothing is more essential, under democratic rule, than the maintenance of due severity towards those who will not work; nothing more likely to relax that needful severity than its indiscriminate application to those who cannot.

ART. X.—1. *Fourth Midlothian Campaign.* Political speeches delivered, November, 1885, by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. Edinburgh, 1886.

2. John Morley: *The Irish Record of the New Chief Secretary,* 1886.

3. *Ireland; A Book of Light on the Irish Problem.* Edited by Andrew Reid. London, 1886.

4. *Home Rule.* Reprint from the 'Times' correspondence, &c. 1886.

5. *Social Order in Ireland. Irish Loyal and Patriotic Union.* Dublin, 1886.

6. *Speech of Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, April* 8, 1886, *on moving for leave to bring in a Bill to make provision for the future Government of Ireland.*

THE fate of the scheme for the Government of Ireland, which Mr. Gladstone disclosed in the House of Commons last week, has been practically determined. Whether the Bill be rejected on the second reading, whether amidst the currents of adverse opinion which have already set in, it slowly goes to wreck upon the shoals of Parliamentary procedure, its ultimate doom is already settled, but the mischief which has been done will not be removed so promptly. A great blow has been struck at the United Kingdom. The proposal to recognize Irish nationality as a political force apart from Great Britain—a proposal made by a Prime Minister, a leader of a great Parliamentary party—will for many a day to come stimulate in Ireland all the elements of disorder, which a noble series of statesmen, from Burke to Peel, have resolutely laboured to eradicate.

It was no surprise to the House that had listened to the marvellous dream of Mr. Gladstone, when Mr. Parnell rose to express his gratitude in terms almost of emotion:—

'It will prove a happy and fortunate thing, both for Ireland and England, that there was one man living, one English statesman living, with the great power and the extraordinary ability of the right hon. gentleman to lend his voice on behalf of poor helpless Ireland. He had devoted his great mind, his extraordinary energy to the unravelling of this question and to the construction of this Bill. . . . To none of the sons of Ireland—at any time has there ever been given the genius and talent of the right hon. gentleman—certainly nothing approaching to it in these days.'

The people, whom a few months ago Mr. Parnell denounced as representing to him and his friends 'imprisonment, chains and death,' now came to offer him a scheme of Irish nationality, and Shylock, recognizing the wisdom of the sham Balthazar,

Balthazar, was not more appreciative: 'A Daniel come to judgment, yea a Daniel,' but, like Shylock, Mr. Parnell relied upon his bond. Whilst he accepted the offering with the effusion of a successful speculator, he took care to remind his hearers that he was not bound to take it in discharge of his claim. He reserved any 'definite or positive expression of opinion;' 'there were undoubtedly great faults and blots in the measure,' but he could safely say, 'whatever might be the fate of the Bill, the cause of Ireland, the cause of Irish autonomy, will enormously gain by the genius of the right hon. gentleman.' This is the solid result of the strange events which have been passing for the last three months. A distinguished public man has been called to office by the Parnellite vote. He has demanded and obtained ample time to consider the difficulties of his position and offer his solution.

A glance at the new scheme shows that the proposal is at once disingenuous and fantastic. The Prime Minister shrinks from admitting the nature of the work he is engaged in. He breaks up the unity of the Kingdom, but he will not allow that his Bill involves repeal of the Union. But whatever quibbles may be indulged in, the main principle of the Act of Union, that Ireland should be represented at Westminster, is swept away. As Irish nationality is not to be ignored, it finds expression in a Parliament in Dublin; but Ireland is to pay a contribution towards the debt and towards public defence, and in the application of this money is to have no voice. Thus we have Irish nationality started with machinery which sets aside the first principle of free governments, that there should be no taxation without representation; and the internal arrangements of the Dublin Parliament are equally suggestive of confusion in the future.

The Prime Minister does not ask Parliament to disregard the risks to which property and loyalty will be exposed in the Dublin Assembly, and he proposes to satisfy our conscience by giving them the security of representation in Dublin by a special Order. The Dublin Parliament is divided into two Orders, each of which shall have a veto on the legislation of the majority. The First Order consists of persons who must be possessors of 4000*l.* or an equivalent income. That is their personal qualification, and they are to be elected by occupiers rated at 25*l.* Property qualification for Members of Parliament was abolished in England some thirty years ago. Rating, as a qualification for electors, has been abandoned in a series of deliberate public measures from 1866 to 1885; but it is these old clothes of English Parliaments which Mr. Gladstone offers to his new nationality.

nationality. Why should these expedients be adopted in Ireland? Checks upon legislative action, a second Chamber, a Second or a First Order, are questions upon which theorists are divided. They are certainly not questions which have occupied the National League. These 'Orders' in Parliamentary life are not native Irish ideas. These reproductions of quaint customs, such as we might find in some ecclesiastical synod, or in the village organization of some old Scandinavian community, are England's guarantees for the security of property in the Sister Island. That island, we know, has been abandoned for some years to the National League, whose power was founded on their opportunities of excommunicating any one who did not subscribe to their funds and obey their decrees. The principle of the National League was that property in land was an outrage on Irish opinion; and we are asked to believe that this American-Irish organization, clothed with Parliamentary power in Dublin, will be kept in check by a device, which has no sanction in ancient tradition, in local sympathy, in recognized opinion. The First Order in the new Chamber will be so many people marked out for plunder. If any one possessing 4000*l.* worth of property, which he can convert into cash, is venturesome enough to accept a seat in the Chamber, what will become of him and his electors, people who are scheduled in each locality as the owners of property rated at 25*l.* a year? The majority of them in the South and West will be tenants who have not dared to pay their rents, because the National League prohibited the payment. Let us suppose people are found to constitute the First Order, and they veto some scheme of the majority, and a general election occurs, will the expedients which have made the League what it is be suddenly forgotten? Can we doubt that the First Order and its electors would be straightway boycotted out of existence? The Ministerial proposal is an attempt to meet the views of Mr. Parnell; and, without admitting that it is all he requires, the Irish leader cordially accepts it, but he wants, he has told us, 'the full and complete right to arrange our own affairs and make ours a nation—to secure for her, free from outside control, the right to direct her own course among the peoples of the world.' We are asked to suppose that he and his friends, started in their new career, will be stopped by such a ridiculous invention as this First Order. And it is a project like this, inconsistent with itself, implying constitutional degradation of the very people whom it is supposed to conciliate, patched up with strange curiosities as unknown in England as in Ireland, which Parliament is asked to accept as a 'final settlement' of our Irish difficulties.

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The Bill proposed settles nothing. Its only result is a renewed manifestation of the power and influence of the Irish agitator. In this extraordinary state of affairs men are apt to forget the series of events which have brought about our present condition. Ministries come and go at the bidding of Mr. Parnell. English policy in the future, important schemes affecting the gravest concerns of England, of Scotland, of Ireland, depend not on any principle accepted by the British public, but on the humour of the Irish leader. The existence of the House of Lords, the legal position of the Church of Scotland, the maintenance of our most important military reserve, the rights of the Sovereign in relation to peace and war, are exposed to critical divisions, not because British opinion is eager for revolution, or has become indifferent to the vast interests involved, but because the Nationalist party wish to remind us of their voting power.

Our alarm at all this should not make us lose sight of the antecedent facts which have built up this force of mischief. Mr. Gladstone is Prime Minister by the favour of the Irish party, and this party is the outcome of Mr. Gladstone's own policy. Whether the fluent rhetorician foresaw his present position, whether perched on his slender ledge of power he now enjoys it, we need not stop to consider. What we would remind our readers is that for nearly twenty years past he has, in the main line of his public life, notwithstanding some convulsive oscillations, pursued with the pertinacity of one possessed the policy of which the present Irish organization is the natural and the logical development. The National League represents the spirit to which Mr. Gladstone appealed at Southport in 1867. In the December of that year he charged the new voters, in words of solemn adjuration, to look at Ireland from the Irish point of view. This appeal had an electric effect upon the population of that island. In the years which have passed since, his own injunction has been sometimes rudely disregarded by Mr. Gladstone himself, but he never long delayed to turn again to his favourite theory, to make another effort to justify the principle with which he had started, and at each renewal of his enterprise he plunged himself and his party deeper into the morass of Hibernian disorder. Mr. Gladstone's admirers are very proud of his numerous successes in carrying important Bills through Parliament, but it is forgotten that his Irish Bills, though carried, have never attained the ends for which they were passed. Twice have all the resources of his genius, all the machinery of his party, been called into requisition to bring about a final settlement of the Irish Land question, and yet the work

work is still to be done. The explanation is not far to seek. Mr. Gladstone's passionate recklessness committed him in 1867 to an enterprise, the magnitude of which excited his vanity, the actual nature of which he only dimly perceived.

In the year we have named he was trying to recover his footing after a heavy fall in his first start as leader of the Liberal party. A scheme of Parliamentary reform, carried by his political opponent, had marked the commencement of another epoch. In the new arena of public life two centres of political energy were certain to be strongly represented in the organization which Mr. Gladstone hoped to lead back to office. The spirit of Dissent was all powerful among the English householders. The Irish tenant, whose electoral strength, directed by the Roman priesthood, had been exhibited with much effect in 1852, was sure to receive a great increase of power under the new Reform Bill. To combine these influences was one of the conditions of any prolonged tenure of office by the Liberal party. The Irish Establishment had been forsaken by English opinion in previous years. Its overthrow would be hailed with enthusiasm by the Dissenting communities, whilst the Irish priesthood would regard disestablishment with undoubted satisfaction. The condition of Irish Land Tenure was admitted by all parties to require amendment, and its settlement would be a substantial benefit to the Irish farmer.

These were subjects which naturally tempted the daring energies of a man occupying Mr. Gladstone's position in the winter of 1867. Turned out of office after the death of Lord Palmerston, his subsequent management of the reform question, as leader of the Opposition, had only increased the distrust of his party. He was without a constituency at the coming election, and he went down to Lancashire to seek in that great centre of hard-headed Englishmen the confiding constituency which he subsequently found in Midlothian. New legislation on the Irish Church, a reform in Irish Land Tenure, were subjects for which his party, for which the majority of Englishmen were pretty well prepared. The Liberal Churchmen, like Sir Roundell Palmer, who held back on the subject of Disestablishment, were more than counterbalanced by the Dissenters, who were attracted by the scheme. Popular Legislation on these subjects might have been granted to Ireland as the matured outcome of British opinion. Such a mode of approaching the work in hand did not suit the exuberant temperament of Mr. Gladstone. Whilst the report of the Clerkenwell explosion was still echoing through the land, he announced his policy as one to be recommended, not because the great British community had examined and adopted the proposed

proposed measures, but because Irish opinion was to be henceforth accepted as our guide in Irish Legislation. With characteristic recklessness he hurried to turn to the account of his own ambition the throb of excitement which he saw traversing the nation. He appealed to his audience to regard the Fenian outrages as a sort of revelation from heaven, to commune with their own hearts, not on the state of Ireland, and the remedies sensible men could offer, but on the sentiments of Irishmen. His final test of legislation was to be, not its consonance with the judgment of the British people, but with the demand of the Irish crowd.

'Ireland is at your doors. Providence has placed her there. Law and legislation have made a compact between you. You must face these obligations. You must deal with them and discharge them. As to the modes of giving effect to this principle I do not now enter upon them. I am of opinion they should be dictated, as a general rule, by that which may appear to be the mature, well-considered, and general, sense of the Irish people.'—20th Dec. 1867.

At this date 'the general sense of the Irish people' was, to Mr. Gladstone's mind, the policy formulated by the Irish Episcopacy, the scheme which at a later stage of the campaign in the following year he described as the lopping off the three branches of the Upas tree of Protestant ascendancy. He failed in Lancashire, but his success in other parts of the kingdom was complete; and then ensued the abolition of the Irish Establishment and an adjustment of the land question which carried the recognition of local customs farther than Englishmen had anticipated.

The Liberal party had been charged to consult Irish opinion. As long as Cardinal Cullen and Mr. Gladstone were agreed all went merrily, even if some rude coercion like the Westmeath Act was required to deal with Irish ideas which did not find expression in the Cardinal. But whilst the English Minister and the Irish Primate declared, that Ribbonism was an impudent pretender to any representative character and must be rooted out, a third organ of opinion claimed the benefit of the Southport principle in the form of the Home Rule Association, and Mr. Gladstone at Aberdeen replied with angry scorn:

'Can any sensible man, can any rational man, suppose that, at this time of day, in this condition of the world, we are going to disintegrate the capital institutions of this country for the purpose of making ourselves ridiculous in the sight of all mankind, and crippling any power we possess for bestowing benefits, through legislation, on the country to which we belong?'—26th Sept. 1871.

The ideas expressed by the Roman hierarchy, attracted by

the Disestablishment, substantially interested in the better position of the farmer, and confidently anticipating for themselves the acquisition of a power over public education such as their order enjoyed nowhere else in the world, these were ideas which Mr. Gladstone recognized as national. On the subject of education, however, he was not able to go as far as the Ultramontane party required. They directed the Irish members to vote against him. The coalition between Dissent and the Roman Hierarchy was dissolved. The Minister, who had brought it about, suddenly woke up to a sense of the evil teaching of his late allies in the government of Ireland, and '*Vaticanism*' held them up to the reprobation of Protestant England.

The new Liberal discovery, the principle of Irish ideas, had broken down as a party engine. It had made the Ministry of 1868, but it had failed to preserve it. Mr. Gladstone retired from the leadership of the party to the greater freedom of an independent member of Parliament, and in this capacity led the stormy agitation against Lord Beaconsfield, making the foreign policy of England a party question.

Meanwhile the theory of the Southport speech, and the results which had attended it, were not forgotten in Ireland. The Home Rule movement, which was denounced so angrily at Aberdeen, enlisted all the resources of local sentiment, feelings similar to those which make a Lancashireman proud of Lancashire, a Scotchman delight in Scotch associations. Among its promoters were professors, poets, Irish Catholics, who were glad to show themselves on a public platform without being the puppets or the opponents of their bishops, Irish Protestants, who were irritated at the desertion of the Irish Church, a number of well-meaning people who were attracted by the opportunity of talking eloquently and vaguely about nothing in particular. This Academic scheme of Home Rule found an admirable exponent in Mr. Butt, an able lawyer of ambiguous politics.

What answer were Liberals to give to this new embodiment of their great statesman's theory? They denounced Mr. Butt, pondering feebly meanwhile what it all meant; but the Home Rule organization, once set a-going, was soon permeated by the Fenian spirit. Platitudes about 'patriotism' and 'green Erin' meant to an Irish crowd, 'Down with England and with landlords.' That great hotbed of disaffection, Irish popular feeling, supplied stimulating nutriment to the new party. In proportion as hostility to England was more openly declared, funds came in rapidly from the Irish in America. Year by year the Home Rule members gained in parliamentary power, one section of

of the Liberal party after another giving them encouragement —in the first place because they were troublesome to a Tory Ministry, in the second because the flaccid thought of modern Liberalism made them welcome any organization, which would save them the trouble of facing the difficulties of Irish administration.

In 1880 the public took no heed to Lord Beaconsfield's historic warning, that danger was brewing in Ireland. The Liberal legislation of ten years before had, they tried to believe, disposed of Irish difficulties in their most serious aspect. Both before and after the General Election they were assured by Mr. Bright and Mr. Gladstone, that Irish affairs were proceeding satisfactorily. The new Ministry had, however, to face a formidable parliamentary party, who refused to recognize the legislation of 1869 and 1870 as any settlement of the Irish question. Their first device was to abandon the Act of their predecessors, passed in 1875, which applied some of the milder provisions of the Westmeath Act to the whole of Ireland. A reconstruction of the Local Government of the United Kingdom, and a new Reform Bill, were the tasks assigned by public opinion to the second Gladstone Ministry; but finding the abandonment of coercion did not conciliate the Irish party, the Premier returned with a rush to the policy of 1867. He determined to justify his claim to be the statesman who had found out the secret of Irish administration. Within two months after the Ministry was formed, the public were warned that they were within measurable distance of civil war. This danger was not urged as a reason for recurring to accepted principles of government; on the contrary, it was a plea for new expeditions in pursuit of the *ignis fatuus* of Irish opinion. We know the events which followed.

The Compensation for Disturbance Bill seemed a small matter in itself, but involved principles fatal to all security for property. During the next autumn and winter, Ireland was abandoned to the savage dominion of the Land League. The quiescence of the Government excited remonstrance even from advanced Radicals like Mr. Leonard Courtney. That stalwart Liberal had not been then in office, had not had the experience he has since acquired. He had not yet learned the dutiful lesson that, whatever his own convictions, the probabilities were in favour of the view that his great leader was in the right, or at least, might be successful. As a concession to public opinion, a Coercion Act was passed, new fangled and hesitating. But it was not so much on effective legislation and a resolute determination to curb disorder that the Ministry relied, as on the

recognition of Irish opinion which the Land Act of 1881 embodied. It was truly said of that measure by an exulting Radical, that it struck a blow at property which was felt in every country in Europe. In his main calculation, his purpose to win popularity in Ireland, Mr. Gladstone failed, as he has so often failed; and as usual the failure was due to the wickedness or perversity of some one else. In 1874 it was Pius IX. and the Jesuits who had misled his Irish friends. In 1881 the evil influence was Mr. Parnell.

In the autumn the Prime Minister startled his hearers at Leeds by a passionate complaint, that—

'a small band of men had arisen who were not ashamed to preach in Ireland the doctrine of public plunder . . . now that Mr. Parnell is afraid lest the people of England by their long continued efforts should win the hearts of the whole of the Irish nation, he has a new and enlarged gospel of plunder to proclaim.'

He went back with a swing to the high-handed policy he had so often denounced. Irishmen must be made to recognize Gladstone, and not Parnell, as their true friend. The Land League was dissolved by proclamation, its principal leaders, including Mr. Parnell, were clapped into jail, and it was proclaimed at Knowsley that the Cabinet were going 'to relieve the people of Ireland from the weight of a tyrannical yoke.'

These speeches, full as they were of denunciation of Mr. Parnell, were still on the lines of the Southport speech. They were not declarations of the opinion of the British community, warnings to Ireland to take account of the settled judgment of the nation of which the sister island must always form part. They contrasted with the manly utterance of Mr. Chamberlain on this subject, the same month, at Birmingham. They were angry appeals to Ireland to quarrel with her chosen leaders. Mr. James Lowther was denounced for stating, that 'the party headed by Mr. Parnell commanded the support of the large majority of the people of Ireland.' Mr. Gladstone added, 'The proposition here made is one on which we are entirely at issue. I profoundly disbelieve it; I utterly protest against it. I believe a greater calumny on the Irish nation, . . . a more gross and injurious statement could not possibly be made against the Irish nation.'

In the following year it was found that the recognition of Mr. Gladstone, as the father of the Irish people, was still remote; whilst Mr. Forster declared, that a stronger Coercion Bill was necessary, if life was to be protected in Ireland. Then came another plunge after the coveted ideal. Mr. Forster, who had

so generously devoted himself to his party and his leader in the pursuit of a new Irish policy, was abandoned to the Irish members, and to Mr. John Morley's crusade against him in the columns of the 'Pall Mall Gazette.' Mr. Parnell was called out of jail to secure votes to the Government, and order in Ireland, by the help of Mr. Sheridan and other ex-convicts. The Phœnix Park murder, following on the Kilmainham Treaty, postponed the full carrying out of this arrangement. The sort of measure, which Mr. Forster had been refused a month before, was now passed with provisions of excessive stringency; and Lord Spencer, who had been sent to Ireland to win that popularity, which the late Chief Secretary had been unable to obtain, was chiefly occupied in curbing the violence which that Minister had denounced, in bringing to justice the criminals whom he had not been allowed to reach. We recollect that the new Viceroy was exposed to a storm of unpopularity so violent and outrageous, that the public readily forgot the discreditable folly of his original enterprise, and honoured the resolution and dignity with which he discharged the laborious duties of a thankless office.

The construction of the Irish Government at this time was such as to make the Lord Lieutenant personally responsible for the administration of justice, and the carrying out of the main provisions of the Crimes Act. He was in the Cabinet, whilst his chief Secretaries, Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, were only subordinate members of the Ministry. They conducted Irish business in the House of Commons, representing in their relations with the Irish members, as far as circumstances allowed, their leader's yearning after Irish popularity, whilst Lord Spencer, the Whig Earl, who belonged to things that had been rather than to the rising power of the Radical party, bore all the odium of unpopular imprisonments or executions.

The significance of such an arrangement was not lost on the Irish crowd. By the end of 1882 the Land League was reconstructed under the name of the National League. The new organization, of which 'United Ireland' was the especial organ, gradually established branches from one end of Ireland to the other. Strong as the provisions of the Crimes Prevention Act were, no attempt was made to bring the new society under its operation. The columns of 'United Ireland,' on the other hand, bore plenty of evidence of a disposition to move on. The Irish farmers were reproachfully asked if they were content with a paltry reduction of rent. 'Had they no other account to settle with England?' The leaders reminded their followers that the Crimes Act would expire before long. They renewed with

with savage energy that campaign against the *personnel* of the Irish administration, which Mr. John Morley had so warmly espoused up to the murder of Mr. Burke. A continual storm of abuse and calumny was directed against Lord Spencer and every one else concerned with Irish government. Mr. Clifford Lloyd and Mr. Trevelyan were removed by way of warning, that there was no room in Ireland for public servants who did their duty. The National League, in fact, became in each district a conspicuous and formidable power. Their representatives in Parliament received much attention from the Prime Minister and his colleagues. They exercised great influence and had many chances before them in the new organization of the electorate. With all these advantages on the side of the Irish Revolution, the Queen's Government had nobody to champion it but the not imposing personality of Lord Spencer.

It is not surprising that in such a state of things Ireland was already, at the commencement of 1885, like a country occupied by two hostile armies. There was the National League camp with its scouts and emissaries all over the country, with a vigorous Press proclaiming its policy and success. The Government forces remained within their lines, attempting nothing, doing nothing, unless some outrage by a moonlight gang compelled them to make some show of interference to check violation of the truce between treason and loyalty. The greatest care was taken not to identify the Government with the scattered Loyalists. They might be very worthy persons, but they were the special aversion of the Nationalist party, and the business of the Government was not to protect or encourage loyalty, but to prevent Nationalism from going too fast. The Nationalist aspirations of Mr. Gladstone's friends were not to be irritated by attentions shown to their adversaries.

When Parliament reassembled in the spring of 1885, men asked what provision was made for renewing the Crimes Act, which would expire in the autumn. Week after week passed, month after month; and it was impossible to extract from the Ministry what their policy was as regards the government of Ireland. At length, in the summer, it was announced that on a day, which was never fixed, a Bill would be introduced renewing certain provisions of the expiring Act. This announcement from the Treasury Bench was followed at once by a notice from Mr. John Morley to oppose the Bill. So much time had already been lost, that it was practically impossible for any Ministry to carry a Coercion Bill against the determined opposition of the Irish members, without the most resolute effort on the part of Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues. Were they prepared to make these

these exertions? One of the conditions, on which the Reform question had been settled, was the definite postponement of a dissolution until after the 1st November. Each day men became more and more engrossed with the great question of the winter—the new election—more indifferent to the business of the Session; the Parnellite party more exultant and defiant. Rumours of dissensions in the Cabinet had been already rife, and grew more frequent every day. The country awoke one morning to find that the second Gladstone Ministry, with its clear majority of over eighty, was at an end. Rather than confess their disunion, the Ministry had allowed themselves to be defeated on another question, and Mr. Parnell came before his countrymen as the avenger who had chastised the suggestion of renewed coercion by destroying the Government which made it.

In this collapse of administration the only course open to the Tory party was to prepare as rapidly as possible for an appeal to the country, doing what they could meanwhile in foreign and in home affairs to mitigate the mischief which they were powerless to remedy. When the dissolution came, Mr. Gladstone opened his canvass in Midlothian by many sneers at the election policy of the Irish Nationalists. He reminded his hearers, that the subject of extending local government in Ireland must come forward in the new Parliament, and urged that, 'in dealing with this question the unity of the empire was not to be compromised or be put in jeopardy.' 'Nothing was to be done which should tend to impair,—visibly or sensibly to impair,—the unity of the Empire.' Auditors who had made no special study of Mr. Gladstone's phraseology interpreted these words as a declaration against a separate Parliament in Dublin. He apparently was prepared for large schemes of decentralization, either specially for Ireland or in connection with the projected reform of local government in England; but there was to be nothing which should 'visibly impair' the Imperial unity. He went on to dwell on the danger of 'condescending either to clamour or to fear,' and added:—

'But quite apart from the names of Whig and Tory, one thing I will say, and will endeavour to impress, and it is this, that it will be a *vital danger* to the country if at the time that the demand of Ireland for large powers of self-government is to be dealt with—it will be a *vital danger* to the Empire if there is not in Parliament ready to deal with that subject, ready to influence the proceedings upon that subject, *a party totally independent of the Irish vote.*'

Even the most enthusiastic followers of the Liberal chief have learnt to be very cautious in saying what meaning is to be attributed to his utterances, but there can be no doubt that this language

language was read by the public as saying, 'whatever lengths I may go in working out the principle of local government, whatever may be the understanding between the Home Rulers and the Tories, I at least will not accept the principle of an Irish Parliament.' Not only was this the natural reading of Mr. Gladstone's declarations at the election, but nearly every member of his party, who referred to this question at all, spoke in the same sense. Mr. Campbell Bannerman denounced the Parnelliite demands as 'separation under one name or another,' and many other Liberals were equally emphatic, whilst a still larger number never alluded to the subject.

Well may Lord Hartington protest against the competence of the present Parliament to deal with the legislation now proposed.

'There was no thought, no warning held out to the country, that a radical reform in the relations between Great Britain and Ireland would be the main work of the present Parliament . . . The country had no sufficient warning—I think I may say the country had no warning at all—that any proposals of the magnitude and vastness of those which were unfolded to us last night were to be considered in the present Parliament, much less were to form the first subject of consideration upon the meeting of this Parliament. I am perfectly aware that there exists in our Constitution no principle of the mandate. I know that the mandate of the constituencies is as unknown to our Constitution, as the distinction between fundamental laws and laws which are of an inferior sanction. But, although no principle of a mandate may exist, I maintain that there are certain limits which Parliament is bound to observe, and beyond which Parliament has morally not the right to go in its relations with the constituencies. The constituencies of Great Britain are the source of the power, at all events, of this branch of Parliament, and I maintain that in the presence of an emergency which could not have been foreseen, the House of Commons has no moral right to initiate legislation, especially upon its first meeting, of which the constituencies were not informed, and of which the constituencies might have been informed, and as to which, if they had been so informed, there is, at all events, the very greatest doubt what their decision might be.'

Over and over again in the Parliament of 1874 and of 1880 have we heard Mr. Gladstone appealing to this principle, that schemes of crucial importance ought to be discussed before the constituencies; yet the most important proposal made in Parliament for some generations is presented after a general election, in which the constituencies were invited by the Prime Minister and his colleagues to believe, that this particular question was outside the region of practical politics.

No

No sooner had it become apparent that the country had refused that renewal of power which Mr. Gladstone had asked for, than his resolution not to accept defeat was promptly manifested. Public men remembered his use of the Royal prerogative in 1872, to carry into execution a scheme for which he had sought and failed to obtain the consent of Parliament. He had not been a week at Hawarden after his journey from Scotland, when people became conscious that the return to office, which he had told the country would be their security against Mr. Parnell, he was now ready to seek with the aid of that leader.

It was on the 8th of December, just after the main results of the elections were settled, that Mr. Herbert Gladstone wrote from Hawarden to a casual correspondent, 'If five-sixths of the Irish people wish to have a Parliament in Dublin, for the management of their own local affairs, I say, in the name of justice and wisdom, let them have it.' A few days afterwards the Press announced that the Liberal chief had, in consultation with some former colleagues, matured a scheme which embodied the points desired by Mr. Parnell. The announcement was immediately followed by a telegram from Hawarden, denying the accuracy of the scheme as sketched in the Press. On the main point, whether he was prepared to co-operate with the Home Rule Party, whether he had recovered from the fear he expressed at Edinburgh, that it would be 'a vital danger' to the Empire, if Home Rule came on for discussion 'without the presence in Parliament of a party totally independent of the Irish vote,' on these questions, with which all England was busy, Mr. Gladstone said never a word. He relied on the virtue he assumed to protect him from inconvenient questionings, and meanwhile the Nationalists were invited to reflect during the Christmas holidays, that perhaps after all their best friend was at Hawarden.

Mr. Chamberlain followed up the rumour of a settled scheme by a prompt denial that he was a party to it, and added an emphatic statement of the way in which he and his friends read the Midlothian speeches—'all sections of the party were determined that the integrity of the Empire should be a reality, and not an empty phrase.' Mr. Chamberlain had listened to his great leader too long not to be aware of the importance of marking the distinction between a 'reality' and a 'phrase.' In a few days Lord Hartington too wrote to say, that he was no party to the suggested policy.

The ultimate result of the elections left the Government at Christmas only 251 votes, and the Liberals 333. Had it been clear

clear that the Liberal party were united in a scheme, which was consistent with the current of British opinion, the solution would have been simple enough. Had the appeals for straightforward dealing, made more than once during the election by Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill, been responded to, the Government might have made way for a Liberal Ministry, the best men on both sides recognizing, what the soundest public opinion required, that the Irish vote of 86 should be disregarded on questions affecting the existence of a Cabinet; but before the elections were all over, the divisions in the Liberal party were obvious. Mr. Gladstone had returned with more eagerness than ever to the policy of Irish ideas, whilst experience had at length opened the eyes of his ablest lieutenants.

In such a condition of affairs, the only course for Lord Salisbury's Government was to await the onset of their opponents, meanwhile applying themselves to settle that scheme of Irish policy which they, as a party, were prepared to champion in office or out of office. They met Parliament with an emphatic declaration to maintain the Union, and a few days afterwards announced that further legislation in defence of public order was necessary. This announcement was made on the 26th of January, when several of the Amendments in the Address were still on the paper. Before the House rose, the Government had ceased to exist. By a majority of 79, in a House of 583, a Resolution in support of a policy advocated by the Radical section of the Liberal party was carried against the Government. The motion of Mr. Jesse Collings was, it must be remembered, not a necessary assertion of a particular principle. The importance of the question of allotments was acknowledged by the Ministry collectively and individually. It was not supposed, even by Mr. Collings himself, that the carrying of this particular Motion on the Address would advance legislation on the subject by a single day. The motion was one of those demonstrations of opinion, ordinary enough in Parliament, and generally resulting in a debate without a division, or, if pushed to a division, in the withdrawal from the House of all but declared partizans. On this particular occasion the motion was taken up and pressed to a division, in order that Mr. Gladstone might return to office. The announcement, that the National League was to be put down, was followed in a few hours by a vote which, in the existing constitution of parties, necessarily involved the restoration of Mr. Gladstone to power. So transparent was the object of the division that 13 Liberals voted with the Ministers, among others, such staunch adherents of Liberalism as Lord Hartington and Sir Henry James.

When

When the new Ministry was formed, two extraordinary circumstances came to light. Lord Hartington, the heir-apparent to the Liberal Leadership, Lord Derby, Mr. Gladstone's most distinguished proselyte, Lord Selborne, and other eminent colleagues in the conduct of the Liberal party, would have nothing to do with the new scheme for the final settlement of Ireland for the third time. Another still more singular fact was soon disclosed. All the members of the new Cabinet, who had any future before them, had come in with reservations of a right of further consideration, when the subject of Irish policy should be brought up for discussion.

One remarkable ally, however, Mr. Gladstone had found in his momentous enterprise. The appointment of Mr. John Morley to the principal post in the Government of the part of the kingdom, which had fallen under the sway of such an organization as the National League, was in itself a revolution. The new Chief Secretary had no official experience, and no parliamentary position. A favoured person, who had audience of great Trades' Union gatherings, he was observed with some interest by the late Parliament, busy with speculations on the character of the new Electorate. But, if his parliamentary work had been slight, he had considerable literary reputation, and had taken an active part, in the press, in discussions on the Irish question. The apologist of Danton, the champion of the Jacobin Club, he was the one English political writer who believed himself able to find in the throes of the French Revolution valuable examples of public policy. The figures of that terrible convulsion did not attract him so much by their range of human passion, by the largeness of the space they filled in a great drama of humanity. It was their fanaticism which inspired him. Their capacity to combine, with the perpetration of atrocious crimes, an ardent apostolate of abstract ideals, had for him a vivid fascination. A gentle critic of Robespierre, he could see in the execution of Marie Antoinette traces of discriminating statesmanship. Entering on political work with such dispositions, he was early attracted to the seething cauldron of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy. Having satisfied himself that Ireland was in a state of revolution, he regarded murder and robbery as necessary incidents. When an unfortunate lady driving in the evening along a country road was shot dead beside her husband, whose only offence was that of being a landlord, the public were lectured for the inconsequence of their indignation. On the Dublin conspirators, who were watching to murder Mr. Forster, were not lost the lessons which Mr. Morley had been preaching on the vileness of the permanent officials at the Castle. They determined to murder Mr.

Mr. Burke, and in killing him slew his companion also; and Mr. Morley deprecatingly reminded his readers, that the death of Lord Frederick Cavendish was 'almost an accident.' With these professed opinions, it was easy for him to acknowledge what Mr. Gladstone might have hesitated to confess, that Mr. Parnell and the National League were the true expression of 'the general sense of the Irish people.'

The Nationalist party had long recognised the value of his aid in Parliament. They felt the truth of the saying, that he was 'Mr. Parnell in an Englishman's skin,' and consequently enjoying more freedom of action, able, on occasion, to do more service for the National League in a Parnellite Cabinet than Mr. Parnell himself. Although the principles he had laid down, strictly applied, would oblige him to say, let Ireland take care of herself and work out her own destiny, he has qualified his faith —he has never very clearly explained why—by a declaration in favour of the integrity of the Kingdom. A believer in revolution, Mr. Morley is astute enough to be ready to take what he can get. 'We do wrong,' he said, writing after the breakdown of the Kilmainham Treaty, 'in being content with nothing short of perfection and finality. If we see our way to the next step, that is enough.' 'Perfection' in Irish affairs would perhaps be that Irish opinion should be organized in a convention at Dublin, and then, tempered by a full course of revolution, should come to the conclusion, that the Union after all was the best thing for both islands. As the public are not yet prepared for trying this experiment, we are to have a succession of 'next steps.'

As a set off to Mr. Morley's want of official experience and of weight in the House of Commons, Mr. Gladstone placed the consideration he enjoyed with the Parnellite party and a disposition, composed of fanaticism and adroitness, fitting him well to co-operate in the schemes which were to follow from the wild passion of the National League in combination with the skill of the 'old Parliamentary hand.'

No sooner was the new Ministry formed, than the Nationalist party recognized the greatness of their opportunity. An attitude of reserve was taken up by the Nationalist members and their Press. The Ministry had not been a week in office, when the most advanced and outspoken of the Irish leaders, Mr. John Dillon, presiding at a meeting of the National League, frankly declared 'he never felt more inclined to say nothing than to-day, the present Ministry had been formed on one question and on one question alone, and that was the rights of the Irish nation.' With Mr. Gladstone in office, the policy of the League was to apply

apply the policy of silence so often inculcated by Mr. Parnell. Speaking out might only embarrass their new allies.

The country, up to a week ago, knew nothing of the momentous scheme on which the Ministry were engaged. One Cabinet council considered it with the result, that the collective action of the Cabinet ceased for the next fortnight; and then the only two public men of weight, whom Mr. Gladstone had induced to give his scheme the compliment of a hearing, retired from the Ministry. Our readers are now in possession of so much of the new scheme as they may be able to discern through the glamour of Mr. Gladstone's rhetoric; but the condition of affairs during the last three months is a picture to remember for all time.

When the Hawarden scheme was disclosed before Christmas, Mr. Gladstone's principal organ in the London Press declared within a week that the game was up. The public would have none of it. The return of Mr. Gladstone to office, with Mr. John Morley as Irish Secretary, suddenly revived the hopes of the 'Pall Mall Gazette.' His new start in pursuit of the Irish ideal banished the despair which had settled upon even the most reckless of his adherents. The age, the physical power of the Premier, his long public career, called up reflections which could not be disposed of in a moment by foes, still less by former allies. He claimed time, and he has taken the most important part of the Session, to mature his plans, amidst the silence of the Opposition and of his Home Rule allies.

But, if his opponents were silent, his nomination of Mr. Morley to the most important place in his Cabinet was not lost upon the motley crowd outside. All the dancing dervishes of politics rushed upon the scene to amaze a bewildered public with fantastical gyrations. 'The Empire of Liberty,' cried one, 'can never employ coercion.' Another enthusiast exclaimed, after reviewing the course of events since the Hawarden revelations, 'To call these things to mind does one's heart good. It seems as if nothing need be despaired of, as if words of hope need never be empty words.' A well-known economist tried to ease the public conscience, and to neutralize the resistance of the unfortunate Irish landlord, by a nebulous scheme for buying up the landlords' rights, but what the supply of money is to be, and who is to supply it, are questions to which the answers vary every hour. A separate Parliament is to be accompanied by a system of guarantees, and Professor Rogers declares that the surest guarantee was the hostages we have in the two millions of Irish inhabiting Great Britain; as if these unfortunate persons could be made liable to imprisonment or torture

torture in order to secure the good conduct of Mr. Parnell's Dublin Cabinet, as if such an arrangement, if made, would have the slightest effect upon the Irish revolutionists.

But whilst Mr. Gladstone lingered, waiting to see how far the outer public could be brought into sympathy with his schemes, he did not hesitate a moment to consolidate the power of the National League. The subject of evictions for non-payment of rent was brought before the new Government in the form of a question, alleging that a particular eviction was not in strict conformity with the landlord's right. Mr. Morley offered to consider the question of right, and added that what was much wanted in Ireland was 'a strict and scrupulous and literal spirit of legality.' Later on the same evening, Mr. Dillon made a vigorous appeal to the Chief Secretary not to give the aid of armed force to carry out evictions. Mr. Morley responded with alacrity. 'I for one am not prepared to admit that we are justified in every case, in which a shadow of legal title is made out, to bring out the military force to execute decrees which, on the ground of public policy as well as that of equity, may seem inadvisable and unnecessary.' Legal right, if it is relied on in favour of the subjects of the Land League, must be interpreted in a 'scrupulous and literal spirit.' If it is acted on by the landlord, there come in considerations of public policy and of equity.

The result of a long debate was that organized resistance to the execution of the law would not be interfered with, unless the Government were satisfied that in particular circumstances equity required such interference. We have thus arrived at once at a system of official despotism. The law is not to be a guarantee of the rights of the subject, unless so far as the Minister may think fit to permit it. And this dispensing power is to be exercised in favour of the subjects of the National League.

The self-sufficiency of the Liberal party had been vigorously appealed to during the years 1883–5. Liberals tried to persuade themselves, that the comparative repose of Ireland was due to, or was likely to generate, a Conservative feeling amongst the farmer class. Their harvests were good, and they had got so much from the Land Bill, they had so much, in fact, to lose now, in comparison with their condition in former years, men argued, that they would not care to risk their well-being in pursuit of Nationalist projects, with the certainty of being subject to the village ruffians Mr. Forster had described whilst the struggle was going on, with the probability of having to share what they had with these same ruffians as soon as an Irish Parliament obtained power.

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This reasoning took little account of historical experience in cases where property is suddenly given to one class by an arbitrary act. Care for what one possesses, forethought to avoid its loss, come only with habits of acquisition. The Irish farmer was confessedly careless in the past, because, it was said, providence could be of so little use to him in the then state of the law, but his prosperity under the legislation of 1881 was not the result of his own industry. It was due to a long course of agrarian outrage in Ireland and of Parliamentary outrage at Westminster. A favourite commonplace of Land Reformers is the conservatism of the French peasant, turned into a proprietor by the decrees of the Legislative Assembly of 1791. We are reminded of his industry, his self-denial, his distrust of the revolutionary spirit which rages in the towns, but we forget the date at which this sober, assiduous, conservatism made its appearance in history. The immediate result of the change made in 1791 was a savage orgie of bloodshed and outrage, nor was the wild fury, once let loose, sated by the blood of Frenchmen. It was nearly a generation before the fire of Revolution burnt itself out. The French peasantry of 1815 only came to value the land they acquired, to devote their lives to its cultivation, after twenty-three years of savage warfare had strewed the bones of their fathers and their brothers over every battle-field from Salamanca to Borodino, after Teuton and Cossack and Saxon had traversed French territory from end to end.

Nor does the work of revolution produce other effects among the backward turbulent British population, whom Irish rhetoric describes as the Irish nation. Whatever we might hope from the children or grandchildren of those farmers who profited by the change which Mr. Parnell had already brought about, to suppose that prudence and a judicious spirit of self-interest would come to them as rapidly as the reduction of their rents, was to ignore all the facts of human nature. The desire for further winnings possessed them, as the passion of a gambler. Mr. Parnell's triumphant personality was the first thought in their minds. He had already taken 20 per cent. off their rents. Next time they were confident he would take off 50 per cent. or abolish rent altogether.

The Liberals who had been dreaming complacently about the happy results of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy awoke to find Ireland in possession of the powerful, well-organized, hostile, combination known as the National League.

To make our readers understand what this power means, we should like to be able to bring them within the closed doors of the

the room where the League Committee sits in the remote country village. We should then hear the report of the members respecting the funds obtained, their review of the wealth and independence around them, within their reach, but not yet brought under tribute, the gleeful narrative of resistance subdued, the dark hints of resources for future conquest. The details of the action of the League, as avowed by their press, have been published by the Loyal and Patriotic Union, and would fill many pages of this Review.

The rapid growth of the new organization is easily understood. They had the past success of Mr. Parnell to work on, and this success was both appreciable in their balance of unpaid rent at the Bank, and stimulating to the imagination. The whole island was busy observing the execution of Mr. Parnell's behests in the re-adjustment of contracts for land. The Ministry, which had rebelled against his criticism and sprung at his throat, had been compelled to bring him out of jail supplicating for his alliance. The object of creating the new body was not so much to move forward as to keep Mr. Parnell's friends well together, to take advantage of the effect on the popular mind, which Mr. Parnell's achievements were producing in every hamlet. The practical advantages already won were an earnest of the future, secured new support, and would give greater momentum and unity to the Parnellite movement, when the time came for another attack upon property. The suspects, who had been imprisoned by Mr. Forster, constituted local centres for the establishment of branches of the League. Every country public-house was a place of meeting for the branches or their agents. Once the League was organized in a particular district, the next point was to secure subscriptions. Land-grabbing, that is, becoming tenant of land from which some one else had been evicted, was the offence against which the League in the first place directed its energies, and this disregard of popular opinion was punished by social excommunication; but the system of boycotting once called into requisition involved new duties and responsibilities. If a man had not taken land himself, he might have worked for some one who had, or bought cattle from a land-grabber. The League in Kerry enjoined the following procedure on their subscribers:—

'That any person found communicating with a few obnoxious individuals in this locality will be expelled from the league. That every person presenting cattle for sale at a fair shall produce his card, and that no buyers shall purchase from any person without producing the same.

'That no individual shall sell to any dealer without presenting his card,

card, as it is the only way to detect those employed by the Defence Unionists, and that we call on the other branches to follow this example.'—'United Ireland,' Dec. 12th, 1885.

As the power of the League became better established, the subscribers were guaranteed against the caprice of their customers by such resolutions as the following, adopted at New Ross:—

'That we hereby give final notice to Mr. Murtagh Stafford, that if he does not give back his work to the Nationalist blacksmiths, Messrs. Bowe and Busher, we cannot retain him on our league. That we inform all members of our branch that we expect them to patronize National blacksmiths, artisans, etc., if they wish to remain members.'—'New Ross Standard,' Jan. 9th, 1886.

The complicated equities, which arose under the operation of these local tribunals, are illustrated by another case reported from Wexford.

'Farrell and a man named Shee had been partners in a thrashing machine. Shee was boycotted in 1883 for having taken an evicted farm, and accordingly the machine was allowed to remain idle. Under these circumstances both agreed to dissolve partnership, and Farrell purchased Shee's share in the machine for 370*l.*, a sum of 60*l.* being paid in ready cash and the remainder being secured by a bill of sale. Farrell then went to the Tullogher branch to get "absolution for the machine," but his application was refused, it being decided that Shee still had a certain interest in it. In the "New Ross Standard," on Sept. 30th, 1885, Farrell, it is reported, being desirous of appealing to the Central League in Dublin, had forwarded his statement to the Tullogher branch and declared he was now ready to verify it on oath. His request to have it sent on to the Central League was, however, refused by the local branch.'—'New Ross Standard.'

The election to local public offices soon engaged the attention of the League. The branches were not content with nominating candidates and interfering with the elections; they next assumed the direction of the proceedings of Boards of Guardians and Town Councils. At Ennis this intervention was publicly announced by resolution.

'That in every future election to any office under the board, no candidate shall be supported by the National Guardians *unless he be a member of the National League* for at least six months previous to the date of the election, and produces his certificate, signed by the chairman and secretary of the branch, and further, that when selecting a candidate to be put forward for election, the minority of the National guardians should be bound to act on vote with the majority present and voting.'—'Clare Journal,' Nov. 11th, 1885.

Contracts were only to be given to Members of the League. No one could be elected to a country dispensary or engaged as solicitor by any electoral body without the sanction of the League. A large portion of the struggling professional classes in the South and West were forced by a sense of self preservation to join the local associations. To remain outside the ranks of the League was to forfeit a man's best chances of getting on in life, and might any day become a personal danger. Mr. Harrington, M.P., who has been for some years in charge of the Central Office of the League, tells us that 'at Meetings of the branches of the Organization discussions frequently occur upon incidents in the locality.' We can quite believe it, and are not surprised to find from the columns of 'United Ireland' what is the result of these discussions.

In a system of pillage and tyranny so elaborated, there was no necessity to perpetrate acts of violence, frequently or continually. The daily operation of the League was a standing outrage, bringing a proof of its power to every man's door. A limited number of conspicuous crimes was sufficient for the purposes of the League. Curtin was murdered in November; Finlay, in the West of Ireland, in February; and the local persecution of the families of the victims was even a more awful tribute to the sway of the popular organization.

It is not surprising that Mr. Lecky, in former years the most distinguished advocate of Irish Nationalism, in what may be called its social aspects, should say of the organ of the National League, 'United Ireland,' 'any English statesman who reads that paper, and then proposes to hand over the property and the virtual government of Ireland to the men whose ideas it represents, must be either a traitor or a fool.'

There is no occasion to dwell on the existence of this body or the character of its operations. They are part of the case of the Government. Mr. Morley has frankly told us, that we ought to pass the new Bill, because the League is so strong. If we did not, we should have to quarrel with the League, and to meet not only this great association as we knew it in its times of prosperity, but the League as supported by all the reserve forces of Mr. Egan and Mr. Ford. At present these leaders of public opinion send money; but if the National League, its staff, its secretaries, its branches, its newspapers and Members of Parliament, are not enough, they are ready to send dynamite.

One remarkable fact, however, in connection with the National League deserves special consideration, for it illustrates the singularly disastrous character of Mr. Gladstone's interposition in Irish affairs. The society, which we have endeavoured to describe,

describe, and which Mr. Morley recommends to our attention as the *locum tenens* of dynamite and the dagger, is now officered in nearly every village by the priests of the Roman Church. At the beginning of his career, Mr. Parnell personally was regarded by the Roman Catholic hierarchy with suspicion, if not with hostility. Mr. Butt had never succeeded in securing their hearty co-operation in his Home Rule scheme. Mr. Parnell was not only a Protestant, but expressed his contempt very freely for the adherents of the Roman Church, whilst he avowed his sympathy with Revolutionists, whom the Irish Catholic had been taught to regard as enemies of the Holy Father. We can always trace in the history of this Church two forces at work; the principle of order and authority, worldly and calculating, in sympathy with the powers that be, trusting by skill and caution to manipulate them for its own ends; and on the other hand, the wilder spirit of sacerdotal ambition ready to ride the storm and dare catastrophe. Before Mr. Gladstone's second Administration, the former influence was gaining much strength in Ireland. Even if we make allowance for the social origin of the Irish priests, filled from their infancy with the rebel sentiment of the peasantry, there are many signs that the disposition of their Church was until very recently to rely upon intrigue and organization for gaining its ends, rather than to ally itself openly with the Irish Revolution. Even after Mr. Parnell had secured the allegiance of the farmer class by his great largess in the shape of 20 per cent. reduction of rent, not only did Cardinal McCabe continue to oppose him, but Archbishop Croke evinced a desire to act on the side of Government.

Such a line of action, however, was only possible on the supposition, that government was to be maintained in Ireland; and the tenure of Ireland by Lord Spencer gave no such assurance. We know the passionate efforts which Mr. Gladstone made to exclude Archbishop Walsh from the See of Dublin. Sir George Errington was sent to Rome to get the Pope to do what Mr. Gladstone dare not do himself—bid defiance to the Irish leader. That resolute politician had a policy; the English Minister had none. A quarrel with the Nationalist party meant to the Roman Church loss of income, loss of influence—influence which, in these iconoclastic days, it might take them generations to recover; and, after all their sacrifices, they might find that Mr. Gladstone had capitulated, and had handed them and the rest of Ireland over to the National League. Their only practical course, as discreet politicians, was to throw in their lot with the great Nationalist leader, relying on the old

traditions of the Irish peasant to protect clerical interests against the host of Revolutionists, who would, on Mr. Parnell's triumph, flock into Ireland from all the ends of the earth. The priests do not forget that the member for Cork denounced their co-religionists. They have no enthusiasm for a revolutionary dictator, who, whatever his opinions on religious matters, cannot be claimed as a son of the Church. Mr. Gladstone, however, left the sacerdotal power no choice but to make the best terms they could with the Irish leader, who was only too glad to secure their co-operation. Archbishop Walsh has been accepted as a sort of ecclesiastical assessor to Mr. Parnell's government, and at the last election the priests went as one man for the National League.

It is an Ireland, thus abandoned for years to the evil spirits evoked by the rhetorician of Southport—an Ireland, in which the natural springs of Conservatism have been dried up by the fever of slumbering revolution—that England is now called upon to deal with, and the remedy of the Ministry is to call into power a public opinion schooled in conspiracy and violence; for now at length Mr. Gladstone has given up the notion of intervening between Mr. Parnell and the Irish crowd. The preachers of the gospel of plunder are invited to share in the government of a part of the Kingdom.

We shall not attempt to examine further the scheme which Mr. Gladstone has foreshadowed, but which, as we write, is not yet published in detail. One characteristic, we may note, in the Prime Minister's speech was very unusual with him. It is full of admissions which seem to be due not so much to his habitual daring as to unconsciousness of their import. He is ready to buy out the landlords at a great cost to the English taxpayer, because the idea of landed property came to the Irishman in English garb, and is therefore not likely to be respected in the new system; but why should he be obliged to make special provision for the Irish judges? They are men of ability, of stainless character. They do not belong to any particular party, or race, or creed; they are members of a great profession which all civilized societies require. They have that experience of their profession which would make their services particularly useful to a community entering on a new social stage; but the mere fact, that they have been engaged in applying the law, makes their position dangerous, and Mr. Gladstone is obliged to ask England to provide that they shall not suffer in purse from the opening of the new era which he proposes in that part of the United Kingdom where he has undertaken to reconstruct society.

For

For the moment Mr. Morley prefers the *rôle* of Siéyès rather than of Danton, but the outcome of the legislation, proposed by the Ministry with the assent of Mr. Parnell, must be to advance, if not to consummate, the theory of Irish Independence. We thus arrive at that result which Mr. Morley, on his own principles, would find it difficult to refuse assent to. He has told us that his policy is to be 'thorough.' A separate Irish nationality or reconquest must be the ultimate consequence of any substitution of local institutions in Ireland for the Parliament at Westminster, unless so far as the proposed substitution were part of a scheme common to all four components of the kingdom. Most people will agree with the old Duke of Wellington, that 'the repeal of the Union must be the dissolution of the connection between the two countries.'

To withdraw the English flag from Ireland as we did from the Ionian Isles, to have a Convention called at Dublin to determine the future government of the Island, such a plan would have the advantage that it recognizes the one political opinion, which we can trace in Irish popular expression—the desire to be done with England. It is true, that the policy of Irish ideas declared at Southport was a means to an end—the better union of the two countries—but pledged to two antagonistic principles, Mr. Gladstone must some time choose which he will abandon.

On the other hand, in accepting Irish independence we shrink from responsibility for the acts of England. We know that the disorder now ruling in Ireland is, to some extent, the result of English misgovernment in past generations, and instead of attempting by firmness and patience to remedy the mischief our fathers have done, we leave the future to Providence. In this aspect of the question, we would remind our readers of the words used in our article on 'Disintegration' not three years ago:—

'The highest interests of the Empire, as well as the most sacred obligations of honour, forbid us to solve this question by conceding any species of independence to Ireland; or, in other words, any licence to the majority in that country to govern the rest of Irishmen as they please. To the minority, to those who have trusted us, and on the faith of our protection have done our work, it would be a sentence of exile or of ruin. All that is Protestant—nay, all that is loyal—all who have land or money to lose, all by whose enterprize and capital industry and commerce are still sustained, would be at the mercy of the adventurers who have led the Land League, if not of the darker counsellors by whom the Invincibles have been inspired. If we have failed after centuries of effort to make Ireland peaceable and civilized, we have no moral right to abandon our

our post and leave all the penalty of our failure to those whom we have persuaded to trust in our power. It would be an act of political bankruptcy, an avowal that we were unable to satisfy even the most sacred obligations, and that all claims to protect or govern any one beyond our own narrow island were at an end.'—'Quarterly Review,' October, 1883, pp. 593, 594.

Mr. Gladstone assured his hearers last week, that he was bent on consolidating the unity of the kingdom; he would not tolerate that his new constitution should be called a repeal of the Union; but his final argument was this, 'Do not let us disguise this from ourselves. We stand face to face with what is termed "Irish nationality."' Now, what is this 'Irish nationality'? Let us examine it from the point of view of the welfare of the Irish population. It may be conceded at once that there is a strong current of local sentiment running through the Irish population of the south and west. This is a tender, home feeling—a very different thing from the stronger, more complex, and more highly developed, conception round which a political nationality gathers. It is such a sentiment as exists in one form or another in every group of counties, in every county, in every country-side, in almost every village. It is a kindly recollection of old memories, associated with a disposition to stand up for our own. It is the result of intimate knowledge of certain habits and ideas, and a tender reminiscence of the best types of character associated with those habits. This sentiment of local feeling is the germ of nationality, but it exists in many regions where the wider ideas of nationality have never supervened. There are many other places again, where this same feeling remains fresh and vigorous after the political nationality connected with it has passed away, merged in larger conceptions, in a sense of more extended interests.

Such was the feeling of Cicero when he said that he had two countries. His Volscian home was the country of his affection, but Rome that of duty and right. Arpinum will always be my country, said he, but Rome still more my country, for Arpinum has its share in the honours and dominion of Rome.

Such is the feeling of the proud and vigorous nationality occupying North Britain, various in race, in creed, and in social condition, but united in mutual knowledge, in local sympathies, and in self-respect. The Scotch, as an aggregate, are intellectually, physically, and in their local institutions and habits one of the most distinct national types existing. They are drawn together by a strong sentiment of patriotism, but they are as little likely to demand a separate political system, a parliament sitting at Edinburgh, as the members from Hampshire

shire and Wiltshire are likely to combine for the establishment of parliamentary government on the banks of the Itchin.

Now what is Ireland, and what indications has that portion of the population known as Nationalist given of a capacity to form itself into a nation? Ireland has a geographical boundary in a sea channel crossed from Great Britain in three hours or in an hour and a-half, according to the line of passage selected. It is inhabited by some five millions whose native language is English, with the exception of a decimal percentage of mountaineers, who nearly all speak English as well as Irish. The race is more mixed than in any other district of the kingdom containing the same amount of population. The northern coasts are thickly peopled by Scotch settlers. In the south and west are many varieties of race not of English introduction, but strongly different from each other. In many of the most Catholic districts of Munster and Leinster we find, in the names, physique, and temper, of the people, evident results of the Cromwellian settlements, although the faith and political principles of their forefathers have passed away. . With this mixed population we have a social cleavage probably the most remarkable in Europe. The mass of the people, except in about one-fifth of the island on the north-east coast, are Roman Catholic, Celtic in their traditions and habits, and extremely poor. The Northern fifth is industrious, order-loving, prosperous, Protestant, and British in sentiment. Next to the masses of the population in importance are the great landowners, of whom six-sevenths are Protestants, and nearly the whole of Norman, Scotch, or English origin. There is no important mercantile class except in the towns of Belfast, Dublin, and Cork; and the professional classes, with the exception of the Catholic priesthood, are chiefly Protestant and British.

This population, so strangely wanting in homogeneity, have no history which might attract them into unconsciousness of their differences. It has been well said, that 'anybody who knew nothing of the Irish past, except what he got from the speeches of Irish Nationalists, would suppose that at some comparatively recent period the green flag had floated over fleets and armies, and that Irish kings had played a part of some kind in the field of modern European politics.' But as a matter of fact Ireland has no part in European history before its conquest by England. Not only was the kingdom of Ireland, as the style of the island went before 1800, an English creation; but the name of Ireland has never had any political significance except in connection with the English crown.

External signs of difference between English and Irish there are

are many; nimble apprehension, fluent utterance, genial demeanour, the attraction of the flashing Celtic face, distinguish an Irish from an English group, but characteristics like this do not prove any original or consistent power of thought. They rather perhaps indicate the absence of it. It is not on qualities like these, cemented even by strong feelings of home sentiment, that we can expect to see the foundation of a new Nationality happily laid. With one exception there is not a single idea, which an orator could present to an Irish crowd, that could not be urged with equal chance of sympathy upon an English crowd. Personal liberty, the principles of no taxation without representation, of trial by jury, freedom of conscience, sympathy with the prosperity of the greatest number, all these are English ideas and must be illustrated, where they need illustration, by the events of history peculiar to England or common to the British dominion. The one topic, which is specially attractive to an Irish meeting, is abuse of England as the source of Irish misery. Community of hatred the mixed Nationalist population has, but whether such a passion is sufficiently creative to build up a new national type the reader can judge for himself. With this exception, laws, political teachings, commercial habits, are all of English origin.

Mr. Gladstone, in recommending to the House of Commons his scheme for the establishment of an independent Parliament in Ireland, cited as precedents the independent Legislatures of Sweden and Norway, and of Austria and Hungary. He dwelt particularly upon the precedent of Norway:—

'The Legislature of Norway has had serious controversies, not with Sweden, but with the King of Sweden, and it has fought out those controversies successfully upon the strictest constitutional and Parliamentary grounds. And yet with two countries so united, what has been the effect? Not discord, not convulsion, not danger to peace, not hatred, not aversion, but a constantly-growing sympathy; and every man who knows their condition knows that I speak the truth when I say, that in every year that passes the Norwegians and the Swedes are more and more feeling themselves to be the children of a common country, united by a tie which never is to be broken.'

If Mr. Gladstone had been better acquainted with the recent history and economic condition of Norway, of which we have given some account in our present number,* he might have quoted that country as a warning rather than an example. The 'Storthing,' or Parliament of Norway, is omnipotent, and two-thirds of its representatives are permanently in the hands of the

* See Art. IV. 'Yeomen Farmers in Norway.'

peasant

peasant proprietors. The King has only a suspensive veto on Bills enacted by the Storthing, which therefore become law, if passed in their original form by three successive triennial Parliaments. The recent dispute between the King and the Parliament, to which Mr. Gladstone alluded, related to the right of the King to exercise an absolute veto in the case of Bills affecting the principles of the Constitution. The existence of such a right was denied by the Radical majority in the Storthing, which established in 1884 a Supreme Court of Justice composed exclusively of Radical members, and of the Judges of the ordinary High Court of Justice. It was a packed Court, bound to secrecy; and the tribunal thus constituted condemned, in violation of the first principles of justice, all the King's Ministers in Norway to deprivation of office and to pecuniary fines, for having advised their master, that the Constitution could not be altered without his sanction. The King was compelled to yield, though he was supported in his opposition to the Storthing by his Swedish Cabinet; and his ultimate submission to the Radical majority in Norway was followed by a Ministerial crisis in Sweden. The Swedes rightly argue that, if the King has no absolute veto on matters affecting the principles of the Constitution in Norway, there is no obstacle to an abolition of the Monarchical form of government in that kingdom, or to a repeal of the union between the two countries. There is in consequence much discontent in Sweden at the conduct of Norway; and the Norwegians, on their side, have an intense and ever-growing 'hatred and aversion' to the Swedes. Hence has arisen a considerable tension in the official relations between the two countries, instead of the 'constantly growing sympathy' of which Mr. Gladstone spoke. It is characteristic of the Prime Minister's mode of stating a case, that he tells us the Norwegian controversies are 'not with Sweden but with the King of Sweden.' Sweden has nothing to say in Norwegian affairs, except in the person of the King. The King is the only connecting link between the two countries. If the Dublin Parliament should impeach the Irish Viceroy, we suppose Mr. Gladstone would tell us that the difficulty was not with England but with Queen Victoria.

Nor was Mr. Gladstone much happier in his allusion to Hungarian Nationality in recent times. For more than 150 years Austria endeavoured to extinguish the national life of Hungary. In 1867 this policy was definitely abandoned, and Hungary was called to a share in the Empire of the Hapsburgs. As recently as last October Mr. Parnell, when insisting that Ireland must have an independent Parliament, said: 'We can

can point to the example of other countries—to Austria and to Hungary—to the fact that Hungary, having been conceded self-government, became one of the strongest factors in the Austrian Empire.' The favour, with which these references have been received by the Liberal party, is a singular example how far afield they are ready to go in search of an argument. Austria, in 1867, was a great military despotism, tottering to its fall amidst a group of eager rivals. A general appeal to the nation, such as France made at the commencement of the Revolutionary war, was out of the question. Differences of race, differences of language, differences of social condition, made national unity impossible within the wide dominions of the House of Austria. The government at Vienna consented to the division of its territories into two groups of nearly equal strength. In each of these groups various alien nationalities were clustered round a central power more advanced in politics, in civilization, and in wealth, than the adjacent territories. Instead of trying to weld her multiple varieties of race into one great popular community, Austria, smitten at Sadowa, shared her dominion with Hungary, and asked her to take charge of the Government of the East Leithan Slavs, whilst the German population of Austria dealt with the Czechs and Moravians and Carinthians on the western side of the river.

Sir Henry Elliot has well pointed out, that what success the experiment has had is in no small degree due to the large powers still enjoyed by the Crown, and to the personal character and influence of the Emperor Francis, the connecting link between the two dominions; but apart from this actual result, the feasibility of the dual scheme depended on the following considerations. In the first place, there was no alternative in the condition in which the House of Austria found itself in 1867, defeated in battle and bankrupt in finance. Without some such arrangement civil war was inevitable, with the ultimate prospect of the absorption of the various races by the hostile neighbouring Powers. In the second place, the allies were pretty nearly equal in strength as regards each other, whilst they were each similarly weighted by the difficulty of holding their own within the respective territories assigned them. They were each so busy with their subordinate territories and the less advanced populations inhabiting them, that it was not their interest or their inclination to bring about conflicts with each other. Hungary boasts a larger area than Austria, and a population equal to three-fourths that of the Western Monarchy. On the western side of the Leitha the dominant race, dominant by force of nature, by brain power, and the traditions and acquirements

acquirements this power has given them, are 36 per cent. of the whole population. In the Transleithan provinces the race similarly situated, the Magyar, constitutes about 40 per cent. of the whole population.

There is not a single circumstance in the relations between England and Ireland to make reference to the creation of the Empire-Kingdom anything but an absurdity. Ireland never can compare with Great Britain in material resources. Her population is hardly one-sixth that of the larger island, whilst her area is little more than a third. She is deficient in climate, in soil, in mineral resources, and in population. Not only is she without a well-organized aristocracy skilled in political science, such as Hungary boasted; Ireland, as the term is understood by the National League, is without an educated class. Her intellect is represented by the moonlight marauder and the fanatic priest. As regards England, the parallel is still more preposterous. She is not a military despotism, but a well-organized community, boasting parliamentary traditions of a thousand years. Her shores are guarded by sea from foreign interference. Notwithstanding many scandalous shortcomings in her rulers, her influence and her power are still unrivalled in the world. However long Mr. Gladstone may rule, her Sadowa is yet to come; and, if it did come, the example of the Dual State would offer no solution of our Irish difficulties, for none of the conditions which made the Dual State possible exist in the case of the two chief British Islands.

The delusive character of Mr. Gladstone's reference to the Dual State is best illustrated by the facts, that the council for common affairs consists of an equal number of representatives from each side of the dominion, that this council is concerned with military and foreign affairs, two subjects on which, according to the new scheme, Ireland is to have no vote.

It will be found, on a little examination, that appeals to the example of the foreigner are as misleading as the theory of nationality. All such arguments are only endeavours to divert the public from the exercise of their own judgment and common-sense in dealing with the mischiefs which the perverse genius of Mr. Gladstone has created. Recognized principles of government, the ordinary traditions of England applied with the happy immunity from friction, which the commercial policy of modern times makes possible, would have long since settled the difficulty, but it would have been settled in disregard of that popular Irish feeling which, in 1867, Mr. Gladstone pledged himself to follow. He would have had to admit that

that his new Irish policy was a mistake; and he never admits that he has made any mistake—unless it be in Egypt—or in acting on the opinion of other people. When he has discovered a new line of policy, he believes himself infallible. Let us assume for a moment, that the combination of the personal adherents of Mr. Gladstone and of Mr. Parnell enables the Prime Minister to pass some measure on the lines he has selected, or on those laid down by Mr. Davitt, and that the rowdy treason of a Dublin Cabinet proceeds to bring within the sphere of its operations what wealth and civilization has hitherto escaped the National League.

In the struggle which must ensue, we shall have within three hours of our shores a raging volcano of revolution, threatening the peace of Europe and our own. Fenians, Nihilists, and Irish Yankees, will flock to the new vantage ground. The conflict between Socialism and property, between infidelity and superstition, will be fought out amidst the strangest complications of local hatred and of fiscal disorder. If foreign governments abstain from interfering, and we escape consequent difficulties with them, are we sure that we ourselves will be able to remain passive spectators? Many of us are old enough to recollect the agitation which shook this kingdom during the struggle between North and South on the other side of the Atlantic. No question of Home politics for generations past had so deeply moved our people. It required all the exertions of the most sober part of the nation to prevent our becoming involved in the conflict, and we recollect the help this party of wisdom got from the impulsive statesman who has undertaken for the third time the final settlement of the Irish question. If the great American Civil War, desolating a country three thousand miles away, thus stirred popular feeling, what will be the result of a Civil War between, on the one side, the Irish Celt animated by religious hatred and love of plunder, and supported by the Irish American, and on the other the loyalty, endurance and Protestantism of Ulster—a Civil War almost within sight of our shores?

But, if we turn from the suggestions of empiricism and vanity and come to those practical considerations which affect men's minds in matters so important as political organization, the main argument pressed on English people is that we cannot go on as we are. 'Irish Government is a failure.' 'We must close this terrible crisis as rapidly as possible.' 'Separation itself, could not be worse than the present state of things.' 'The Act of Union has completely failed. After eighty-four years it has given an Ireland more hostile to England than at any period of its

its history.' Mr. Gladstone recites the number of Coercion Acts, which have been passed since 1832, and declares 'we are like a man who, knowing that medicine may be the means of his restoration to health, endeavours to live upon medicine.'

Before considering whether this confession of failure is true, we would remind our readers what it implies, what it leads up to. It is now proposed as an argument for establishing a separate Parliament in Dublin. The establishment of this separate Parliament is necessary, because we must give Ireland the opportunity of doing what we ourselves are unable to do, to find the best machinery they can to carry on the business of government. But, when this machinery is once found and invested with the resources and influence of a Government, we cannot suppose that our troubles will be at an end. If disputes arise in the working out of the new Irish Constitution, the popular majority will not be slow to call in the aid of the American Irish who have founded the National League. Mr. Jennings, whose opinion on this matter is entitled to great weight, from his long residence in the United States, reminded the House, that

'one consideration which they must bear in mind was that of the formidable difficulties which would inevitably arise from the action of the great body of Irish Americans. If this Bill granted to Ireland a free and independent Parliamentary Assembly with full powers over the Executive, as proposed by the Prime Minister, there would inevitably come a time when either the payment of the interest due, or some other cause, would bring the Irish Parliament into antagonism with the English. If they were to endeavour to demand what was necessary, whether payment of interest or what not, and to threaten to use force, could any one suppose that the great body of Irish Americans would stand by silently and see that done? He believed that the United States would say to them: "You have acknowledged your incompetence to govern Ireland; you have given her practical independence, now you must take your hands off her: we will not stand by and see her crushed." He believed that there was no Government in the United States which could withstand such pressure as that which would be brought to bear on it by the Irish Americans, especially if a Presidential election were near.'

But is this allegation of failure actually true? For our part we are inclined to agree with Lord Hartington, that the argument founded on the paralysis of government in Ireland in recent years is allowed more weight in this question than it should have. In the first place, it is difficult to see how any government conducted as ours has been during the last few years, could be other than disastrous. Mr. Gladstone, at the commencement of his career

as

as leader of the Liberal party, pledged himself to the policy of Irish ideas, ignorant, if not reckless, of what the term meant. Year by year he has been getting a closer view of the creed he had unconsciously adopted, and, after a struggle, he accepts one dogma, then another. The great dogma of all in the Home Ruler's creed, that Englishmen should be sent bag and baggage out of Ireland, has not yet been adopted; and naturally the Home Ruler keeps his resources ready for that ringing of the chapel bell to which Mr. Gladstone alluded in speaking of the Clerkenwell explosion and its effect on the question of the Irish Establishment. The 'dynamite and the dagger,' to which Mr. Morley recently appealed as conclusive reasons for passing the Cabinet scheme, retain their fascination for the Irish mind.

As long as Mr. Gladstone is a power in English public life, and his pledges given in Lancashire are unredeemed or unrepudiated, the Home Rule party will press him without mercy; but it is not reasonable to argue from their success, a success which Mr. Gladstone has given them, that they exercise a permanent influence on Irish affairs. When the Southport pledges were given, the Irish land laws were yet without that reform which a series of Governments, Tory as well as Whig, had admitted to be necessary. It could not be said until after 1870 that the book of English neglect of Irish interests was finally closed, and that is only sixteen years ago. During this period we have seen the great English Parliamentary Ruler continually plunging after coercion, and returning to make some other big concession to agitation. Thus Ireland has had no chance of trying what a good system of laws consistently administered could supply. The principle of the Land Act of 1870 was a provision for the protection of property—the tenants' property recognized by custom during a long course of years, although ignored by the law and exposed to confiscation by the reckless Whig legislation of 1850–2. The Land Act of 1881 was an arbitrary attempt to remedy the misfortunes of an improvident agricultural interest by legislative interference with contract. Contracts were readjusted and finally settled for fifteen years to come. Political economy was bidden to take itself off, but prices varied quite regardless of Mr. Gladstone's arrangements, and the weather did not pay them the least consideration. The passion for revolution was stimulated, and a large number of Mr. Gladstone's clients are as badly off as before. Might it not be worth while to try for a time how far good government, after the removal of all substantial grievances, might supply that 'real settlement,' 'that finality,' which the country is now asked to find in Dublin

Dublin Parliaments, First Orders, and bribes at the cost of the English taxpayer?

This counter-policy of maintaining order and good government in Ireland should be emphasized by measures to make that island, even more completely than she now is, a part of the United Kingdom. The Queen's laws in Ireland are the same, except in some slight details, as in England. The Irish judicature might be made part of the High Court at Westminster. The Queen's writs from Westminster should run throughout Ireland as they have done for hundreds of years throughout Wales. Limerick or Sligo are not so remote from London now as Harlech or Durham were in the reign of George I. The Irish judges would form no undistinguished addition to the English Bench, while the presence of English judges on circuit in Ireland would have the best effect in disarming the animosity of the people against the law. It is too often forgotten in these days that, however rapidly we move from place to place, however swift the transmission of intelligence, the human mind has not yet acquired the nimbleness of the telegraph needle. Habits of thought are not changed as rapidly as the fashions of our dress. It is only sixteen years since our Irish legislation has assumed its present form, and we are ready to throw to the winds all maxims of statecraft, all principles hitherto recognized in the delicate work of government. We are in despair, and call in the company of *à priori* statesmen—men whose sole qualification to deal with complex questions is the fact, that they have studied the science of revolution. Why should we not try, now that we have provided for manifest Irish grievances, what time, and resolution, and common-sense, might do for us and our Irish fellow-subjects?

The first part of the Government policy is disclosed. We have still to learn what its complement, the Land Purchase Bill, is to be, what proposal is to be made about loyal Ulster, the subject on which Mr. Gladstone was so strangely vague, on which Mr. Parnell was discreetly silent. These further manifestations of Cabinet wisdom can hardly save the scheme now lingering on to death. We wish we could be certain, that this collapse would rid Parliament and Ireland of all such projects for the future. But, whatever be the fate of the present Ministry, we may be sure that the end is not yet, unless Mr. Parnell's faction is completely broken, unless the policy urged by Lord Hartington is firmly adopted, and party life reorganized in England, on the principle of excluding the Irish vote from consideration in our party conflicts. If no such resolution is enforced by English patriotism, Irish Nationalists will return to their

their demands, enhanced in power and renown by the tribute they have extorted from the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

On these events of the future we shall not now speculate; but, if past history throws any light on the character of our population, one thing may be confidently predicted. If Home Rule should be ultimately conceded to Ireland, the political party, which may be responsible for the carrying of the scheme, will have to look forward to a long period of exclusion from public confidence. However the British people may be worried or deluded into forgetfulness of their duty to themselves and to Ireland, the working of a Dublin Parliament will soon rouse them, the reaction will set in; and the authors of the scheme will have before them as lengthened a banishment from power, as the country gentlemen suffered when their chivalrous devotion to the House of Stuart blinded them for a time to the practical interests of England; as was the fate of the Whigs at the beginning of this century, when they identified their party with implacable opposition to Pitt's struggle to deliver Europe from the tyranny of Bonaparte.

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